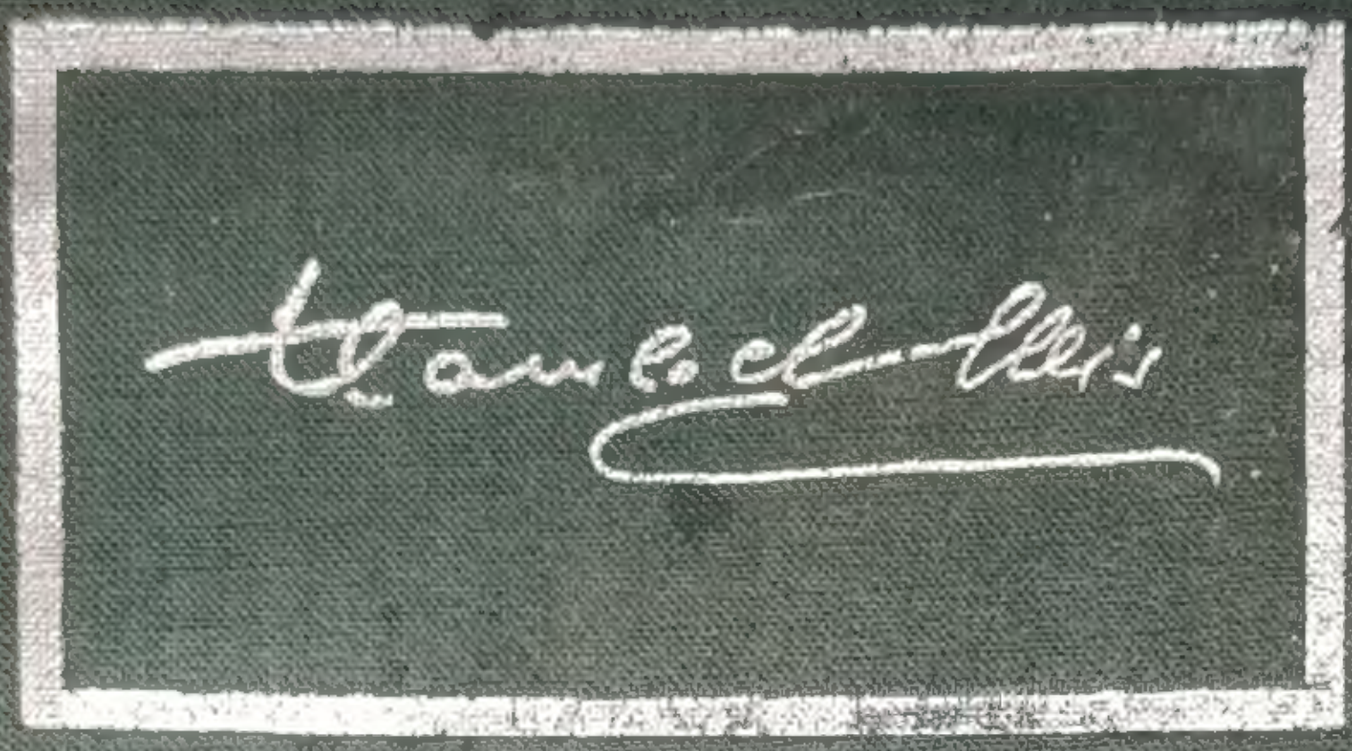

Tomaso Cornelius

STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES

With a new foreword by HAVELOCK ELLIS

* VOLUME I *

PART ONE

The Evolution of Modesty · The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity · Auto-Erotism

PART TWO

Analysis of the Sexual Impulse · Love and Pain
The Sexual Impulse in Women

PART THREE

Sexual Selection in Man

PART FOUR

Sexual Inversion

* VOLUME II *

PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism · The Mechanism of Detumescence
The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PART THREE

Sex in Relation to Society

STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS

VOLUME II

PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism · The Mechanism of Detumescence

The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PART THREE

Sex in Relation to Society

PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism

The Mechanism of Detumescence

The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PREFACE.

In this volume the terminal phenomena of the sexual process are discussed, before an attempt is finally made, in the concluding volume, to consider the bearings of the psychology of sex on that part of morals which may be called "social hygiene."

Under "Erotic Symbolism" I include practically all the aberrations of the sexual instinct, although some of these have seemed of sufficient importance for separate discussion in previous volumes. It is highly probable that many readers will consider that the name scarcely suffices to cover manifestations so numerous and so varied. The term "sexual equivalents" will seem preferable to some. While, however, it may be fully admitted that these perversions are "sexual equivalents"—or at all events equivalents of the normal sexual impulse—that term is merely a descriptive label which tells us nothing of the phenomena. "Sexual Symbolism" gives us the key to the process, the key that makes all these perversions intelligible. In all of them—very clearly in some, as in shoe-fetichism; more obscurely in others, as in exhibitionism—it has come about by causes congenital, acquired, or both, that some object or class of objects, some act or group of acts, has acquired a dynamic power over the psycho-physical mechanism of the sexual process, deflecting it from its normal adjustment to the whole of a beloved person of the opposite sex. There has been a transmutation of values, and certain objects, certain acts, have acquired an emotional value which for the normal person they do not possess. Such objects and acts are properly, it seems to me, termed symbols, and that term embodies the only justification that in most cases these manifestations can legitimately claim.

"The Mechanism of Detumescence" brings us at last to the final climax for which the earlier and more prolonged stage

of tumescence, which has occupied us so often in these *Studies*, is the elaborate preliminary. "The art of love," a clever woman novelist has written, "is the art of preparation." That "preparation" is, on the physiological side, the production of tumescence, and all courtship is concerned in building up tumescence. But the final conjugation of two individuals in an explosion of detumescence, thus slowly brought about, though it is largely an involuntary act, is still not without its psychological implications and consequences; and it is therefore a matter for regret that so little is yet known about it. The one physiological act in which two individuals are lifted out of all ends that center in self and become the instrument of those higher forces which fashion the species, can never be an act to be slurred over as trivial or unworthy of study.

In the brief study of "The Psychic State in Pregnancy" we at last touch the point at which the whole complex process of sex reaches its goal. A woman with a child in her womb is the everlasting miracle which all the romance of love, all the cunning devices of tumescence and detumescence, have been invented to make manifest. The psychic state of the woman who thus occupies the supreme position which life has to offer cannot fail to be of exceeding interest from many points of view, and not least because the maternal instinct is one of the elements even of love between the sexes. But the psychology of pregnancy is full of involved problems, and here again, as so often in the wide field we have traversed, we stand at the threshold of a door it is not yet given us to pass.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

CONTENTS.

Erotic Symbolism.

I.

The Definition of Erotic Symbolism. Symbolism of Act and Symbolism of Object. Erotic Fetichism. Wide Extension of the Symbols of Sex. The Immense Variety of Possible Erotic Fetiches. The Normal Foundations of Erotic Symbolism. Classification of the Phenomena. The Tendency to Idealize the Defects of a Beloved Person. Stendhal's "Crystallization".... 1

II.

Foot-fetichism and Shoe-fetichism. Wide Prevalence and Normal Basis. Restif de la Bretonne. The Foot a Normal Focus of Sexual Attraction Among Some Peoples. The Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Spaniards, etc. The Congenital Predisposition in Erotic Symbolism. The Influence of Early Association and Emotional Shock. Shoe-fetichism in Relation to Masochism. The Two Phenomena Independent Though Allied. The Desire to be Trodden On. The Fascination of Physical Constraint. The Symbolism of Self-inflicted Pain. The Dynamic Element in Erotic Symbolism. The Symbolism of Garments..... 15

III.

Scatalogic Symbolism. **Urolagnia.** Coprolagnia. The **Ascetic Attitude Towards the Flesh.** Normal Basis of Scatalogic Symbolism. Scatalogic Conceptions Among Primitive Peoples. Urine as a Primitive Holy Water. Sacredness of Animal Excreta. Scatalogy in Folk-lore. The Obscene as Derived from the Mythological. The Immature Sexual Impulse Tends to Manifest Itself in Scatalogic Forms. The Basis of Physiological Connection Between the Urinary and Genital Spheres. Urinary Fetichism Sometimes Normal in Animals. The Urolagnia of Masochists. The Scatalogy of Saints. Urolagnia More Often a Symbolism of Act Than a Symbolism of Object. Only Occasionally an Olfactory Fetichism. Comparative Rarity of Coprolagnia. Influence of Nates Fetichism as a Transition to Coprolagnia. Ideal Copro-

lagnia. Olfactory Coprolagnia. Urolagnia and Coprolagnia as Symbols of Coitus..... 47

IV.

Animals as Sources of Erotic Symbolism. Mixoscopic Zoophilia. The Stuff-fetichisms. Hair-fetichism. The Stuff-fetichisms Mainly on a Tactile Base. Erotic Zoophilia. Zooerastia. Bestiality. The Conditions that Favor Bestiality. Its Wide Prevalence Among Primitive Peoples and Among Peasants. The Primitive Conception of Animals. The Goat. The Influence of Familiarity With Animals. Congress Between Women and Animals. The Social Reaction Against Bestiality..... 71

V.

Exhibitionism. Illustrative Cases. A Symbolic Perversion of Courtship. The Impulse to Defile. The Exhibitionist's Psychic Attitude. The Sexual Organs as Fetiches. Phallus Worship. Adolescent Pride in Sexual Development. Exhibitionism of the Nates. The Classification of the Forms of Exhibitionism. Nature of the Relationship of Exhibitionism to Epilepsy..... 89

VI.

The Forms of Erotic Symbolism are Simulacra of Coitus. Wide Extension of Erotic Symbolism. Fetichism Not Covering the Whole Ground of Sexual Selection. It is Based on the Individual Factor in Selection. Crystallization. The Lover and the Artist. The Key to Erotic Symbolism is to be Found in the Emotional Sphere. The Passage to Pathological Extremes..... 105

The Mechanism of Detumescence.

I.

The Psychological Significance of Detumescence. The Testis and the Ovary. Sperm Cell and Germ Cell. Development of the Embryo. The External Sexual Organs. Their Wide Range of Variation. Their Nervous Supply. The Penis. Its Racial Variations. The Influence of Exercise. The Scrotum and Testicles. The Mons Veneris. The Vulva. The Labia Majora and their Varieties. The Public Hair and Its Characters. The Clitoris and Its Functions. The Anus as an Erogenous Zone. The Nymphæ and their Function. The Vagina. The Hymen. Virginity. The Biological Significance of the Hymen..... 115

II.

The Object of Detumescence. Erogenous Zones. The Lips. The Vascular Characters of Detumescence. Erectile Tissue. Erection in Woman. Mucous Emission in Women. Sexual Connection. The Human Mode of Intercourse. Normal Variations. The Motor Characters of Detumescence. Ejaculation. The Virile Reflex. The General Phenomena of Detumescence. The Circulatory and Respiratory Phenomena. Blood Pressure. Cardiac Disturbance. Glandular Activity. Distillatio. The Essentially Motor Character of Detumescence. Involuntary Muscular Irradiation to Bladder, etc. Erotic Intoxication. Analogy of Sexual Detumescence and Vesical Tension. The Specifically Sexual Movements of Detumescence in Man. In Woman. The Spontaneous Movements of the Genital Canal in Woman. Their Function in Conception. Part Played by Active Movement of the Spermatozoa. The Artificial Injection of Semen. The Facial Expression During Detumescence. The Expression of Joy. The Occasional Serious Effects of Coitus 142

III.

The Constituents of Semen. Function of the Prostate. The Properties of Semen. Aphrodisiacs. Alcohol, Opium, etc. Anaphrodisiacs. The Stimulant Influence of Semen in Coitus. The Internal Effects of Testicular Secretions. The Influence of Ovarian Secretion 171

IV.

The Aptitude for Detumescence. Is There an Erotic Temperament? The Available Standards of Comparison. Characteristics of the Castrated. Characteristics of Puberty. Characteristics of the State of Detumescence. Shortness of Stature. Development of the Secondary Sexual Characters. Deep Voice. Bright Eyes. Glandular Activity. Everted Lips. Pigmentation. Profuse Hair. Dubious Significance of Many of These Characters 182

THE PSYCHIC STATE IN PREGNANCY.

The Relationship of Maternal and Sexual Emotion. Conception and Loss of Virginity. The Anciently Accepted Signs of This Condition. The Pervading Effects of Pregnancy on the Organism. Pigmentation. The Blood and Circulation. The Thyroid. Changes in the Nervous System. The Vomiting of Preg-

nancy. The Longings of Pregnant Women. Mental Impressions. Evidence for and Against Their Validity. The Question Still Open. Imperfection of Our Knowledge. The Significance of Pregnancy 201

APPENDIX.

Histories of Sexual Development 231

INDEX OF AUTHORS 275

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 281

EROTIC SYMBOLISM.

I.

The Definition of Erotic Symbolism—Symbolism of Act and Symbolism of Object—Erotic Fetichism—Wide extension of the symbols of Sex—The Immense Variety of Possible Erotic Fetiches—The Normal Foundations of Erotic Symbolism—Classification of the Phenomena—The Tendency to Idealize the Defects of a Beloved Person—Stendhal's "Crystallization."

By "erotic symbolism" I mean that tendency whereby the lover's attention is diverted from the central focus of sexual attraction to some object or process which is on the periphery of that focus, or is even outside of it altogether, though recalling it by association of contiguity or of similarity. It thus happens that tumescence, or even in extreme cases detumescence, may be provoked by the contemplation of acts or objects which are away from the end of sexual conjugation.[1]

In considering the phenomena of sexual selection in a previous volume,[2] it was found that there are four or five main factors in the constitution of beauty in so far as beauty determines sexual selection. Erotic symbolism is founded on the factor of individual taste in beauty; it arises as a specialized development of that factor, but it is, nevertheless, incorrect to merge it in sexual selection. The attractive characteristics of a beloved woman or man, from the point of view of sexual selection, are a complex but harmonious whole leading up to a desire for the complete possession of the person who displays them.

---

[1] The term "erotic symbolism" has already been employed by Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, 1895, p. 101). It must be borne in mind that this term, implying the specific emotion, is much narrower than the term "sexual symbolism," which may be used to designate a great variety of ritual and social practices which have played a part in the evolution of civilization.

[2] *Sexual Selection in Man*, iv, "Vision."

There is no tendency to isolate and dissociate any single character from the individual and to concentrate attention upon that character at the expense of the attention bestowed upon the individual generally. As soon as such a tendency begins to show itself, even though only in a slight or temporary form, we may say that there is erotic symbolism.

Erotic symbolism is, however, by no means confined to the individualizing tendency to concentrate amorous attention upon some single characteristic of the adult woman or man who is normally the object of sexual love. The adult human being may not be concerned at all, the attractive object or act may not even be human, not even animal, and we may still be concerned with a symbol which has parasitically rooted itself on the fruitful site of sexual emotion and absorbed to itself the energy which normally goes into the channels of healthy human love having for its final end the procreation of the species. Thus understood in its widest sense, it may be said that every sexual perversion, even homosexuality, is a form of erotic symbolism, for we shall find that in every case some object or act that for the normal human being has little or no erotic value, has assumed such value in a supreme degree; that is to say, it has become a symbol of the normal object of love. Certain perversions are, however, of such great importance on account of their wide relationships, that they cannot be adequately discussed merely as forms of erotic symbolism. This is notably the case as regards homosexuality, auto-erotism, and algolagnia, all of which phenomena have therefore been separately discussed in previous studies. We are now mainly concerned with manifestations which are more narrowly and exclusively symbolical.

A portion of the field of erotic symbolism is covered by what Binet (followed by Lombroso, Krafft-Ebing, and others) has termed "erotic fetichism," or the tendency whereby sexual attraction is unduly exerted by some special part or peculiarity of the body, or by some inanimate object which has become associated with it. Such erotic symbolism of object cannot, however, be dissociated from the even more important erotic sym-

bolism of process, and the two are so closely bound together that we cannot attain a truly scientific view of them until we regard them broadly as related parts of a common psychic tendency. If, as Groos asserts,[1] a symbol has two chief meanings, one in which it indicates a physical process which stands for a psychic process, and another in which it indicates a part which represents the whole, erotic symbolism of act corresponds to the first of these chief meanings, and erotic symbolism of object to the other.

Although it is not impossible to find some germs of erotic symbolism in animals, in its more pronounced manifestations it is only found in the human species. It could not be otherwise, for such symbolism involves not only the play of fancy and imagination, the idealizing aptitude, but also a certain amount of power of concentrating the attention on a point outside the natural path of instinct and the ability to form new mental constructions around that point. There are, indeed, as we shall see, elementary forms of erotic symbolism which are not uncommonly associated with feeble-mindedness, but even these are still peculiarly human, and in its less crude manifestations erotic symbolism easily lends itself to every degree of human refinement and intelligence.

"It depends primarily upon an increase of the psychological process of representation," Colin Scott remarks of sexual symbolism generally, "involving greater powers of comparison and analysis as compared with the lower animals. The outer impressions come to be clearly distinguished as such, but at the same time are often treated as symbols of inner experiences, and a meaning read into them which they would not otherwise possess. Symbolism or fetichism is, indeed, just the capacity to see meaning, to emphasize something for the sake of other things which do not appear. In brain terms it indicates an activity of the higher centers, a sort of side-tracking or long-circuiting of the primitive energy; . . . Rosetti's poem, 'The Woodspurge,'

---

[1] K. Groos, *Der Æsthetische Genuss*, p. 122. The psychology of the associations of contiguity and resemblance through which erotic symbolism operates its transference is briefly discussed by Ribot in the *Psychology of the Emotions*, Part I, Chapter XII; the early chapters of the same author's *Logique des Sentiments* may also be said to deal with the emotional basis on which erotic symbolism arises.

gives a concrete example of the formation of such a symbol. Here the otherwise insignificant presentation of the three-cupped woodspurge, representing originally a mere side-current of the stream of consciousness, becomes the intellectual symbol or fetich of the whole psychosis forever after. It seems, indeed, as if the stronger the emotion the more likely will become the formation of an overlying symbolism, which serves to focus and stand in the place of something greater than itself; nowhere at least is symbolism a more characteristic feature than as an expression of the sexual instinct. The passion of sex, with its immense hereditary background, in early man became centered often upon the most trivial and unimportant features. . . . This symbolism, now become fetichistic, or symbolic in a bad sense, is at least an exercise of the increasing representative power of man, upon which so much of his advancement has depended, while it also served to express and help to purify his most perennial emotion." (Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2, p. 189.)

In the study of "Love and Pain" in a previous volume, the analysis of the large and complex mass of sexual phenomena which are associated with pain, gradually resolved them to a considerable extent into a special case of erotic symbolism; pain or restraint, whether inflicted on or by the loved person, becomes, by a psychic process that is usually unconscious, the symbol of the sexual mechanism, and hence arouses the same emotions as that mechanism normally arouses. We may now attempt to deal more broadly and comprehensively with the normal and abnormal aspects of erotic symbolism in some of their most typical and least mixed forms.

"When our human imagination seeks to animate artificial things," Huysmans writes in *Là-bas*, "it is compelled to reproduce the movements of animals in the act of propagation. Look at machines, at the play of pistons in the cylinders; they are Romeos of steel in Juliets of cast-iron." And not only in the work of man's hands but throughout Nature we find sexual symbols which are the less deniable since, for the most part, they make not the slightest appeal to even the most morbid human imagination. Language is full of metaphorical symbols of sex which constantly tend to lose their poetic symbolism and to become commonplace. Semen is but seed, and for the Latins especially the whole process of human sex, as well as the male

and female organs, constantly presented itself in symbols derived from agricultural and horticultural life. The testicles were beans *(fabæ)* and fruit or apples *(poma* and *mala);* the penis was a tree (*arbor*), or a stalk (*thyrsus*), or a root (*radix*), or a sickle *(falx),* or a ploughshare *(vomer).* The semen, again, was dew *(ros).* The labia majora or minora were wings *(alæ);* the vulva and vagina were a field *(ager* and *campus),* or a ploughed furrow *(sulcus),* or a vineyard *(vinea),* or a fountain *(fons),* while the pudendal hair was herbage *(plantaria).*[1] In other lanuages it is not difficult to trace similar and even identical imagery applied to sexual organs and sexual acts. Thus it is noteworthy that Shakespeare more than once applies the term "ploughed" to a woman who has had sexual intercourse. The Talmud calls the labia minora the doors, the labia majora hinges, and the clitoris the key. The Greeks appear not only to have found in the myrtle-berry, the fruit of a plant sacred to Venus, the image of the clitoris, but also in the rose an image of the feminine labia; in the poetic literature of many countries, indeed, this imagery of the rose may be traced in a more or less veiled manner.[2]

The widespread symbolism of sex arose in the theories and conceptions of primitive peoples concerning the function of generation and its nearest analogies in Nature; it was continued for the sake of the vigorous and expressive terminology which it furnished both for daily life and for literature; its final survivals were cultivated because they furnished a delicately æsthetic method of approaching matters which a growing refinement of sentiment made it difficult for lovers and poets to approach in a more crude and direct manner. Its existence is of interest to us now because it shows the objective validity of the basis on

---

[1] A number of synonyms for the female pudenda are brought together by Schurig—cunnus, hortus, concha, navis, fovea, larva, canis, annulus, focus, cymba, antrum, delta, myrtus, etc.—and he discusses many of them. (*Muliebria*, Section I, cap. I.)

[2] Kleinpaul, *Sprache Ohne Worte*, pp. 24-29: *cf.* K. Pearson, on the general and special words for sex, *Chances of Death*, vol. ii pp. 119-245; a selection of the literature of the rose will be found in a volume of translations entitled *Ros Rosarum.*

which erotic symbolism, as we have here to understand it, develops. But from first to last it is a distinct phenomenon, having a more or less reasoned and intellectual basis, and it scarcely serves in any degree to feed the sexual impulse. Erotic symbolism is not intellectual but emotional in its origin; it starts into being, obscurely, with but a dim consciousness or for the most part none at all, either suddenly from the shock of some usually youthful experience, or more gradually through an instinctive brooding on those things which are most intimately associated with a sexually desirable person.

The kind of soil on which the germs of erotic symbolism may develop is well seen in cases of sexual hyperæthesia. In such cases all the emotionally sexual analogies and resemblances, which in erotic symbolism are fixed and organized, may be traced in vague and passing forms, a single hyperæsthetic individual perhaps presenting a great variety of germinal symbolisms.

Thus it has been recorded of an Italian nun (whose sister became a prostitute) that from the age of 8 she had desire for coitus, from the age of 10 masturbated, and later had homosexual feelings, that the same feelings and practices continued after she had taken the veil, though from time to time they assumed religious equivalents. The mere contact, indeed, of a priest's hand, the news of the presentation of an ecclesiastic she had known to a bishopric, the sight of an ape, the contemplation of the crucified Christ, the figure of a toy, the picture of a demon, the act of defecation in the children entrusted to her care (whom, on this account, and against the regulations, she would accompany to the closets), especially the sight and the mere recollection of flies in sexual connection—all these things sufficed to produce in her a powerful orgasm. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1902, fasc. II-III, p. 338.)

A boy of 15 (given to masturbation), studied by Macdonald in America, was similarly hyperæsthetic to the symbols of sexual emotion. "I like amusing myself with my comrades," he told Macdonald, "rolling ourselves into a ball, which gives one a funny kind of warmth. I have a special pleasure in talking about some things. It is the same when the governess kisses me on saying good night or when I lean against her breast. I have that sensation, too, when I see some of the pictures in the comic papers, but only in those representing a woman, as when a young man skating trips up a girl so that her clothes are raised a little. When I read how a man saved a young girl from drowning, so that they swam together, I had the same sensation. Looking at the statues of women in the museum produces the same effect, or when I

see naked babies, or when a mother suckles a child. I have often had that sensation when reading novels I ought not to read, or when looking at a new-born calf, or seeing dogs and cows and horses mounting on each other. When I see a girl flirting with a boy, or leaning on his shoulder or with his arm round her waist, I have an erection. It is the same when I see women and little girls in bathing costume, or when boys talk of what their fathers and mothers do together. In the Natural History Museum I often see things which give me that sensation. One day when I read how a man killed a young girl and carried her into a wood and undressed her I had a feeling of enjoyment. When I read of men who were bastards the idea of a woman having a child in that way gives me this sensation. Some dances, and seeing young girls astride a horse, excited me, too, and so in a circus when a woman was shot out of a cannon and her skirts flew in the air. It has no effect on me when I see men naked. Sometimes I enjoy seeing women's underclothes in a shop, or when I see a lady or a girl buying them, especially if they are drawers. When I saw a lady in a dress which buttoned from top to bottom it had more effect on me than seeing underclothes. Seeing dogs coupling gives me more pleasure than looking at pretty women, but less than looking at pretty little girls." In order of increasing intensity he placed the phenomena that affected him thus: The coupling of flies, then of horses, then the sight of women's undergarments, then a boy and a girl flirting, then cows mounting on each other, the statues of women with naked breasts, then contact with the governess's body and breasts, finally coitus. (Arthur Macdonald, *Le Criminel-Type*, pp. 126 *et seq.*)

It is worthy of remark that the instinct of nutrition, when restrained, may exhibit something of an analogous symbolism, though in a minor degree, to that of sex. The ways in which a hyperæsthetic hunger may seek its symbols are illustrated in the case of a young woman called Nadia, who during several years was carefully studied by Janet. It is a case of obsession ("maladie du scrupule"), simulating hysterical anorexia, in which the patient, for fear of getting fat, reduced her nourishment to the smallest possible amount. "Nadia is generally hungry, even very hungry. One can tell this by her actions; from time to time she forgets herself to such an extent as to devour greedily anything she can put her hands on. At other times, when she cannot resist the desire to eat, she secretly takes a biscuit. She feels horrible remorse for the action, but, all the same, she does it again. Her confidences are very curious. She recognizes that a great effort is needed to avoid eating, and considers she is a heroine to resist so long. 'Sometimes I spent whole hours in thinking about food, I was so hungry; I swallowed my saliva, I bit my handkerchief, I rolled on the floor, I wanted to eat so badly. I would look in books for descriptions of meals

and feasts, and tried to deceive my hunger by imagining that I was sharing all these good things.'" (P. Janet, "La Maladie du Scrupule," *Revue Philosophique*, May, 1901, p. 502.) The deviations of the instinct of nutrition are, however, confined within narrow limits, and, in the nature of things, hunger, unlike sexual desire, cannot easily accept a fetich.

"There is almost no feature, article of dress, attitude, act," Stanley Hall declares, "or even animal or perhaps object in nature, that may not have to some morbid soul specialized erogenic and erethic power."[1] Even a mere shadow may become a fetich. Goron tells of a merchant in Paris—a man with a reputation for ability, happily married and the father of a family, altogether irreproachable in his private life—who was returning home one evening after a game of billiards with a friend, when, on chancing to raise his eyes, he saw against a lighted window the shadow of a woman changing her chemise. He fell in love with that shadow and returned to the spot every evening for many months to gaze at the window. Yet—and herein lies the fetichism—he made no attempt to see the woman or to find out who she was; the shadow sufficed; he had no need of the reality.[2] It is even possible to have a negative fetich, the absence of some character being alone demanded, and the case has been recorded in Chicago of an American gentleman of average intelligence, education, and good habits who, having as a boy cherished a pure affection for a girl whose leg had been amputated, throughout life was relatively impotent with normal women, but experienced passion and affection for women who had lost a leg; he was found by his wife to be in extensive correspondence with one-legged women all over the country, expending no little money on the purchase of artificial legs for his various protegées.[3]

It is important to remember, however, that while erotic symbolism becomes fantastic and abnormal in its extreme mani-

---

[1] G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 470.
[2] Goron, *Les Parias de l'Amour*, p. 45.
[3] A. R. Reynolds, *Medical Standard*, vol. x, cited by Kiernan, "Responsibility in Sexual Perversion," *American Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 1882.

festations, it is in its essence absolutely normal. It is only in the very grossest forms of sexual desire that it is altogether absent. Stendhal described the mental side of the process of tumescence as a crystallization, a process whereby certain features of the beloved person present points around which the emotions held in solution in the lover's mind may concentrate and deposit themselves in dazzling brilliance. This process inevitably tends to take place around all those features and objects associated with the beloved person which have most deeply impressed the lover's mind, and the more sensitive and imaginative and emotional he is the more certainly will such features and objects crystallize into erotic symbols. "Devotion and love," wrote Mary Wollstonecraft, "may be allowed to hallow the garments as well as the person, for the lover must want fancy who has not a sort of sacred respect for the glove or slipper of his mistress. He would not confound them with vulgar things of the same kind." And nearly two centuries earlier Burton, who had gathered together so much of the ancient lore of love, clearly asserted the entirely normal character of erotic symbolism. "Not one of a thousand falls in love," he declares, "but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. . . . If he gets any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shoe-tie, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair, he wears it for a favor on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart; as Laodamia did by Protesilaus, when he went to war, sit at home with his picture before her: a garter or a bracelet of hers is more precious than any Saint's Relique, he lays it up in his casket (O blessed Relique) and every day will kiss it: if in her presence his eye is never off her, and drink he will where she drank, if it be possible, in that very place," etc.[1]

Burton's accuracy in describing the ways of lovers in his century is shown by a passage in Hamilton's *Mémoires de Gramont.* Miss Price, one of the beauties of Charles II's court, and Dongan were ten-

---

[1] R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. II. Subs. II, and Mem. III. Subs. I.

derly attached to each other; when the latter died he left behind a casket full of all possible sorts of love-tokens pertaining to his mistress, including, among other things, "all kinds of hair." And as regards France, Burton's contemporary, Howell, wrote in 1627 in his *Familiar Letters* concerning the repulse of the English at Rhé: "A captain told me that when they were rifling the dead bodies of the French gentlemen after the first invasion they found that many of them had their mistresses' favors tied about their genitories."

Schurig (*Spermatologia*, p. 357) at the beginning of the eighteenth century knew a Belgian lady who, when her dearly loved husband died, secretly cut off his penis and treasured it as a sacred relic in a silver casket. She eventually powdered it, he adds, and found it an efficacious medicine for herself and others. An earlier example, of a lady at the French court who embalmed and perfumed the genital organs of her dead husband, always preserving them in a gold casket, is mentioned by Brantôme. Mantegazza knew a man who kept for many years on his desk the skull of his dead mistress, making it his dearest companion. "Some," he remarks, "have slept for months and years with a book, a garment, a trifle. I once had a friend who would spend long hours of joy and emotion kissing a thread of silk which *she* had held between her fingers, now the only relic of love." (Mantegazza, *Fisiologia dell' Amore*, cap. X.) In the same way I knew a lady who in old age still treasured in her desk, as the one relic of the only man she had ever been attracted to, a fragment of paper he had casually twisted up in a conversation with her half a century before.

The tendency to treasure the relics of a beloved person, more especially the garments, is the simplest and commonest foundation of erotic symbolism. It is without doubt absolutely normal. It is inevitable that those objects which have been in close contact with the beloved person's body, and are intimately associated with that person in the lover's mind, should possess a little of the same virtue, the same emotional potency. It is a phenomenon closely analogous to that by which the relics of saints are held to possess a singular virtue. But it becomes somewhat less normal when the garment is regarded as essential even in the presence of the beloved person.[1]

While an extremely large number of objects and acts may be found to possess occasionally the value of erotic symbols, such

---

[1] Numerous examples are given by Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, pp. 265-268.

symbols most frequently fall into certain well-defined groups. A vast number of isolated objects or acts may be exceptionally the focus of erotic contemplation, but the objects and acts which frequently become thus symbolic are comparatively few.

It seems to me that the phenomena of erotic symbolism may be most conveniently grouped in three great classes, on the basis of the objects or acts which arouse them.

I. PARTS OF THE BODY.—*A. Normal:* Hand, foot, breasts, nates, hair, secretions and excretions, etc.

B. Abnormal: Lameness, squinting, pitting of smallpox, etc. Paidophilia or the love of children, presbyophilia or the love of the aged, and necrophilia or the attraction for corpses, may be included under this head, as well as the excitement caused by various animals.

II. INANIMATE OBJECTS.[1]—*A. Garments:* Gloves, shoes and stockings and garters, caps, aprons, handkerchiefs, underlinen.

B. Impersonal Objects: Here may be included all the various objects that may accidentally acquire the power of exciting sexual feeling in auto-erotism. Pygmalionism may also be included.

III. ACTS AND ATTITUDES.—*A. Active:* Whipping, cruelty, exhibitionism. *B. Passive:* Being whipped, experiencing cruelty. Personal odors and the sound of the voice may be included under this head. *C. Mixoscopic:* The vision of climbing, swinging, etc. The acts of urination and defecation. The coitus of animals.

Although the three main groups into which the phenomena of erotic symbolism are here divided may seem fairly distinct, they are yet very closely allied, and indeed overlap, so that it

---

[1] Chevalier (*De l'Inversion*, 1865; *id. L'Inversion Sexuelle*, 1892, p. 52), followed by E. Laurent (*L'Amour Morbide*, 1891, Chapter X), separates this group from other fetichistic perversions, under the head of "azoöphilie." I see no adequate ground for this step. The various forms of fetichism are too intimately associated to permit of any group of them being violently separated from the others.

is possible, as we shall see, for a single complex symbol to fall into all three groups.

A very complete kind of erotic symbolism is furnished by Pygmalionism or the love of statues.[1] It is exactly analogous to the child's love of a doll, which is also a form of sexual (though not erotic) symbolism. In a somewhat less abnormal form, erotic symbolism probably shows itself in its simplest shape in the tendency to idealize unbeautiful peculiarities in a beloved person, so that such peculiarities are ever afterward almost or quite essential in order to arouse sexual attraction. In this way men have become attracted to limping women. Even the most normal man may idealize a trifling defect in a beloved woman. The attention is inevitably concentrated on any such slight deviation from regular beauty, and the natural result of such concentration is that a complexus of associated thoughts and emotions becomes attached to something that in itself is unbeautiful. A defect becomes an admired focus of attention, the embodied symbol of the lover's emotion.

Thus a mole is not in itself beautiful, but by the tendency to erotic symbolism it becomes so. Persian poets especially have lavished the richest imagery on moles (*Anis El-Ochchâq* in *Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes*, fasc, 25, 1875); the Arabs, as Lane remarks (*Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 214), are equally extravagant in their admiration of a mole.

Stendhal long since well described the process by which a defect becomes a sexual symbol. "Even little defects in a woman's face," he remarked, "such as a smallpox pit, may arouse the tenderness of a man who loves her, and throw him into deep reverie when he sees them in another woman. It is because he has experienced a thousand feelings in the presence of that smallpox mark, that these feelings have been for the most part delicious, all of the highest interest, and that, whatever they may have been, they are renewed with incredible vivacity on the sight of this sign, even when perceived on the face of another woman. If in such a case we come to prefer and love *ugliness*, it is only because in such a case ugliness is beauty. A man loved a woman who

---

[1] This has already been considered as a perversion founded on vision, in discussing *Sexual Selection in Man*. IV.

was very thin and marked by smallpox; he lost her by death. Three years later, in Rome, he became acquainted with two women, one very beautiful, the other thin and marked by smallpox, on that account, if you will, rather ugly. I saw him in love with this plain one at the end of a week, which he had employed in effacing her plainness by his memories." (*De l'Amour*, Chapter XVII.)

In the tendency to idealize the unbeautiful features of a beloved person erotic symbolism shows itself in a simple and normal form. In a less simple and more morbid form it appears in persons in whom the normal paths of sexual gratification are for some reasons inhibited, and who are thus led to find the symbols of natural love in unnatural perversions. It is for this reason that so many erotic symbolisms take root in childhood and puberty, before the sexual instincts have reached full development. It is for the same reason also, that, at the other end of life, when the sexual energies are failing, erotic symbols sometimes tend to be substituted for the normal pleasures of sex. It is for this reason, again, that both men and women whose normal energies are inhibited sometimes find the symbols of sexual gratification in the caresses of children.

The case of a schoolmistress recorded by Penta instructively shows how an erotic symbolism of this last kind may develop by no means as a refinement of vice, but as the one form in which sexual gratification becomes possible when normal gratification has been pathologically inhibited. F. R., aged 48, schoolmistress; she was some years ago in an asylum with religious mania, but came out well in a few months. At the age of 12 she had first experienced sexual excitement in a railway train from the jolting of the carriage. Soon after she fell in love with a youth who represented her ideal and who returned her affection. When, however, she gave herself to him, great was her disillusion and surprise to find that the sexual act which she had looked forward to could not be accomplished, for at the first contact there was great pain and spasmodic resistance of the vagina. There was a condition of vaginismus. After repeated attempts on subsequent occasions her lover desisted. Her desire for intercourse increased, however, rather than diminished, and at last she was able to tolerate coitus, but the pain was so great that she acquired a horror of the sexual embrace and no longer sought it. Having much will power, she restrained all erotic impulses during many years. It was not until the period of the menopause that the long repressed desires broke out, and at last found a

symbolical outlet that was no longer normal, but was felt to supply a complete gratification. She sought the close physical contact of the young children in her care. She would lie on her bed naked, with two or three naked children, make them suck her breasts and press them to every part of her body. Her conduct was discovered by means of other children who peeped through the keyhole, and she was placed under Penta for treatment. In this case the loss of moral and mental inhibition, due probably to troubles of the climacteric, led to indulgence, under abnormal conditions, in those primitive contacts which are normally the beginning of love, and these, supported by the ideal image of the early lover, constituted a complete and adequate symbol of natural love in a morbidly perverted individual. (P. Penta, *Archivio delle Pricopatie Sessuale*, January, 1896.)

II.

Foot-fetichism and Shoe-fetichism—Wide Prevalence and Normal Basis—Restif de la Bretonne—The Foot a Normal Focus of Sexual Attraction Among Some Peoples—The Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Spaniards, etc.—The Congenital Predisposition in Erotic Symbolism—The Influence of Early Association and Emotional Shock—Shoe-fetichism in Relation to Masochism—The Two Phenomena Independent Though Allied—The Desire to be Trodden On—The Fascination of Physical Constraint—The Symbolism of Self-inflicted Pain—The Dynamic Element in Erotic Symbolism—The Symbolism of Garments .

Of all forms of erotic symbolism the most frequent is that which idealizes the foot and the shoe. The phenomena we here encounter are sometimes so complex and raise so many interesting questions that it is necessary to discuss them somewhat fully.

It would seem that even for the normal lover the foot is one of the most attractive parts of the body. Stanley Hall found that among the parts specified as most admired in the other sex by young men and women who answered a *questionnaire* the feet came fourth (after the eyes, hair, stature and size).[1] Casanova, an acute student and lover of women who was in no degree a foot fetichist, remarks that all men who share his interest in women are attracted by their feet; they offer

---

[1] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 113. It will be noted that the hand does not appear among the parts of the body which are normally of supreme interest. An interest in the hand is by no means uncommon (it may be noted, for instance, in the course of History XII in Appendix B to vol. iii of these *Studies*), but the hand does not possess the mystery which envelops the foot, and hand-fetichism is very much less frequent than foot-fetichism, while glove-fetichism is remarkably rare. An interesting case of hand-fetichism, scarcely reaching morbid intensity, is recorded by Binet, *Etudes de Psychologie Expérimentale*, pp. 13-19; and see Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 214 *et seq.*

the same interest, he considers, as the question of the particular edition offers to the book-lover.[2]

In a report of the results of a *questionnaire* concerning children's sense of self, to which over 500 replies were received, Stanley Hall thus summarizes the main facts ascertained with reference to the feet: "A special period of noticing the feet comes somewhat later than that in which the hands are discovered to consciousness. Our records afford nearly twice as many cases for feet as for hands. The former are more remote from the primary psychic focus or position, and are also more often covered, so that the sight of them is a more marked and exceptional event. Some children become greatly excited whenever their feet are exposed. Some infants show signs of fear at the movement of their own knees and feet covered, and still more often fright is the first sensation which signalizes the child's discovery of its feet. . . . Many are described as playing with them as if fascinated by strange, newly-discovered toys. They pick them up and try to throw them away, or out of the cradle, or bring them to the mouth, where all things tend to go. . . . Children often handle their feet, pat and stroke them, offer them toys and the bottle, as if they, too, had an independent hunger to gratify, an *ego* of their own. . . . Children often develop [later] a special interest in the feet of others, and examine, feel them, etc., sometimes expressing surprise that the pinch of the mother's toe hurts her and not the child, or comparing their own and the feet of others point by point. Curious, too, are the intensifications of foot-consciousness throughout the early years of childhood, whenever children have the exceptional privilege of going barefoot, or have new shoes. The feet are often apostrophized, punished, beaten sometimes to the point of pain for breaking things, throwing the child down, etc. Several children have habits, which reach great intensity, and then vanish, of touching or tickling the feet, with gales of laughter, and a few are described as showing an almost morbid reluctance to wear anything upon the feet, or even to having them touched by others. . . . Several almost fall in love with the great toe or the little one, especially admiring some crease or dimple in it, dressing it in some rag of silk or bit of ribbon, or cut-off glove fingers, winding it with string, prolonging it by tying on bits of wood. Stroking the feet of others, especially if they are shapely, often becomes almost a passion with young children, and several adults confess a survival of the same impulse which it is an exquisite pleasure to gratify. The interest of some mothers in babies' toes, the expressions of which are ecstatic and almost incredible, is a factor of great importance." (G. Stanley Hall, "Some Aspects of the

---

[2] *Mémoires*, vol. i, Chapter VII.

Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, April, 1898.) In childhood, Stanley Hall remarks elsewhere (*Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 104), "a form of courtship may consist solely in touching feet under the desk." It would seem that even animals have a certain amount of sexual consciousness in the feet; I have noticed a male donkey, just before coitus, bite the feet of his partner.

At the same time it is scarcely usual for the normal lover, in most civilized countries to-day, to attach primary importance to the foot, such as he very frequently attaches to the eyes, though the feet play a very conspicuous part in the work of certain novelists.[1]

In a small but not inconsiderable minority of persons, however, the foot or the boot becomes the most attractive part of a woman, and in some morbid cases the woman herself is regarded as a comparatively unimportant appendage to her feet or her boots. The boots under civilized conditions much more frequently constitute the sexual symbol than do the feet themselves; this is not surprising since in ordinary life the feet are not often seen.

It is usually only under exceptionally favoring conditions that foot-fetichism occurs, as in the case recorded by Marandon de Montyel of a doctor who had been brought up in the West Indies. His mother had been insane and he himself was subject to obsessions, especially of being incapable of urinating; he had had nocturnal incontinence of urine in childhood. All the women of the people in the West Indies go about with naked feet, which are often beautiful. His puberty evolved under this influence, and foot-fetichism developed. He especially admired large, fat, arched feet, with delicate skin and large, regular toes. He masturbated with images of feet. At 15 he had relations with a colored chambermaid, but feared to mention his fetichism, though it was the touch of her feet that chiefly excited him. He now gave up masturbation, and had a succession of mistresses, but was always ashamed to confess his fancies until, at the age of 33, in Paris, a very intelligent woman who had become his mistress discovered his

[1] Among leading English novelists Hardy shows an unusual but by no means predominant interest in the feet and shoes of his heroines; see, *e.g.*, the observations of the cobbler in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Chapter III. A chapter in Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (Part I. Chapter II) contains an episode involving the charm of the foot and the kissing of the beloved's shoe.

manic and skillfully enabled him to yield to it without shock to his modesty. He was devoted to this mistress, who had very beautiful feet (he had been horrified by the feet of Europeans generally), until she finally left him. (*Archives de Neurologie*, October, 1904.)

Probably the first case of shoe-fetichism ever recorded in any detail is that of Restif de la Bretonne (1734-1806), publicist and novelist, one of the most remarkable literary figures of the later eighteenth century in France. Restif was a neurotic subject, though not to an extreme degree, and his shoe-fetichism, though distinctly pronounced, was not pathological; that is to say, that the shoe was not itself an adequate gratification of the sexual impulse, but simply a highly important aid to tumescence, a prelude to the natural climax of detumescence; only occasionally, and *faute de mieux*, in the absence of the beloved person, was the shoe used as an adjunct to masturbation. In Restif's stories and elsewhere the attraction of the shoe is frequently discussed or used as a motive. His first decided literary success, *Le Pied de Fanchette*, was suggested by a vision of a girl with a charming foot, casually seen in the street. While all such passages in his books are really founded on his own personal feelings and experiences, in his elaborate autobiography, *Monsieur Nicolas*, he has frankly set forth the gradual evolution and cause of his idiosyncrasy. The first remembered trace dated from the age of 4, when he was able to recall having remarked the feet of a young girl in his native place. Restif was a sexually precocious youth, and at the age of 9, though both delicate in health and shy in manners, his thoughts were already absorbed in the girls around him. "While little Monsieur Nicolas," he tells us, "passed for a Narcissus, his thoughts, as soon as he was alone, by night or by day, had no other object than that sex he seemed to flee from. The girls most careful of their persons were naturally those who pleased him most, and as the part least easy to keep clean is that which touches the earth it was to the foot-gear that he mechanically gave his chief attention. Agathe, Reine, and especially Madeleine, were the most elegant of the girls at that time; their carefully selected and kept shoes, instead of laces or buckles, which were not yet worn at Sacy, had blue or rose ribbon, according to the color of the skirt. I thought of these girls with emotion; I desired—I knew not what; but I desired something, if it were only to subdue them." The origin Restif here assigns to his shoe-fetichism may seem paradoxical; he admired the girls who were most clean and neat in their dress, he tells us, and, therefore, paid most attention to that part of their clothing which was least clean and neat. But, however paradoxical the remark may seem, it is psychologically sound. All fetichism is a kind of not necessarily morbid obsession, and as the careful work of Janet and others in that field has shown, an obsession is a fascinated attraction to some object or idea

which gives the subject a kind of emotional shock by its contrast to his habitual moods or ideas. The ordinary morbid obsession cannot usually be harmoniously co-ordinated with the other experiences of the subject's daily life, and shows, therefore, no tendency to become pleasurable. Sexual fetichisms, on the other hand, have a reservoir of agreeable emotion to draw on, and are thus able to acquire both stability and harmony. It will also be seen that no element of masochism is involved in Restif's fetichism, though the mistake has been frequently made of supposing that these two manifestations are usually or even necessarily allied. Restif wishes to subject the girl who attracts him, he has no wish to be subjected by her. He was especially dazzled by a young girl from another town, whose shoes were of a fashionable cut, with buckles, "and who was a charming person besides." She was delicate as a fairy, and rendered his thoughts unfaithful to the robust beauties of his native Sacy. "No doubt," he remarks, "because, being frail and weak myself, it seemed to me that it would be easier to subdue her." "This taste for the beauty of the feet," he continues, "was so powerful in me that it unfailingly aroused desire and would have made me overlook ugliness. It is excessive in all those who have it." He admired the foot as well as the shoe: "The factitious taste for the shoe is only a reflection of that for pretty feet. When I entered a house and saw the boots arranged in a row, as is the custom, I would tremble with pleasure; I blushed and lowered my eyes as if in the presence of the girls themselves. With this vivacity of feeling and a voluptuousness of ideas inconceivable at the age of 10 I still fled, with an involuntary impulse of modesty, from the girls I adored."

We may clearly see how this combination of sensitive and precocious sexual ardor with extreme shyness, furnished the soil on which the germ of shoe-fetichism was able to gain a firm root and persist in some degree throughout a long life very largely given up to a pursuit of women, abnormal rather by its excessiveness than its perversity. A few years later, he tells us, he happened to see a pretty pair of shoes in a bootmaker's shop, and on hearing that they belonged to a girl whom at that time he reverently adored at a distance he blushed and nearly fainted.

In 1749 he was for a time attracted to a young woman very much older than himself; he secretly carried away one of her slippers and kept it for a day; a little later he again took away a shoe of the same woman which had fascinated him when on her foot, and, he seems to imply, he used it to masturbate with.

Perhaps the chief passion of Restif's life was his love for Colette Parangon. He was still a boy (1752), she was the young and virtuous wife of the printer whose apprentice Restif was and in whose house he lived. Madame Parangon, a charming woman, as she is described,

was not happily married, and she evidently felt a tender affection for the boy whose excessive love and reverence for her were not always successfully concealed. "Madonna Parangon," he tells us, "possessed a charm which I could never resist, a pretty little foot; it is a charm which arouses more than tenderness. Her shoes, made in Paris, had that voluptuous elegance which seems to communicate soul and life. Sometimes Colette wore shoes of simple white drugget or with silver flowers; sometimes rose-colored slippers with green heels, or green with rose heels; her supple feet, far from deforming her shoes, increased their grace and rendered the form more exciting." One day, on entering the house, he saw Madame Parangon elegantly dressed and wearing rose-colored, shoes with tongues, and with green heels and a pretty rosette. They were new and she took them off to put on green slippers with rose heels and borders which he thought equally exciting. As soon as she had left the room, he continues, "carried away by the most impetuous passion and idolizing Colette, I seemed to see her and touch her in handling what she had just worn; my lips pressed one of these jewels, while the other, deceiving the sacred end of nature, from excess of exaltation replaced the object of sex (I cannot express myself more clearly). The warmth which she had communicated to the insensible object which had touched her still remained and gave a soul to it; a voluptuous cloud covered my eyes." He adds that he would kiss with rage and transport whatever had come in close contact with the woman he adored, and on one occasion eagerly pressed his lips to her cast-off underlinen, *tela secretiora penetralium*.

At this period Restif's foot-fetichism reached its highest point of development. It was the aberration of a highly sensitive and very precocious boy. While the preoccupation with feet and shoes persisted throughout life, it never became a complete perversion and never replaced the normal end of sexual desire. His love for Madam Parangon, one of the deepest emotions in his whole life, was also the climax of his shoe-fetichism. She represented his ideal woman, an ethereal sylph with wasp-waist and a child's feet; it was always his highest praise for a woman that she resembled Madame Parangon, and he desired that her slipper should be buried with him. (Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas*, vols. i-iv, vol. xiii, p. 5; *id*, *Mes Inscriptions*, pp. ci-cv.)

Shoe-fetichism, more especially if we include under this term all the cases of real or pseudo-masochism in which an attraction to the boots or slippers is the chief feature, is a not infrequent phenomenon, and is certainly the most frequently occurring form of fetichism. Many cases are brought together by Krafft-Ebing in his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Every prostitute of any experience has known men who merely desire to gaze at her shoes, or possibly to lick them, and who are quite willing to pay for this privilege. In London such a person is known as a "boot-man," in Germany as a "Stiefelfrier."

The predominance of the foot as a focus of sexual attraction, while among us to-day it is a not uncommon phenomenon, is still not sufficiently common to be called normal; the majority of even ardent lovers do not experience this attraction in any marked degree. But these manifestations of foot-fetichism which with us to-day are abnormal, even when they are not so extreme as to be morbid, may perhaps become more intelligible to us when we realize that in earlier periods of civilization, and even to-day in some parts of the world, the foot is generally recognized as a focus of sexual attraction, so that some degree of foot-fetichism becomes a normal phenomenon.

The most pronounced and the best known example of such normal foot-fetichism at the present day is certainly to be found among the Southern Chinese. For a Chinese husband his wife's foot is more interesting than her face. A Chinese woman is as shy of showing her feet to a man as a European woman her breasts; they are reserved for her husband's eyes alone, and to look at a woman's feet in the street is highly improper and indelicate. Chinese foot-fetichism is connected with the custom of compressing the feet. This custom appears to rest on the fact that Chinese women naturally possess a very small foot and is thus an example of the universal tendency in the search for beauty to accentuate, even by deformation, the racial characteristics. But there is more than this. Beauty is largely a name for sexual attractiveness, and the energy expended in the effort to make the Chinese woman's small foot still smaller is a measure of the sexual fascination which it exerts. The practice arose on the basis of the sexual attractiveness of the foot, though it has doubtless served to heighten that attractiveness, just as the small waist, which (if we may follow Stratz) is a characteristic beauty of the European woman, becomes to the average European man still more attractive when accentuated, even to the extent of deformity, by the compression of the corset.

Referring to the sexual fascination exerted by the foot in China, Matignon writes: "My attention has been drawn to this point by a large number of pornographic engravings, of which the Chinese are very fond. In all these lascivious scenes we see the male voluptuously fond-

ling the woman's foot. When a Celestial takes into his hand a woman's foot, especially if it is very small, the effect upon him is precisely the same as is provoked in a European by the palpation of a young and firm bosom. All the Celestials whom I have interrogated on this point have replied unanimously: 'Oh, a little foot! You Europeans cannot understand how exquisite, how sweet, how exciting it is!' The contact of the genital organ with the little foot produces in the male an indescribable degree of voluptuous feeling, and women skilled in love know that to arouse the ardor of their lovers a better method than all Chinese aphrodisiacs—including 'giusen' and swallows' nests—is to take the penis between their feet. It is not rare to find Chinese Christians accusing themselves at confession of having had 'evil thoughts on looking at a woman's foot.'" (Dr. J. Matignon, "A propos d'un Pied de Chinoise," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1898.)

It is said that a Chinese Empress, noted for her vice and having a congenital club foot, about the year 1100 B.C., desired all women to resemble her, and that the practice of compressing the foot thus arose. But this is only tradition, since, in 300 B.C., Chinese books were destroyed (Morache, Art. "Chine," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, p. 191). It is also said that the practice owes its origin to the wish to keep women indoors. But women are not secluded in China, nor does foot compression usually render a woman unable to walk. Many intelligent Chinese are of opinion that its object is to promote the development of the sexual parts and of the thighs, and so to aid both intercourse and parturition. There is no ground for believing that it has any such influence, though Morache found that the mons veneris and labia are largely developed in Chinese women, and not in Tartar women living in Pekin (who do not compress the foot). If there is any correlation between the feet and the pelvic regions, it is more probably congenital than due to the artificial compression of the feet. The ancients seem to have believed that a small foot indicated a small vagina. Restif de la Bretonne, who had ample opportunities for forming an opinion on a matter in which he took so great an interest, believed that a small foot,—round and short, indicated a large vagina (*Monsieur Nicolas*, vol. i, reprint of 1883, p. 92). Even, however, if we admit that there is a real correlation between the foot and the vagina, that would by no means suffice to render the foot a focus of sexual attraction.

It remains the most reasonable view that the foot bandage must be regarded as strictly analogous to the waist bandage or corset which also tends to produce deformity of the constricted region. Stratz has ingeniously remarked (*Frauenkleidung*, third edition, p. 101) that the success of the Chinese in dwarfing trees may have suggested a similar attempt in regard to women's feet, and adds that in any case both dwarfed trees and bound feet bear witness in the Mongolian to the same

love for small and elegant, not to say deformed, things For a Chinaman the deformed foot is a "golden water-lily"

Many facts (together with illustrations) bearing on Chinese deformation of the foot will be found in Ploss, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Section IV.

The significance of the sexual emotion aroused by the female foot in China and the origin of its compression begin to become clear when we realize that this foot-fetichism is merely an extreme development of a tendency which is fairly well marked among nearly all the peoples of yellow race. Jacoby, who has brought together a number of interesting facts bearing on the sexual significance of the foot, states that a similar tendency is to be found among the Mongol and Turk peoples of Siberia, and in the east and central parts of European Russia, among the Permiaks, the Wotiaks, etc. Here the woman, at all events when young, has always her feet, as well as head, covered, however little clothing she may otherwise wear.

"On hot nights or on baking days," Jacoby states, "you may see these women with uncovered breasts, or even entirely naked without embarrassment, but you will never see them with bare feet, and no male relations, except the husband, will ever see the feet and lower part of the legs of the women in the house. These women have their modesty in their feet, and also their coquetry; to unbind the feet of a woman is for a man a voluptuous act, and the touch of the bands produces the same effect as a corset still warm from a woman's body on a European man. A woman's beauty, that which attracts and excites a man, lies in her foot; in Mordvin love poems celebrating the beauty of women there is much about her attire, especially her embroidered chemise, but as regards the charms of her person the poet is content to state that 'her feet are beautiful;' with that everything is said. The young peasant woman of the central provinces as part of her holiday raiment puts on great woolen stockings which come up to the groin and are then folded over to below the knee. To uncover the feet of a person of the opposite sex is a sexual act, and has thus become the symbol of sexual possession, so that the stocking or foot-gear became the emblem of marriage, as later the ring. (It was so among the Jews, as we see in the book of *Ruth*, Chapter III, v. 4, and Chapter IV, vv. 7 and 8). St. Vladimir the Great asked in marriage the daughter of Prince Rogvold; as Vladimir's mother had been a serf, the princess proudly replied that she 'would not uncover the feet of a slave.' At the present time in the

east of Russia when a young girl tries to find out by divination whom she will have as a husband the traditional formula is 'Come and take my stockings off.' Among the populations of the north and east, it is sometimes the bride who must do this for her husband on the wedding night, and sometimes the bridegroom for his wife, not as a token of love, but as a nuptial ceremony. Among the professional classes and small nobility in Russia parents place money in the stocking of their child at marriage as a present for the other partner, it being supposed that the couple mutually remove each other's foot raiment, as an act of sexual possession, the emblem of coitus." (Paul Jacoby, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, December, 1903, p. 793.) The practice among ourselves of children hanging up their stockings at night for presents would seem to be a relic of the last-mentioned custom.

While we may witness the sexual symbolism of the foot, with or without an associated foot-fetichism, most highly developed in Asia and Eastern Europe, it has by no means been altogether unknown in some stages of western civilization, and traces of it may be found here and there even yet. Schinz refers to the connection between the feet and sexual pleasure as existing not only among the Egyptians and the Arabs, but among the ancient Germans and the modern Spaniards,[1] while Jacoby points out that among the Greeks, the Romans, and especially the Etruscans, it was usual to represent chaste and virgin goddesses with their feet covered, even though they might be otherwise nude. Ovid, again, is never weary of dwelling on the sexual charm of the feminine foot. He represents the chaste matron as wearing a weighted *stola* which always fell so as to cover her feet; it was only the courtesan, or the nymph who is taking part in an erotic festival, who appears with raised robes, revealing her feet.[2] So grave a historian as Strabo, as well as Ælian,

---

[1] Schinz, "Philosophie des Conventions Sociales," *Revue Philosophique*, June, 1903, p. 626. Mirabeau mentions in his *Erotika Biblion* that modern Greek women sometimes use their feet to provoke orgasm in their lovers. I may add that simultaneous mutual masturbation by means of the feet is not unknown to-day, and I have been told by an English shoe-fetichist that he at one time was accustomed to practice this with a married lady (Brazilian)—she with slippers on and he without—who derived gratification equal to his own.

[2] Jacoby (*loc. cit.* pp. 796-7) gives a large number of references to

refers to the story of the courtesan Rhodope whose sandal was carried off by an eagle and dropped in the King of Egypt's lap as he was administering justice, so that he could not rest until he had discovered to whom this delicately small sandal belonged, and finally made her his queen. Kleinpaul, who repeats this story, has collected many European sayings and customs (including Turkish), indicating that the slipper is a very ancient symbol of a woman's sexual parts.[1]

In Rome, Dufour remarks, "Matrons having appropriated the use of the shoe (*soccus*) prostitutes were not allowed to use it, and were obliged to have their feet always naked in sandals or slippers (*crepida* and *solea*), which they fastened over the instep with gilt bands. Tibullus delights to describe his mistress's little foot, compressed by the band that imprisoned it: *Ansaque compressos colligat arcta pedes.* Nudity of the foot in woman was a sign of prostitution, and their brilliant whiteness acted afar as a pimp to attract looks and desires." (Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. II., ch. xviii.)

This feeling seems to have survived in a more or less vague and unconscious form in mediæval Europe. "In the tenth century," according to Dufour (*Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. VI., p. 11), "shoes *à la poulaine*, with a claw or beak, pursued for more than four centuries by the anathemas of popes and the invectives of preachers, were always regarded by mediæval casuists as the most abominable emblems of immodesty. At a first glance it is not easy to see why these shoes—terminating in a lion's claw, an eagle's beak, the prow of a ship, or other metal appendage—should be so scandalous. The excommunication inflicted on this kind of footgear preceded the impudent invention of some libertine, who wore *poulaines* in the shape of the phallus, a custom adopted also by women. This kind of *poulaine* was denounced as *mandite de Dieu* (Ducange's Glossary, at the word Poulainia) and prohibited by royal ordinances (see letter of Charles V., 17 October, 1367, regarding the garments of the women of Montpellier). Great lords and ladies continued, however, to wear *poulaines.*" In Louis XI.'s court they were still worn of a quarter of an ell in length.

Spain, ever tenacious of ancient ideas, appears to have preserved

---

Ovid's works bearing on this point. "In reading him," he remarks, "one is inclined to say that the psychology of the Romans was closely allied to that of the Chinese."

[1] R. Kleinpaul, *Sprache ohne Worte*, p. 308. See also Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, pp. 306-308. Bloch brings together many interesting references bearing on the ancient sexual and religious symbolism of the shoe, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, p. 324.

longer than other countries the ancient classic traditions in regard to the foot as a focus of modesty and an object of sexual attraction. In Spanish religious pictures it was always necessary that the Virgin's feet should be concealed, the clergy ordaining that her robe should be long and flowing, so that the feet might be covered with decent folds. Pacheco, the master and father-in-law of Velasquez, writes in 1649 in his *Arte de la Pintura*: "What can be more foreign from the respect which we owe to the purity of Our Lady the Virgin than to paint her sitting down with one of her knees placed over the other, and often with her sacred feet uncovered and naked. Let thanks be given to the Holy Inquisition which commands that this liberty should be corrected!" It was Pacheco's duty in Seville to see that these commands were obeyed. At the court of Philip IV. at this time the princesses never showed their feet, as we may see in the pictures of Velasquez. When a local manufacturer desired to present that monarch's second bride, Mariana of Austria, with some silk stockings the offer was indignantly rejected by the Court Chamberlain: "The Queen of Spain has no legs!" Philip V.'s queen was thrown from her horse and dragged by the feet; no one ventured to interfere until two gentlemen bravely rescued her and then fled, dreading punishment by the king: they were, however, graciously pardoned. Reinach ("Pieds Pudiques," *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, pp. 105-110) brings together several passages from the Countess D'Aulnoy's account of the Madrid Court in the seventeenth century and from other sources, showing how careful Spanish ladies were as regards their feet, and how jealous Spanish husbands were in this matter. At this time, when Spanish influence was considerable, the fashion of Spain seems to have spread to other countries. One may note that in Vandyck's pictures of English beauties the feet are not visible, though in the more characteristically English painters of a somewhat later age it became usual to display them conspicuously, while the French custom in this matter is the farthest removed from the Spanish. At the present day a well-bred Spanish woman shows as little as possible of her feet in walking, and even in some of the most characteristic Spanish dances there is little or no kicking, and the feet may even be invisible throughout. It is noteworthy that in numerous figures of Spanish women (probably artists' models) reproduced in Ploss's *Das Weib* the stockings are worn, although the women are otherwise, in most cases, quite naked. Max Dessoir mentions ("Psychologie der Vita Sexualis," *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, 1894, p. 954) that in Spanish pornographic photographs women always have their shoes on, and he considers this an indication of perversity. I have seen the statement (attributed to Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne*, where, however, it does not occur) that Spanish prostitutes uncover their feet in sign of assent, and Madame d' Aulnoy stated that in her time to show her lover her feet was a Spanish woman's final favor.

The tendency, which we thus find to be normal at some earlier periods of civilization, to insist on the sexual symbolism of the feminine foot or its coverings, and to regard them as a special sexual fascination, is not without significance for the interpretation of the sporadic manifestations of foot-fetichism among ourselves. Eccentric as foot-fetichism may appear to us, it is simply the re-emergence, by a pseudo-atavism or arrest of development, of a mental or emotional impulse which was probably experienced by our forefathers, and is often traceable among young children to-day.[1] The occasional reappearance of this bygone impulse and the stability which it may acquire are thus conditioned by the sensitive reaction of an abnormally nervous and usually precocious organism to influences which, among the average and ordinary population of Europe to-day, are either never felt, or quickly outgrown, or very strictly subordinated in the highly complex crystallizations which the course of love and the process of tumescence create within us.

It may be added that this is by no means true of foot-fetichism only. In some other fetichisms a seemingly congenital predisposition is even more marked. This is not only the case as regards hair-fetichism and fur-fetichism (see, *e.g.*, Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, pp. 233, 255, 262). In many cases of fetichisms of all kinds not only is there no record of any commencement in a definite episode (an absence which may be accounted for by the supposition that the original incident has been forgotten), but it would seem in some cases that the fetichism developed very slowly.

In this sense, it will be seen, although it is hazardous to speak of foot-fetichism as strictly an atavism, it may certainly be said to arise on a congenital basis. It represents the rare development of an inborn germ, usually latent among ourselves, which in earlier stages of civilization frequently reached a normal and general fruition.

---

[1] Jacoby (*loc. cit.* p. 797) appears to regard shoe-fetichism as a true atavism: "The sexual adoration of feminine foot-gear," he concludes, "perhaps the most enigmatic and certainly the most singular of degenerative insanities, is thus merely a form of atavism, the return of the degenerate to the very ancient and primitive psychology which we no longer understand and are no longer capable of feeling."

It is of interest to emphasize this congenital element of foot symbolism, because more than any other forms of sexual perversion the fetichisms are those which are most vaguely conditioned by inborn states of the organism and most definitely aroused by seemingly accidental associations or shocks in early life. Inversion is sometimes so fundamentally ingrained in the individual's constitution that it arises and develops in spite of the very strongest influence in a contrary direction. But a fetichism, while it tends to occur in sensitive, nervous, timid, precocious individuals—that is to say, individuals of more or less neuropathic heredity—can usually, though not always, be traced to a definite starting point in the shock of some sexually emotional episode in early life.

A few examples of the influences of such association may here be given, referring miscellaneously to various forms of erotic symbolism. Magnan has recorded the case of a hair-fetichist, living in a district where the women wore their hair done up, who at the age of 15 experienced pleasurable feelings with erection at the sight of a village beauty combing her hair; from that time flowing hair became his fetich, and he could not resist the temptation to touch it and if possible sever it, thus becoming a hair-despoiler, for which he was arrested but not sentenced. (*Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, vol. v, No. 28.)

I have elsewhere recorded the history of a boy of 14, having already had imperfect connection with a grown-up woman, who associated much with a young married lady; he had no sexual relations with her, but one day she urinated in his presence, and he saw that her mons veneris was covered by very thick hair; from that time he worshiped this woman in secret and acquired a life-long fetichistic attraction to women whose pubic hair was similarly abundant (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii, Appendix B, History V).

Roubaud reported the case of a general's son, sexually initiated at the age of 14 by a blonde young lady of 21 who, in order to avoid detection, always retained her clothing: gaiters, a corset and a silk dress; when the boy's studies were completed and he was sent to a garrison where he could enjoy freedom he found that his sexual desires could only be aroused by blonde women dressed like the lady who had first aroused his sexual desires; consequently he gave up all thoughts of matrimony, as a woman in nightclothes produced impotence (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 439). Krafft-Ebing records the somewhat similar case of a nervous Polish boy of old family seduced at the age of 17 by a French governess, who during several months practiced mutual mastur-

bation with him; in this way his attention became attracted by her very elegant boots, and in the end he became a confirmed boot-fetichist (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p. 249).

A boy of 7, of bad heredity, was taught to masturbate by a servant girl; on one occasion she practiced this on him with her foot without taking off her shoe; it was the first time the manœuvre gave him any pleasure, and an association was thus established which led to shoe-fetichism (Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 44). A government official whose first coitus in youth took place on a staircase; the sound of his partner's creaking shoes against the stairs, produced by her efforts to accelerate orgasm, formed an association which developed into an auditory shoe-fetichism; in the streets he was compelled to follow ladies whose shoes creaked, ejaculation being thus produced, while to obtain complete satisfaction he would make a prostitute, otherwise naked, sit in front of him in her shoes, moving her feet so that the shoes creaked. (Moraglia, *Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xiii, p. 568.)

Bechterew, in St. Petersburg, has recorded the case of a man who when a child used to fall asleep at the knees of his nurse with his head buried in the folds of her apron; in this position he first experienced erection and voluptuous sensations; when a youth he had no attraction to naked women, and in real life and in dreams was only excited sexually under conditions recalling his early experience; in his relations with women he preferred them dressed, and was excited by the rustling sound of their skirts; in this case there was no traceable neuropathic taint nor any other personal peculiarity. (Summarized in *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, January-February, 1904, p. 72.)

In a curious case recorded in detail by Moll, a philologist of sensitive temperament but sound heredity, who had always been fond of flowers, at the age of 21 became engaged to a young lady who wore large roses fastened in her jacket; from this time roses became to him a sexual fetich, to kiss them caused erection, and his erotic dreams were accompanied by visions of roses and the hallucination of their odor; the engagement was finally broken off and the rose-fetichism disappeared (*Untersuchungen über Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 540).

Such associations may naturally occur in the early experiences of even the most normal persons. The degree to which they will influence the subsequent life and thought and feeling depends on the degree of the individual's morbid emotional receptivity, on the extent to which he is hereditarily susceptible of abnormal deviation. Precocity is undoubtedly a condition which favors such deviation; a child who is precociously and

abnormally sensitive to persons of the opposite sex before puberty has established the normal channels of sexual desire, is peculiarly liable to become the prey of a chance symbolism. All degrees of such symbolism are possible. While the average insensitive person may fail to perceive them at all, for the more alert and imaginative lover they are a fascinating part of the highly charged crystallization of passion. A more nervously exceptional person, when once such a symbolism has become firmly implanted, may find it an absolutely essential element in the charm of a beloved and charming person. Finally, for the individual who is thoroughly unsound the symbol becomes generalized; a person is no longer desired at all, being merely regarded as an appendage of the symbol, or being dispensed with altogether; the symbol is alone desired, and is fully adequate to impart by itself complete sexual gratification. While it must be considered a morbid state to demand a symbol as an almost essential part of the charm of a desired person, it is only in the final condition, in which the symbol becomes all-sufficing, that we have a true and complete perversion. In the less complete forms of symbolism it is still the woman who is desired, and the ends of procreation may be served; when the woman is ignored and the mere symbol is an adequate and even preferred stimulus to detumescence the pathological condition becomes complete.

Krafft-Ebing regarded shoe-fetichism as, in large measure, a more or less latent form of masochism, the foot or the shoe being the symbol of the subjection and humiliation which the masochist feels in the presence of the beloved object. Moll is also inclined to accept such a connection.

"The very numerous class of boot-and-shoe-fetichists," Krafft-Ebing wrote, "forms the transition to the manifestations of another independent perversion, *i.e.*, fetichism itself; but it stands in closer relationship to the former. . . . It is highly probable, and shown by a correct classification of the observed cases, that the majority, and perhaps all of the cases of shoe-fetichism, rest upon a basis of more or less conscious masochistic desire for self-humiliation. . . . The majority

or all may be looked upon as instances of latent masochism (the motive remaining unconscious) in which the *female foot or shoe, as the masochist's fetich*, has acquired an independent significance." (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, pp. 159, *et seq.*) "Though Krafft-Ebing may not have cleared up the whole matter," Moll remarks, "I regard his deductions concerning the connection of foot-and-shoe fetichism to masochism as the most important progress that has been made in the theoretic study of sexual perversions. . . . In any case, the connection is very frequent." (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, p. 306.)

It is quite easy to see that this supposed identity of masochism and foot-fetichism forms a seductive theory. It is also undoubtedly true that a masochist may very easily be inclined to find in his mistress's foot an aid to the ecstatic self-abnegation which he desires to attain.[1] But only confusion is attained by any general attempt to amalgamate masochism and foot-fetichism. In the broad sense in which erotic symbolism is here understood, both masochism and foot-fetichism may be coördinated as symbolisms; for the masochist his self-humiliating impulses are the symbol of ecstatic adoration; for the foot-fetichist his mistress's foot or shoe is the concentrated symbol of all that is most beautiful and elegant and feminine in her personality. But if in this sense they are coördinated, they remain entirely distinct and have not even any necessary tendency to become merged. Masochism merely simulates foot-fetichism; for the masochist the boot is not strictly a symbol, it is only an instrument which enables him to carry out his impulse; the true sexual symbol for him is not the boot, but the emotion of self-subjection. For the foot-fetichist, on the other hand, the foot or the shoe is not a mere instrument, but a true symbol; the focus of his worship, an idealized object which he is content to contemplate or reverently touch. He has no necessary impulse to any self-degrading action, nor any constant emotion of subjec-

---

[1] Moll has reported in detail (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, Teil II, pp. 320-324) a case which both he and Krafft-Ebing regard as illustrative of the connection between boot-fetichism and masochism. It is essentially a case of masochism, though manifesting itself almost exclusively in the desire to perform humiliating acts in connection with the attractive person's boots.

tion. It may be noted that in the very typical case of foot-fetichism which is presented to us in the person of Restif de la Bretonne (*ante*, p. 18), he repeatedly speaks of "subjecting" the woman for whom he feels this fetichistic adoration, and mentions that even when still a child he especially admired a delicate and fairy-like girl in this respect because she seemed to him easier to subjugate. Throughout life Restif's attitude toward women was active and masculine, without the slightest trace of masochism.[1]

To suppose that a fetichistic admiration of his mistress's foot is due to a lover's latent desire to be kicked, is as unreasonable as it would be to suppose that a fetichistic admiration for her hand indicated a latent desire to have his ears boxed. In determining whether we are concerned with a case of foot-fetichism or of masochism we must take into consideration the whole of the subject's mental and emotional attitude. An act, however definite, will not suffice as a criterion, for the same act in different persons may have altogether different implications. To amalgamate the two is the result of inadequate psychological analysis and only leads to confusion.

It is, however, often very difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a case which is predominantly one of masochism or of foot-fetichism. The nature of the action desired, as we have seen, will not suffice to determine the psychological character of the perversion. Krafft-Ebing believed that the desire to be trodden on, very frequently experienced by masochists, is absolutely symptomatic of masochism.[2] This is scarcely the case. The desire to be trodden on may be fundamentally an

---

[1] Krafft-Ebing goes so far as to assert (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, p. 174) that "when in cases of shoe-fetichism the female shoe appears alone as the excitant of sexual desire one is justified in presuming that masochistic motives have remained latent. . . . Latent masochism may always be assumed as the unconscious motive." In this way he hopelessly misinterprets some of his own cases.

[1] Krafft-Ebing goes so far as to assert (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, pp. 159 and 174). Yet some of the cases he brings forward (*e.g.*, Coxe's as quoted by Hammond) show no sign of masochism, since, according to Krafft-Ebing's own definition (p. 116), the idea of subjugation by the opposite sex is of the essence of masochism.

erotic symbolism, closely approaching foot-fetichism, and such slight indications of masochism as appear may be merely a parasitic growth on the symbolism, a growth perhaps more suggested by the circumstances involved in the gratification of the abnormal desire than inherent in the innate impulse of the subject. This may be illustrated by the interesting case of a very intelligent man with whom I am well acquainted.

C. P., aged 38. Heredity good. Parents both healthy and normal. Several children of the marriage, all sexually normal so far as is known. C. P. is the youngest of the family and separated from the others by an interval of many years. He was a seven-months' child. He has always enjoyed good health and is active and vigorous, both mentally and physically.

From the age of 9 or 10 to 14 he masturbated occasionally for the sake of physical relief, having discovered the act for himself. He was, however, quite innocent and knew nothing of sexual matters, never having been initiated either by servants or by other boys.

"When I encounter a woman who very strongly attracts me and whom I very greatly admire," he writes, "my desire is never that I may have sexual connection with her in the ordinary sense, but that I may lie down upon the floor on my back and be trampled upon by her. This curious desire is seldom present unless the object of my admiration is really a lady, and of fine proportions. She must be richly dressed—preferably in an evening gown, and wear dainty high-heeled slippers, either quite open so as to show the curve of the instep, or with only one strap or 'bar' across. The skirts should be raised sufficiently to afford me the pleasure of seeing her feet and a liberal amount of ankle, but in no case above the knee, or the effect is greatly reduced. Although I often greatly admire a woman's intellect and even person, sexually no other part of her has any serious attraction for me except the leg, from the knee downwards, and the foot, and these must be exquisitely clothed. Given this condition, my desire amounts to a wish to gratify my sexual sense by contact with the (to me) attractive part of the woman. Comparatively few women have a leg or foot sufficiently beautiful to my mind to excite any serious or compelling desire, but when this is so, or I suspect it, I am willing to spend any time or trouble to get her to tread upon me and am anxious to be trampled on with the greatest severity.

"The treading should be inflicted for a few minutes all over the chest, abdomen and groin, and lastly on the penis, which is, of course, lying along the belly in a violent state of erection, and consequently too hard for the treading to damage it. I also enjoy being nearly strangled by a woman's foot.

"If the lady finally stands facing my head and places her slipper upon my penis so that the high heel falls about where the penis leaves the scrotum, the sole covering most of the rest of it and with the other foot upon the abdomen, into which I can *see* as well as feel it sink as she shifts her weight from one foot to the other, orgasm takes place almost at once. Emission under these conditions is to me an agony of delight, during which practically the lady's whole weight should rest upon the penis.

"One reason for my special pleasure in this method seems to be that first the heel and afterwards the sole of the slipper as it treads upon the penis greatly check the passage of the semen and consequently the pleasure is considerably prolonged. There is also a curious mental side to the affair. I love to imagine that the lady who is treading upon me is my mistress and I her slave, and that she is doing it to punish me for some fault, or to give *herself* (not me) pleasure.

"It follows that the greater the contempt and severity with which I am 'punished,' the greater becomes my pleasure. The idea of 'punishment' or 'slavery' is seldom aroused except when I have great difficulty in accomplishing my desire and the treader is more than usually handsome and heavy and the trampling mercilessly inflicted. I have been trampled so long and so mercilessly several times, that I have flinched each time the slipper pressed its way into my aching body and have been black and blue for days afterwards. I take the greatest interest in leading ladies on to do this for me where I think I will not offend, and have been surprisingly successful. I must have lain beneath the feet of quite a hundred women, many of them of good social position, who would never dream of permitting any ordinary sexual intercourse, but who have been so interested or amused by the idea as to do it for me—many of them over and over again. It is perhaps needless to say that none of my own or the ladies' clothing is ever removed, or disarranged, for the accomplishment of orgasm in this manner. After a long and varied experience, I may say that my favorite weight is 10 to 11 stone, and that black, very high-heeled slippers, in combination with tan silk stockings, seem to give me the greatest pleasure and create in me the strongest desires.

"Boots, or outdoor shoes, do not attract me to anything like the same degree, although I have, upon several occasions, enjoyed myself fairly well by their use. Nude women repel me, and I find no pleasure in seeing a woman in tights. I am not averse to normal sexual connection and occasionally employ it. To me, however, the pleasure is far inferior to that of being trampled upon. I also derive keen pleasure—and usually have a strong erection—from seeing a woman, dressed as I have described, tread upon anything which yields under her foot—such as the seat of a carriage, the cushions of a punt, a footstool, etc., and I enjoy seeing her crush flowers by treading upon them. I have often

strolled along in the wake of some handsome lady at a picnic or garden party, for the pleasure of seeing the grass upon which she has trodden rise slowly again after her foot has pressed it. I delight also to see a carriage sway as a woman leaves or enters it—anything which needs the pressure of the foot.

"To pass now to the origin of this direction of my feelings.

"Even in early childhood I admired pretty feminine foot-gear, and in the contemplation of it experienced vague sensations which I now recognize as sexual. When a lad of 14 or so, I stayed a good deal at the house of some intimate friends of my parents, the daughter of the house —an only child—a beautiful and powerful girl, about six years my senior, being my special chum. This girl was always daintily dressed, and having most lovely feet and ankles not unnaturally knew it. Whenever possible she dressed so as to show off their beauty to the best advantage—rather short skirts and usually little high heeled slippers—and was not averse to showing them in a most distractingly coquettish manner. She seemed to have a passion for treading upon things which would scrunch or yield under her foot, such as flowers, little windfallen apples and pears, acorns, etc., or heaps of hay, straw or cut grass. As we wandered about the gardens—for we were left to do exactly as we liked—I got quite accustomed to seeing her hunt out and tread upon such things, and used to chaff her about it. At that time I was—as I am still—fond of lying at full length on a thick hearthrug before a good fire. One evening as I was lying in this way and we were alone, A. crossed the room to reach a bangle from the mantelpiece. Instead of reaching over me, she playfully stepped upon my body, saying that she would show me how the hay and straw felt. Naturally I fell in with the joke and laughed. After standing upon me a few moments she raised her skirt slightly and, holding on to the mantelpiece for support, stretched out one dainty foot in its brown silk stocking and high-heeled slipper to the blaze to warm, while looking down and laughing at my scarlet, excited face. She was a perfectly frank and charming girl, and I feel pretty certain that, although she evidently enjoyed my excitement and the feeling of my body yielding under her feet, she did not on this first occasion clearly understand my condition; nor can I remember that, though the desire for sexual gratification drove me nearly mad, it appeared to awaken in her any reciprocal feeling. I took hold of her raised foot and, after kissing it, guided it by an absolutely irresistible impulse on to my penis, which was as hard as wood and seemed almost bursting. Almost at the moment that her weight was thrown upon it, orgasm took place for the first time in my life thoroughly and effectively. No description can give any idea of what I felt—I only know that, from that moment my distorted sexual focus was fixed forever. Numberless times, after that evening, I felt the weight of her dainty slippers, and nothing will ever

cause the memory of the pleasure she thus gave me to fade. I know that A. came to enjoy treading upon me, as much as I enjoyed having her do it. She had a liberal dress allowance and, seeing the pleasure they gave me, she was always buying pretty stockings and ravishing slippers with the highest and most slender Louis heels she could find and would show them to me with the greatest glee, urging me to lie down that she might try them on me. She confessed that she loved to see and feel them sink into my body as she trod upon me and enjoyed the crunch of the muscles under her heel as she moved about. After some minutes of this, I always guided her slipper on to my penis, and she would tread carefully, but with her whole weight—probably about 9 stone—and watch me with flashing eyes, flushed cheeks, and quivering lips, as she felt—as she must have done plainly—the throbbing and swelling of my penis under her foot as emission took place. I have not the smallest doubt that orgasm took place simultaneously with her, though we never at any time spoke openly of it. This went on for several years on almost every favorable opportunity we had, and after a month or two of separation sometimes four or five times during a single day. Several times during A.'s absence I masturbated by getting her slipper and pressing it with all my strength against the penis while imagining that she was treading upon me. The pleasure was, of course, very inferior to her attentions. There was never at any time between us any question of normal sexual intercourse, and we were both well content to let things drift as they were.

"A little after 20 I went abroad, and on my return about three years later I found her married. Although we met often, the subject was never alluded to, though we remained firm friends. I confess I often, when I could do so without being seen, looked longingly at her feet and would have gladly accepted the pleasure she could have given me by an occasional resumption of our strange practice—but it never came.

"I went abroad again, and now neither she nor her husband are alive and leave no issue. From time to time I have had occasional relations with prostitutes, but always in this manner, though I much prefer to find some lady of or above my own social position who will do the treading for me. This is, however, interestingly difficult.

"Out of say a hundred women (which at home and abroad is what I should estimate must have stood upon my body) I should say quite 80 or 85 were *not* prostitutes. Certainly not more than 10 to 12 shared any *sexual* excitement, but while they were evidently excited they were not gratified. A. alone, so far as I know, had complete sexual satisfaction of it. I have never asked a woman in so many words to tread upon me for the purpose of gratifying my sexual desires (prostitutes excepted), but have always tempted them to do it in a jocular or teasing manner, and it is very doubtful if more than a few (married) women

really understood, even after they had given me the extreme pleasure, that they had done so, because any flushing and movement on my part under their feet was not unnaturally put down to the trampling to which they were subjecting me, and it was easy for me to guide the foot as often as was necessary on to the penis till orgasm took place, and even to keep it there by laying hold of the other one to kiss it or on some other pretext during emission. Of course many understood after once doing it (most have done it only once) what I was at, and, although they did not ever discuss it nor did I, they were not unwilling to give me as many treadings as I cared to playfully suggest. I don't think they got any pleasure sexually out of it themselves, though they could see plainly that I did, and they did not object to give it me. I have spent as long as twelve months with some women working gradually nearer and nearer to my desire—often getting what I want in the end, but more often failing. I *never* risk it till I am certain it would be safe to ask it, and have never had a serious rebuff. In very many cases I should say the doing of what I want has simply been regarded by the woman as gratifying a silly and perhaps amusing whim, in which, beyond the novelty of treading on a man's body, she has taken but little interest.

"As in normal seduction, the endeavor to win the woman over to do what I want without arousing her antagonism is a great part of the charm to me, and naturally the better her social position the more difficult this becomes—and the more attractive. I have found that in three instances prostitutes have performed the same office for other men and knew all about it. It is not uninteresting to note that these three women were all of fine, massive build—one standing about 5 feet 10 inches and weighing nearly 14 stone—but with comparatively uninteresting faces. The weight, build and clothing count for a good deal in exciting me. I find that a sudden check to a man at the supreme moment of sexual pleasure tends to heighten and prolong the pleasure. My physical satisfaction is due to the fact that by getting the lady to stand with all her weight upon my penis (as it lies between her foot and the soft bed of my own body into which it is deeply pressed) the act of emission is enormously prolonged, with corresponding enjoyment. For this reason also I prefer a very high-heeled slipper. The seminal fluid has to be forced past two separate obstacles—the pressure of the heel close at the root of the penis and afterwards the ball of the foot which compresses the outer half, leaving a free portion between them under the arched sole of the slipper. I may add that the pleasure is greatly increased by the retention of the urine, and I always try to retain as much water as I dare. I have an unconquerable aversion to red in slippers or stockings; it will even cause impotence. Why, I know not. Strange as it may seem, although pain and bruising are often in-

flicted by a severe treading, I have never been in any way injured by the practice, and my pleasure in it seems not to diminish by constant repetition. The comparative difficulty of obtaining the pleasure from just the woman I want has a never-ending, if inexplicable, charm for me."

It will be observed that in this case special importance is attached to shoes with high heels, and the subject considers that the pressure of such shoes is for mechanical reasons most favorable for procuring ejaculation. Nearly all heterosexual shoe-fetichists seem, however, to be equally attracted by high heels. Restif de la Bretonne frequently referred to this point, and he gave a number of reasons for the attractiveness of high heels: (1) They are unlike men's boots and, therefore, have a sexual fascination; (2) they make the leg and foot look more charming; (3) they give a less bold and more sylph-like character to the walk; (4) they keep the feet clean. (Restif de la Bretonne, *Nuits de Paris*, vol. v, quoted in Preface to his *Mes Inscriptions*, p. ciii.) It is doubtless the first reason—the fact that high heels are a kind of secondary sexual character—which is most generally potent in this attraction.

The foregoing history, while it very distinctly brings before us a case of erotic symbolism, is not strictly an example of shoe-fetichism. The symbolism is more complex. The focus of beauty in a desirable woman is transferred and concentrated in the region below the knee; in that sense we have foot-fetichism. But the act of coitus itself is also symbolically transferred. Not only has the foot become the symbol of the vulva, but trampling has become the symbol of coitus; intercourse takes place symbolically *per pedem*. It is a result of this symbolization of the foot and of trampling that all acts of treading take on a new and symbolical sexual charm. The element of masochism—of pleasure in being a woman's slave—is a parasitic growth; that is to say, it is not founded in the subject's constitution, but chances to have found a favorable soil in the special circumstances under which his sexual life developed. It is not primary, but secondary, and remains an unimportant and merely occasional element.

It may be instructive to bring forward for comparison a case in which also we have a symbolism involving boot-fetichism, but extending beyond it. In this case there is a basis of inversion (as is not infrequent in erotic symbolisms), but from the present point of view the psychological significance of the case remains the same.

A. N., aged 29, unmarried, healthy, though not robust, and without any known hereditary taint. Has followed various avocations without taking great interest in them, but has shown some literary ability.

"I am an Englishman," his own narrative runs, "the third of three children. At my birth my father was 41 and my mother 34. My mother died of cancer when I was 15. My father is still alive, a reserved man, who still nurses his sorrow for his wife's death. I have no reason to believe my parents anything but normal and useful members of society. My sister is normal and happily married. My brother I have reason to believe to be an invert.

"A horoscope cast for me describes me in a way I think correct, and so do my friends: 'A mild, obliging, gentle, amiable person, with many fine traits of character; timid in nature, fond of society, loving peace and quietude, delighting in warm and close friendships. There is much that is firm, steadfast and industrious, some self-love, a good deal of diplomacy, a little that is subtle, or what is called finesse. You are reserved with those you dislike. There is a serious and sad side to your character; you are very thoughtful and contemplative when in these moods. But you are not pessimistic. You have superior abilities, for they are intuitively intellectual. There is a cold reticence which restrains generous impulses and which inclines to acquisitiveness; it will make you deliberate, inventive, adding self-esteem, some vanity.'

"At an early age I was left much alone in the nursery and there contracted the habit of masturbation long before the age of puberty. I use the word 'masturbation' for want of a better, though it may not quite describe my case. I have never used my hand to the penis. As far back as I can remember I have had what a Frenchman has described as 'le fetichisme de la chaussure,' and in those early days, before I was 6 years old, I would put on my father's boots, taken from a cupboard at hand, and then tying or strapping my legs together would produce an erection, and all the pleasurable feelings experienced, I suppose, by means of masturbation. I always did this secretly, but couldn't tell why. I continued this practice on and off all my boyhood and youth. When I discovered the first emission I was much surprised. I always did this thing without loosening my trousers. As to how these feelings arose I am totally unable to say. I can't remember being without such feelings, and they seem to me perfectly normal. The sight, or even thought, of high boots, or leggings, especially if well polished or in patent leather, would set all my sexual passions aflame, and does yet. As a boy my great desire was to wear these things. A soldier in boots and spurs, a groom in tops, or even an errand-boy in patent leather leggings, fascinated me, and to this day, despite reason and everything else. The sight of such things produced an erection. An emission I could always produce by tightly tying my legs together, but only when wearing boots, and preferably leggings, which when I had pocket money

I bought for this purpose. (At the present moment I have five pairs in the house and two pairs of high boots, quite unjustified by ordinary use.) This habit I lapse into yet at times. The smell of leather affects me, but I never know how far this may be due to association with boots; the smell suggests the image. Restraint by a leather strap is more exciting than by cords. Erotic dreams always take the form of restraint on the limbs when booted.

"Uniforms and liveries have a great temptation for me, but only when of a tight-fitting nature and smart, as soldiers', grooms', etc., but not sailors'; most powerfully when the person is in boots or leggings and breeches.

"I was a quiet, sensitive boy, taking no part in games or sports. Have always been indifferent to them. I made few friends, but didn't want them. The craving for friendship came much later, after I was 21. I was a day boy at a private school, and never had any conversation with any boy on sexual matters, though I was dimly aware of much 'nastiness' about the school. I knew nothing of sodomy. But all these things were repulsive to me, notwithstanding my secret practices. I was a 'good boy.'

"Up to the age of 21 I was perfectly satisfied with my own society, something of a prig, fond of books and reading, etc. I was and ever have been absolutely insensible to the influence of the other sex. I am not a woman hater, and take intellectual pleasure in the society of certain ladies, but they are nearly all much older than myself. I have a strong repulsion from sexual relations with women. I should not mind being married for the sake of companionship and for the sake of having boys of my own. But the sexual act would frighten me. I could not in my present frame of mind go to bed with a woman. Yet I feel an immense envy of my married friends in that they are able to give out, and find satisfaction for, their affection in a way that is quite impossible for me. I picture certain boys in the place of the wife.

"I am now only happy in the society of men younger than myself, age 17 to (say) 23 or 24, youths with smooth faces, or first sign of hair on lip, well groomed, slightly effeminate in feature, of sympathetic, perhaps weak nature. I feel I want to help them, do something for them, devote myself entirely to their welfare.

"With such there is no fixed line between friendship and love. I yearn for intimacy with particular friends, but never dare express it. I find so many people object to any strong expression of feeling that I dare not run the risk of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of these desired intimates.

"I have no desire for *paedicatio*, but the idea itself does not repulse me or seem unnatural, though personally it repels me a little. But I think this to be mere prejudice on my part, which might be broken

down if the loved person showed a willingness to act a passive part. I should never dare to make an advance, however.

"I am restrained by moral and religious considerations from making my real feelings known, and I feel I should sink in my own estimation if I gave way, though my natural desire is to do so. In the face of opportunities (not I mean of *paedicatio*, but of expression of excessive affection, etc.), or what might be such, I always fail to speak lest I should forfeit the esteem of the other person. I have a feeling of surprise when any one I like evinces a liking for me. I feel that those I love are immeasurably my superiors, though my reason may tell me it is not so. I would grovel at their feet, do anything to win a smile from them, or to make them give me their company.

"Ordinary bodily contact with the boy I love gives me most exquisite pleasure, and I never lose an opportunity of bringing such contact about when it can be done naturally. I feel an immense desire to embrace, kiss, squeeze, etc., the person, to generally maul him, and say nice things—the kind of things a man usually says to a woman. A handshake, the mere presence of the person, makes me happy and content.

"I can say with the Albanian: 'If I find myself in the presence of the beloved, I rest absorbed in gazing on him. Absent, I think of nought but him. If the beloved unexpectedly appears I fall into confusion. My heart beats faster. I have eyes and ears only for the beloved.'

"I feel that my capacity of affection is finer and more spiritual than that which commonly subsists between persons of different sexes. And so, while trying to fight my instincts by religion, I find my natural feeling to be part of my religion, and its highest expression. In this sense I can speak from experience in my own case, and more especially in that of my brother, that what you have said about philanthropic activity resulting from repressed homosexuality is very true indeed. I can say with one of your female cases: 'Love is to me a religion. The very nature of my affection for my friends precludes the possibility of any element entering into it which is not absolutely pure and sacred.' I am, however, madly jealous. I want entire possession, and I can't bear for a moment that any one I do not care for should know the person I love.

"I am never attracted by men older than myself. The youths who attract me may be of any class, though preferably, I think, of a class a little lower than myself. I am not quite sure of this, however, as circumstances may have contributed more than deliberate choice to bring certain youths under my notice. Those who have exercised the most powerful influence on me have been an Oxford undergraduate, a barber's assistant, and a plumber's apprentice. Though naturally fond of intellectual society, I do not ask for intellect in those I love. It goes for nothing. I always prefer their company to that of the most educated persons. This preference has alienated me to some extent from more refined and educated circles that formerly I was intimate with.

"I have been led entirely out of my old habits by association with younger friends, and now do things which before I should never have dreamed of doing. My thoughts now are always with certain youths, and if they speak of leaving the town, or in any way talk of a future that I cannot share, I suffer horrid sinkings of the heart and depression of spirits."

This case, while it concerns a person of quite different temperament, with a more innate predisposition to specific perversions, is yet in many respects analogous to the previous case. There is boot-fetichism; nothing is felt to be so attractive as the foot-gear, and there is also at the same time more than this; there is the attraction of repression and constraint developed into a sexual symbol. In C. P.'s case that symbolism arises from the experience of an abnormal heterosexual relationship; in A. N.'s case it is founded on auto-erotic experiences associated with inversion; in both alike the entire symbolism has become diffused and generalized.

In the two cases just brought forward we have an erotic symbolism of act founded on, and closely associated with, an erotic symbolism of object. It may be instructive to bring forward another case in which no fetichistic feeling toward an object can be traced, but an erotic symbolism still clearly exists. In this case pain, even when self-inflicted, has acquired a symbolic value as a stimulus to tumescence, without any element of masochism. Such a case serves to indicate how the sexual attraction of pain is really a special case of the erotic symbolism with which we are here concerned.

A. W., aged 50, a writer and lecturer, physically and mentally energetic and enjoying good health. He is, however, very emotional and of nervous temperament, but self-controlled. Though physically well developed, the sexual organs are small. He is married to an attractive woman, to whom he is much attached, and has two healthy children.

At 10 or 12 years of age he had a frequent desire to be whipped, his parents never having struck him, and on one occasion he asked a brother to go with him to the closet to get him to whip him on the posterior; but on arrival he was too shy to make the request. He did not recognize the cause of these desires, knowing nothing of such things

except from the misinformation of his schoolfellows' talk. As far as he can remember, he was an entirely normal, healthy boy up to the age of about 15, when his attention was arrested by an advertisement of a quack medicine for the results of "youthful excesses."

Being a city boy, he was unfamiliar with the coupling even of animals, had never had a conscious erection and did not know of frictional excitement. Experiment, however, resulted in an orgasm, and, though believing that it was wicked or at least weak and degrading, he indulged in masturbation at intervals, usually about six times a month, and has continued even up to the present.

He had an abnormally small opening in the prepuce, making the uncovering of the glans almost impossible. (At the age of about 37, he himself slit the prepuce by three or four cuts of a scissors at intervals of about ten days. This was followed by a marked decrease in desire, especially as he shortly afterwards learned the importance of local cleanliness.) While in college at about the age of 19 he began to have nocturnal emissions occasionally and once or twice a week when at stool. Alarmed by these, he consulted a physician, who warned him of the danger, gave him bromide and prescribed cold bathing of the parts, with a hard, cool bed. These stopped the emissions.

He never had connection with women until the age of about 25, and then only three times until his marriage at 30 years of age, being deterred partly by conscientious scruples, but more by shyness and convention, and deriving very little pleasure from these instances Even since marriage he has derived more pleasure from sexual excitement than from coitus, and can maintain erection for as long as two hours.

He has always been accustomed to torture himself in various ingenious ways, nearly always connected with sex. He would burn his skin deeply with red hot wire in inconspicuous places. These and similar acts were generally followed by manual excitation nearly always brought to a climax.

He considers that he is attracted to refined and intellectual women. But he is without very ardent desires, having several times gone to bed with attractive women who stripped themselves naked, but without attempting any sexual intercourse with them. He became interested in the "Karezza" theory and has tried to practice it with his wife, but could never entirely control the emission.

He has hired a masseur to whip him, as children are whipped, with a heavy dog whip, which caused pleasurable excitement. During this time he had relations with his wife generally about once a week without any great ecstasy. She was cold and sexually slow, owing to conventional sex repression and to an idea that the whole thing was "like animals" and to fear of child-bearing, usually necessitating the use of a cover or withdrawal. It was only eight years after their marriage that she desired and obtain a child. During these years he would often stick

pins through his mammæ and tie them together by a string round the pins drawn so short as to cause great pain and then indulge himself in the sexual act. He used strong wooden clips with a tsęk fixed in them, so as to pierce and pinch the mammæ, and once he drove a pin entirely through the penis itself, then obtaining orgasm by friction. He was never able to get an automatic emission in this way, though he often tried, not even by walking briskly during an erection.

In another class of cases a purely ideal symbolism may be present by means of a fetich which acts as a powerful stimulus without itself being felt to possess any attraction. A good illustration of this condition is furnished by a case which has been communicated to me by a medical correspondent in New Zealand.

"The patient went out to South Africa as a trooper with the contingent from New Zealand, throwing up a good position in an office to do so. He had never had any trouble as regards connection with women before going out to South Africa. While in active service at the front he sustained a nasty fall from his horse, breaking his leg. He was unconscious for four days, and was then invalided down to Cape Town. Here he rapidly got well, and his accustomed health returning to him he started having what he terms 'a good time.' He repeatedly went to brothels, but was unable to have more than a temporary erection, and no ejaculation would take place. In one of these places he was in company with a drunken trooper, who suggested that they should perform the sexual act with their boots and spurs (only) on. My patient, who was also drunk, readily assented, and to his surprise was enabled to perform the act of copulation without any difficulty at all. He has repeatedly tried since to perform the act without any spurs, but is quite unable to do so; with the spurs he has no difficulty at all in obtaining all the gratification he desires. His general health is good. His mother was an extremely nervous woman, and so is his sister. His father died when he was quite young. His only other relation in the colony is a married sister, who seems to enjoy vigorous health."

The consideration of the cases here brought forward may suffice to show that beyond those fetichisms which find their satisfaction in the contemplation of a part of the body or a garment, there is a more subtle symbolism. The foot is a center of force, an agent for exerting pressure, and thus it furnishes a point of departure not alone for the merely static sexual fetich, but for a dynamic erotic symbolization. The energy of its move-

ments becomes a substitute for the energy of the sexual organs themselves in coitus, and exerts the same kind of fascination. The young girl (page 35) "who seemed to have a passion for treading upon things which would scrunch or yield under her foot," already possessed the germs of an erotic symbolism which, under the influence of circumstances in which she herself took an active part, developed into an adequate method of sexual gratification.[1] The youth who was her partner learned, in the same way, to find an erotic symbolism in all the pressure reactions of attractive feminine feet, the swaying of a carriage beneath their weight, the crushing of the flowers on which they tread, the slow rising of the grass which they have pressed. Here we have a symbolism which is altogether different from that fetichism which adores a definite object; it is a dynamic symbolism finding its gratification in the spectacle of movements which ideally recall the fundamental rhythm and pressure reactions of the sexual process.

We may trace a very similar erotic symbolism in an absolutely normal form. The fascination of clothes in the lover's eyes is no doubt a complex phenomenon, but in part it rests on the aptitudes of a woman's garments to express vaguely a dynamic symbolism which must always remain indefinite and elusive, and on that account always possess fascination. No one has so acutely described this symbolism as Herrick, often an admirable psychologist in matters of sexual attractiveness. Especially instructive in this respect are his poems, "Delight in Disorder," "Upon Julia's Clothes," and notably "Julia's Petticoat." "A sweet disorder in the dress," he tells us, "kindles in clothes a wantonness;" it is not on the garment itself, but on the

---

[1] Her actions suggest that there is often a latent sexual consciousness in regard to the feet in women, atavistic or pseudo-atavistic, and corresponding to the sexual attraction which the feet formerly aroused, almost normally, in men. This is also suggested by the case referred to by Shufeldt, of an unmarried woman, belonging to a family exhibiting in a high degree both erotic and neurotic traits, who had "a certain uncontrollable fascination for shoes. She delights in new shoes, and changes her shoes all day long at regular intervals of three hours each. She keeps this row of shoes out in plain sight in her apartment." (R. W. Shufeldt, "On a Case of Female Impotency," 1896, p. 16.)

character of its movement that he insists; on the "erring lace," the "winning wave" of the "tempestuous petticoat;" he speaks of the "liquefaction" of clothes, their "brave vibration each way free," and of Julia's petticoat he remarks with a more specific symbolism still,

> "Sometimes 'twould pant and sigh and heave,
> As if to stir it scarce had leave;
> But having got it, thereupon,
> 'Twould make a brave expansion."

In the play of the beloved woman's garment, he sees the whole process of the central act of sex, with its repressions and expansions, and at the sight is himself ready to "fall into a swoon."

III.

Scatalogic Symbolism—Urolagnia—Coprolagnia—The Ascetic Attitude Towards the Flesh—Normal basis of Scatalogic Symbolism—Scatalogic Conceptions Among Primitive Peoples—Urine as a Primitive Holy Water—Sacredness of Animal Excreta—Scatalogy in Folk-lore—The Obscene as Derived from the Mythological—The Immature Sexual Impulse Tends to Manifest Itself in Scatalogic Forms—The basis of Physiological Connection Between the Urinary and Genital Spheres—Urinary Fetichism Sometimes Normal in Animals—The Urolagnia of Masochists—The Scatalogy of Saints—Urolagnia More Often a Symbolism of Act Than a Symbolism of Object—Only Occasionally an Olfactory Fetichism—Comparative Rarity of Coprolagnia—Influence of Nates Fetichism as a Transition to Coprolagnia—Ideal Coprolagnia—Olfactory Coprolagnia—Urolagnia and Coprolagnia as Symbols of Coitus.

We meet with another group of erotic symbolisms—alike symbolisms of object and of act—in connection with the two functions adjoining the anatomical sexual focus: the urinary and alvine excretory functions. These are sometimes termed the scatalogical group, with the two subdivisions of urolagnia and coprolagnia.[1] *Inter fæces et urinam nascimur* is an ancient text which has served the ascetic preachers of old for many discourses on the littleness of man and the meanness of that reproductive power which plays so large a part in man's life. "The stupid bungle of Nature," a correspondent writes, "whereby the generative organs serve as a means of relieving the bladder, is doubtless responsible for much of the disgust which those organs excite in some minds."

At the same time, it is necessary to point out, such reflex influence may act not in one direction only, but also in the reverse

---

[1] Fuchs (*Das Erotische Element in der Karikatur*, p. 26), distinguishing sharply between the "erotic" and the "obscene," reserves the latter term exclusively for the representation of excretory organs and acts. He considers that this is etymologically the most exact usage. However that may be, it seems to me that, in any case, "obscene" has become so vague a term that it is now impracticable to give it a restricted and precise sense.

direction. From the standpoint of ascetic contemplation eag to belittle humanity, the excretory centers may cast dishon upon the genital center which they adjoin. From the mo ecstatic standpoint of the impassioned lover, eager to magni the charm of the woman he worships, it is not impossible f the excretory centers to take on some charm from the irradiatin center of sex which they enclose.

Even normally such a process is traceable. The norma lover may not idealize the excretory functions of his mistres but the fact that he finds no repulsion in the most intimate con tacts and feels no disgust at the proximity of the excretory ori fices or the existence of their functions, indicates that the ideal ization of love has exerted at all events a neutralizing influence indeed, the presence of an acute sensibility to the disturbing in· fluence of this proximity of the excretory orifices and their func· tions must be considered abnormal; Swift's "Strephon and Chloe"—with the conviction underlying it that it is an easy matter for the excretory functions to drown the possibilities of love—could only have proceeded from a morbidly sensitive brain.[1]

A more than mere neutralizing influence, a positively idealizing influence of the sexual focus on the excretory processes adjoining it, may take place in the lover's mind without the normal variations of sexual attraction being over-passed, and even without the creation of an excretory fetichism.

Reflections of this attitude may be found in the poets. In the *Song of Songs* the lover says of his mistress, "Thy navel is like a round goblet, wherein no mingled wine is wanting;" in his lyric "To Dianeme," Herrick says with clear reference to the mons veneris:—

> "Show me that hill where smiling love doth sit,
> Having a living fountain under it;"

and in the very numerous poems in various languages which have more

---

[1] In this connection we may profitably contemplate the hand and recall the vast gamut of functions, sacred and profane, which that organ exercises. Many savages strictly reserve the left hand to the lowlier purposes of life; but in civilization that is not considered necessary, and it may be wholesome for some of us to meditate on the more humble uses of the same hand which is raised in the supreme gesture of benediction and which men have often counted it a privilege to kiss.

or less obscurely dealt with the rose as the emblem of the feminine pudenda there are occasional references to the stream which guards or presides over the rose. It may, indeed, be recalled that even in the name *nymphæ* anatomists commonly apply to the *labia minora* there is generally believed to be a poetic allusion to the Nymphs who presided over streams, since the *labia minora* exert an influence on the direction of the urinary stream.

In *Wilhelm Meister* (Part I, Chapter XV), Goethe, on the basis of his own personal experiences, describes his hero's emotions in the humble surroundings of Marianne's little room as compared with the stateliness and order of his own home. "It seemed to him when he had here to remove her stays in order to reach the harpsichord, there to lay her skirt on the bed before he could seat himself, when she herself with unembarrassed frankness would make no attempt to conceal from him many natural acts which people are accustomed to hide from others out of decency—it seemed to him, I say, that he became bound to her by invisible bands." We are told of Wordsworth (Findlay's *Recollections of De Quincey*, p. 36) that he read *Wilhelm Meister* till "he came to the scene where the hero, in his mistress's bedroom, becomes sentimental over her dirty towels, etc., which struck him with such disgust that he flung the book out of his hand, would never look at it again, and declared that surely no English lady would ever read such a work." I have, however, heard a woman of high intellectual distinction refer to the peculiar truth and beauty of this very passage.

In one of his latest novels, *Les Rencontres de M. de Bréot*, Henri de Régnier, one of the most notable of recent French novelists, narrates an episode bearing on the matter before us. A personage of the story is sitting for a moment in a dark grotto during a night fête in a nobleman's park, when two ladies enter and laughingly proceed to raise their garments and accomplish a natural necessity. The man in the background, suddenly overcome by a sexual impulse, starts forward; one lady runs away, the other, whom he detains, offers little resistance to his advances. To M. de Bréot, whom he shortly after encounters, he exclaims, abashed at his own actions: "Why did I not flee? But could I imagine that the spectacle of so disgusting a function would have any other effect than to give me a humble opinion of human nature?" M. de Bréot, however, in proceeding to reproach his interlocutor for his inconsiderate temerity, observes: "What you tell me, sir, does not entirely surprise me. Nature has placed very various instincts within us, and the impulse that led you to what you have just now done is not so peculiar as you think. One may be a very estimable man and yet love women even in what is lowliest in their bodies." In harmony with this passage from Régnier's novel are the remarks of a correspondent who writes to me of the function of urination that it "appeals sexually to most normal individuals. My own observations and inquiries prove this. Women

themselves instinctively feel it. The secrecy surrounding the matter lends, too, I think, a sexual interest."

The fact that scatalogic processes may in some degree exert an attraction even in normal love has been especially emphasized by Bloch (*Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, pp. 222, *et seq.*): "The man whose intellect and æsthetic sense has been 'clouded by the sexual impulse' sees these things in an entirely different light from him who has not been overcome by the intoxication of love. For him they are idealized (sit venia verbo) since they are a part of the beloved person, and in consequence associated with love." Bloch quotes the *Memoiren einer Sängerin* (a book which is said to be, though this seems doubtful, genuinely autobiographical) in the same sense: "A man who falls in love with a girl is not dragged out of his poetic sphere by the thought that his beloved must relieve certain natural necessities every day. It seems, indeed, to him to be just the opposite. If one loves a person one finds nothing obscene or disgusting in the object that pleases me." The opposite attitude is probably in extreme cases due to the influence of a neurotic or morbidly sensitive temperament. Swift possessed such a temperament. The possession of a similar temperament is doubtless responsible for the little prose poem, "L'Extase," in which Huysmans in his first book, *Le Drageloir à Epices*, has written an attenuated version of "Strephon and Chloe" to express the disillusionment of love; the lover lies in a wood clasping the hand of the beloved with rapturous emotion; "suddenly she rose, disengaged her hand, disappeared in the bushes, and I heard as it were the rustling of rain on the leaves." His dream has fled.

In estimating the significance of the lover's attitude in this matter, it is important to realize the position which scatologic conceptions took in primitive belief. At certain stages of early culture, when all the emanations of the body are liable to possess mysterious magic properties and become apt for sacred uses, the excretions, and especially the urine, are found to form part of religious ritual and ceremonial function. Even among savages the excreta are frequently regarded as disgusting, but under the influence of these conceptions such disgust is inhibited, and those emanations of the body which are usually least honored become religious symbols.

Urine has been regarded as the original holy water, and many customs which still survive in Italy and various parts of Europe, involving the use of a fluid which must often be yellow and sometimes salt, possibly indicate the earlier use of urine. (The Greek water of aspersion,

according to Theocritus, was mixed with salt, as is sometimes the modern Italian holy water. J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs*, p. 173.) Among the Hottentots, as Kolbein and others have recorded, the medicine man urinated alternately on bride and bridegroom, and a successful young warrior was sprinkled in the same way. Mungo Park mentions that in Africa on one occasion a bride sent a bowl of her urine which was thrown over him as a special mark of honor to a distinguished guest. Pennant remarked that the Highlanders sprinkled their cattle with urine, as a kind of holy water, on the first Monday in every quarter. (Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, pp. 228, 239; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, "Bride-Ales.")

Even the excreta of animals have sometimes been counted sacred. This is notably so in the case of the cow, of all animals the most venerated by primitive peoples, and especially in India. Jules Bois (*Visions de l'Inde*, p. 86) describes the spectacle presented in the temple of the cows at Benares: "I put my head into the opening of the holy stables. It was the largest of temples, a splendor of precious stones and marble, where the venerated heifers passed backwards and forwards. A whole people adored them. They take no notice, plunged in their divine and obscure unconsciousness. And they fulfil with serenity their animal functions; they chew the offerings, drink water from copper vessels, and when they are filled they relieve themselves. Then a stercoraceous and religious insanity overcomes these starry-faced women and venerable men; they fall on their knees, prostrate themselves, eat the droppings, greedily drink the liquid, which for them is miraculous and sacred." (*Cf.* Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, Chapter XVII.)

Among the Chevsurs of the Caucasus, perhaps an Iranian people, a woman after her confinement, for which she lives apart, purifies herself by washing in the urine of a cow and then returns home. This mode of purification is recommended in the Avesta, and is said to be used by the few remaining followers of this creed.

We have not only to take into account the frequency with which among primitive peoples the excretions possess a religious significance. It is further to be noted that in the folk-lore of modern Europe we everywhere find plentiful evidence of the earlier prevalence of legends and practices of a scatalogical character. It is significant that in the majority of cases it is easy to see a sexual reference in these stories and customs. The legends have lost their earlier and often mythical significance, and frequently take on a suggestion of obscenity, while the scatalogical practices have become the magical devices of love-lorn maidens or forsaken wives practiced in secrecy. It has hap-

pened to scatalogical rites to be regarded as we may gather from the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, that the sacred leathern phallus borne by the women in the Bacchanalia was becoming in his time, an object to arouse the amusement of little boys.

Among many primitive peoples throughout the world, and among the lower social classes of civilized peoples, urine possesses magic properties, more especially, it would seem, the urine of women and that of people who stand, or wish to stand, in sexual relationship to each other. In a legend of the Indians of the northwest coast of America, recorded by Boas, a woman gives her lover some of her urine and says: "You can wake the dead if you drop some of my urine in their ears and nose." (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1894, Heft IV, p. 293.) Among the same Indians there is a legend of a woman with a beautiful white skin who found on bathing every morning in the river that the fish were attracted to her skin and could not be driven off even by magical solutions. At last she said to herself: "I will make water on them and then they will leave me alone." She did so, and henceforth the fish left her. But shortly after fire came from Heaven and killed her. (*Ib.*, 1891, Heft V, p. 640.) Among both Christians and Mohammedans a wife can attach an unfaithful husband by privately putting some of her urine in his drink. (B. Stern, *Medizin in der Türkei*, vol. ii, p. 11.) This practice is world-wide; thus among the aborigines of Brazil, according to Martius, the urine and other excretions and secretions are potent for aphrodisiacal objects. (Bourke's *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations* contains many references to the folk-lore practices in this matter; a study of popular beliefs in the magic power of urine, published in Bombay by Professor Eugen Wilhelm in 1889, I have not seen.)

The legends which narrate scatalogic exploits are numerous in the literature of all countries. Among primitive peoples they often have a purely theological character, for in the popular mythologies of all countries (even, as we learn from Aristophanes, among the Greeks) natural phenomena such as the rain, are apt to be regarded as divine excretions, but in course of time the legends take on a more erotic or a more obscene character. In the Irish *Book of Leinster* (written down somewhere about the twelfth century, but containing material of very much older date) we are told how a number of princesses in Emain Macha, the seat of the Ulster Kings, resolved to find out which of them could by urinating on it melt a snow pillar which the men had made, the woman who succeeded to be regarded as the best among them. None of them succeeded, and they sent for Derbforgaill, who was in love with Cuchullain, and she was able to melt the pillar; whereupon the other women, jealous of the superiority she had thus shown, tore out her eyes. (Zimmer, "Keltische Beiträge," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Alterthum*, vol.

xxxii, Heft II, pp. 216-219.) Rhys considers that Derbforgaill was really a goddess of dawn and dusk, "the drop glistening in the sun's rays," as indicated by her name, which means a drop or tear. (J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, p. 466.) It is interesting to compare the legend of Derbforgaill with a somewhat more modern Picardy folk-lore *conte* which is clearly analogous but no longer seems to show any mythologic element, "La Princesse qui pisse par dessus les Meules." This princess had a habit of urinating over hay-cocks; the king, her father, in order to break her of the habit, offered her in marriage to anyone who could make a hay-cock so high that she could not urinate over it. The young men came, but the princess would merely laugh and at once achieve the task. At last there came a young man who argued with himself that she would not be able to perform this feat after she had lost her virginity. He therefore seduced her first and she then failed ignobly, merely wetting her stockings. 'Accordingly, she became his bride. (*Κρυπτάδια*, vol. i. p. 333.) Such legends, which have lost any mythologic elements they may originally have possessed and have become merely *contes*, are not uncommon in the folk-lore of many countries. But in their earlier more religious forms and in their later more obscene forms, they alike bear witness to the large place which scatalogic conceptions play in the primitive mind.

It is a notable fact in evidence of the close and seemingly normal association with the sexual impulse of the scatalogic processes, that an interest in them, arising naturally and spontaneously, is one of the most frequent channels by which the sexual impulse first manifests itself in young boys and girls.

Stanley Hall, who has made special inquiries into the matter, remarks that in childhood the products of excretion by bladder and bowels are often objects of interest hardly less intense for a time than eating and drinking. ("Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, April, 1898, p. 361.) "Micturitional obscenities," the same writer observes again, "which our returns show to be so common before adolescence, culminate at 10 or 12, and seem to retreat into the background as sex phenomena appear." They are, he remarks, of two classes: "Fouling persons or things, secretly from adults, but openly with each other," and less often "ceremonial acts connected with the act or the product that almost suggest the scatalogical rites of savages, unfit for description here, but of great interest and importance." (G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 116.) The nature of such scatalogical phenomena in childhood—which are often clearly the in-

stinctive manifestations of an erotic symbolism—and their wide prevalence among both boys and girls, are very well illustrated in a narrative which I include in Appendix B, History II.

In boys as they approach the age of puberty, this attraction to the scatalogic, when it exists, tends to die out, giving place to more normal sexual conceptions, or at all events it takes a subordinate and less serious place in the mind. In girls, on the other hand, it often tends to persist. Edmond de Goncourt, a minute observer of the feminine mind, refers in *Chérie* to "those innocent and triumphant gaieties which scatalogic stories have the privilege of arousing in women who have remained still children, even the most distinguished women." The extent to which innocent young women, who would frequently be uninterested or repelled in presence of the sexually obscene are sometimes attracted by the scatalogically obscene, becomes intelligible, however, if we realize that a symbolism comes here into play. In women the more specifically sexual knowledge and experience of life frequently develop much later than in men or even remains in abeyance, and the specifically sexual phenomena cannot therefore easily lend themselves to wit, or humor, or imagination. But the scatalogic sphere, by the very fact that in women it is a specially intimate and secret region which is yet always liable to be unexpectedly protruded into consciousness, furnishes an inexhaustible field for situations which have the same character as those furnished by the sexually obscene. It thus happens that the sexually obscene which in men tends to overshadow the scatalogically obscene, in women—partly from inexperience and partly, it is probable, from their almost physiological modesty—plays a part subordinate to the scatalogical. In a somewhat analogous way scatalogical wit and humor play a considerable part in the work of various eminent authors who were clergymen or priests

In addition to the anatomical and psychological associations which contribute to furnish a basis on which erotic symbolisms may spring up, there are also physiological connections between the genital and urinary spheres which directly favor such symbolisms. In discussing the analysis of the sexual im-

pulse in a previous volume of these *Studies*, I have pointed out the remarkable relationship—sometimes of transference, sometimes of compensation—which exists between genital tension and vesical tension, both in men and women. In the histories of normal sexual development brought together at the end of that and subsequent volumes the relationship may frequently be traced, as also in the case of C. P. in the present study (p. 37). Vesical power is also commonly believed to be in relation with sexual potency, and the inability to project the urinary stream in a normal manner is one of the accepted signs of sexual impotency.[1] Féré, again, has recorded the history of a man with periodic crises of sexual desire, and subsequently sexual obsession without desire, which were always accompanied by the impulse to urinate and by increased urination.[2] In the case, recorded by Pitres and Régis, of a young girl who, having once at the sight of a young man she liked in a theater been overcome by sexual feeling accompanied by a strong desire to urinate, was afterward tormented by a groundless fear of experiencing an irresistible desire to urinate at inconvenient times,[3] we have an example of what may be called a physiological scatalogic symbolism of sex, an emotion which was primarily erotic becoming transferred to the bladder and then remaining persistent. From such a physiological symbolism it is but a step to the psychological symbolisms of scatalogic fetichism.

It is worthy of note, as an indication that such phenomena are scarcely abnormal, that a urinary symbolism, and even a strictly sexual fetichism, are normal among many animals.

---

[1] See, *e.g.*, Morselli, *Una Causa di Nullità del Matrimonio*, 1902, p. 39.

[2] Féré, *Comptes-Rendus Société de Biologie*, July 23, 1904.

[3] Transactions of the International Medical Congress, Moscow, vol. iv, p. 19. A similar symbolism may be traced in many of the cases in which the focus of modesty becomes in modest women centered in the excretory sphere and sometimes exaggerated to the extent of obsession. It must not be supposed, however, that every obsession in this sphere has a symbolical value of an erotic kind. In the case, for instance, which has been recorded by Raymond and Janet (*Les Obsessions*, vol. ii, p. 306) of a woman who spent much of her time in the endeavor to urinate perfectly, always feeling that she failed in some respect, the

The most familiar example of this kind is furnished by the dog, who is sexually excited in this manner by traces of the bitch and himself takes every opportunity of making his own path recognizable. "This custom," Espinas remarks (*Des Sociétés Animales*, p. 228), "has no other aim than to spread along the road recognizable traces of their presence for the benefit of individuals of the other sex, the odor of these traces doubtless causing excitement."

It is noteworthy, also, that in animals as well as in man, sexual excitement may manifest itself in the bladder. Thus Daumas states (*Chevaux de Sahara*, p. 49) that if the mare urinates when she hears the stallion neigh it is a sign that she is ready for connection.

It is in masochism, or passive algolagnia, that we may most frequently find scatalogic symbolism in its fully developed form. The man whose predominant impulse is to subjugate himself to his mistress and to receive at her hands the utmost humiliation, frequently finds the climax of his gratification in being urinated on by her, whether in actual fact or only in imagination.

In many such cases, however, it is evident that we have a mixed phenomenon; the symbolism is double. The act becomes desirable because it is the outward and visible sign of an inwardly experienced abject slavery to an adored person. But it is also desirable because of intimately sexual associations in the act itself, as a symbolical detumescence, a simulacrum of the sexual act, and one which proceeds from the sexual focus itself.

Krafft-Ebing records various cases of masochism in which the emission of urine on to the body or into the mouth formed the climax of sexual gratification, as, for instance (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p. 183) in the case of a Russian official who as a boy had fancies of being bound between the thighs of a woman, compelled to sleep beneath her nates and to drink her urine, and in later life experienced the greatest excitement when practicing the last part of this early imagination.

In another case, recorded by Krafft-Ebing and by him termed "ideal masochism" (*Op. cit.*, pp. 127-130), the subject from childhood indulged in voluptuous day-dreams in which he was the slave of a beautiful mistress who would compel him to obey all her caprices, stand over him with one foot on his breast, sit on his face and body, make him

---

obsession seems to have risen fortuitously on a somewhat neurotic basis without reference to the sexual life.

wait on her in her bath, or when she urinated, and sometimes insist on doing this on his face: though a highly intellectual man, he was always too timid to attempt to carry any of his ideas into execution; he had been troubled by nocturnal enuresis up to the age of 20.

Neri, again (*Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuali*, vol. i, fasc. 7 and 8, 1896), records the case of an Italian masochist who experienced the greatest pleasure when both urination and defecation were practiced in this manner by the woman he was attached to.

In a previous volume of these *Studies* ("Sexual Inversion," History XXVI) I have recorded the masochistic day-dreams of a boy whose impulses were at the same time inverted; in his reveries "the central fact," he states, "became the discharge of urine from my lover over my body and limbs, or, if I were very fond of him, I let it be in my face." In actual life the act of urination casually witnessed in childhood became the symbol, even the reality, of the central secret of sex: "I stood rooted and flushing with downcast eyes till the act was over, and was conscious for a considerable time of stammering speech and bewildered faculties. . . . I was overwhelmed with emotion and could barely drag my feet from the spot or my eyes from the damp herbage where he had deposited the waters of secrecy. Even to-day I cannot dissociate myself from the shuddering charm that moment had for me."

It is not only the urine and the fæces which may thus acquire a symbolic fascination and attractiveness under the influence of masochistic deviations of sexual idealization. In some cases extreme rapture has been experienced in licking sweating feet. There is, indeed, no excretion or product of the body which has not been a source of ecstasy: the sweat from every part of the body, the saliva and menstrual fluid, even the wax from the ears.

Krafft-Ebing very truly points out (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p 178) that this sexual scatalogic symbolism is precisely paralleled by a religious scatalogic symbolism. In the excesses of devout enthusiasm the ascetis performs exactly the same acts as are performed in these excesses of erotic enthusiasm. To mix excreta with the food, to lick up excrement, to suck festering sores—all these and the like are acts which holy and venerated women have performed.

Not only the saint, but also the prophet and medicine-man have been frequently eaters of human excrement; it is only necessary to refer to the instance of the prophet Ezekiel, who declared that he was commanded to bake his bread with human dung, and to the practices of medicine-men at Torres Straits, in whose training the eating of human excrement takes a recognized part. (Deities. notably Baal-Phegor, were

sometimes supposed to eat excrement, so that it was natural that their messengers and representatives among men should do so. As regards Baal-Phegor, see Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices*, Chapter IV, and J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*, p. 241. See also Ezekiel, Chapter IV, v. 12, and *Reports Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 321.)

It must be added, however, that while the masochist is overcome by sexual rapture, so that he sees nothing disgusting in his act, the medicine-man and the ascetic are not so invariably overcome by religious rapture, and several ascetic writers have referred to the horror and disgust they experienced, at all events at first, in accomplishing such acts, while the medicine-men when novices sometimes find the ordeal too severe and have to abandon their career. Brénier de Montmorand, while remarking, not without some exaggeration, that "the Christian ascetics are almost all eaters of excrement" ("Ascétisme et Mysticisme," *Revue Philosophique*, March, 1904, p. 245), quotes the testimonies of Marguerite-Marie and Madame Guyon as to the extreme repugnance which they had to overcome. They were impelled by a merely intellectual symbolism of self-mortification rather than by the profoundly felt emotional symbolism which moves the masochist.

Coprophagic acts, whether under the influences of religious exaltation or of sexual rapture, inevitably excite our disgust. We regard them as almost insane, fortified in that belief by the undoubted fact that coprophagia is not uncommon among the insane. It may, therefore, be proper to point out that it is not so very long since the ingestion of human excrement was carried out by our own forefathers in the most sane and deliberate manner. It was administered by medical practitioners for a great number of ailments, apparently with entirely satisfactory results. Less than two centuries ago, Schurig, who so admirably gathered together and arranged the medical lore of his own and the immediately preceding ages, wrote a very long and detailed chapter, "De Stercoris Humani Usu Medico" (*Chylologia*, 1725, cap. XIII; in the Paris *Journal de Médecine* for February 19, 1905, there appeared an article, which I have not seen, entitled "Medicaments oubliées: l'urine et la fiente humaine.") The classes of cases in which the drug was found beneficial would seem to have been extremely various. It must not be supposed that it was usually ingested in the crude form. A common method was to take the fæces of boys, dry them, mix them with the best honey, and administer as an electuary. (At an earlier period such drugs appear to have met with some opposition from the Church, which seems to have seen in them only an application of magic; thus I note that in Burchard's remarkable Penitential of the fourteenth century, as reproduced by Wasserschleben, 40 days' penance is prescribed for the use of human urine or excrement as a medicine. Wasserschleben *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländlicher Kirche*, p. 651.)

The urolagnia of masochism is not a simple phenomenon; it embodies a double symbolism: on the one hand a symbolism of self-abnegation, such as the ascetic feels, on the other hand a symbolism of transferred sexual emotion. Krafft-Ebing was disposed to regard all cases in which a scatalogical sexual attraction existed as due to "latent masochism." Such a point of view is quite untenable. Certainly the connection is common but in the majority of cases of slightly marked scatalogical fetichism no masochism is evident. And when we bear in mind the various considerations, already brought forward, which show how widespread and clearly realized is the natural and normal basis furnished for such symbolism, it becomes quite unnecessary to invoke any aid from masochism. There is ample evidence to show that, either as a habitual or more usually an occasional act, the impulse to bestow a symbolic value on the act of urination in a beloved person, is not extremely uncommon; it has been noted of men of high intellectual distinction; it occurs in women as well as men; when existing in only a slight degree, it must be regarded as within the normal limits of variation of sexual emotion.

The occasional cases in which the urine is drunk may possibly suggest that the motive lies in the properties of the fluid acting on the system. Support for this supposition might be found in the fact that urine actually does possess, apart altogether from its magic virtues embodied in folk-lore, the properties of a general stimulant. In composition (as Masterman first pointed out) "beef-tea differs little from healthy urine," containing exactly the same constituents, except that in beef-tea there is less urea and uric acid. Fresh urine—more especially that of children and young women—is taken as a medicine in nearly all parts of the world for various disorders, such as epistaxis, malaria and hysteria, with benefit, this benefit being almost certainly due to its qualities as a general stimulant and restorative. William Salmon's *Dispensatory*, 1678 (quoted in *British Medical Journal*, April 21, 1900, p. 974), shows that in the seventeenth century urine still occupied an important place as a medicine, and it frequently entered largely into the composition of Aqua Divina.

Its use has been known even in England in the nineteenth century. (Masterman, *Lancet*, October 2, 1880; R. Neale, "Urine as a Medicine," *Practitioner*, November, 1881; Bourke brings together a great deal of evidence as to the therapeutic uses of urine in his *Scatalogic Rites*,

especially pp. 331-335; Lusini has shown that normal urine invariably increases the frequency of the heart beats, *Archivio di Farmacologia*, fascs. 19-21, 1893.)

But it is an error to suppose that these facts account for the urolagnic drinking of urine. As in the gratification of a normal sexual impulse, the intense excitement of gratifying a scatalogic sexual impulse itself produces a degree of emotional stimulation far greater than the ingestion of a small amount of animal extractives would be adequate to effect. In such cases, as much as in normal sexuality, the stimulation is clearly psychic.

When, as is most commonly the case, it is the process of urination and not the urine itself which is attractive, we are clearly concerned with a symbolism of act and not with the fetichistic attraction of an excretion. When the excretion, apart from the act, provides the attraction, we seem usually to be in the presence of an olfactory fetichism. These fetichisms connected with the excreta appear to be experienced chiefly by individuals who are somewhat weak-minded, which is not necessarily the case in regard to those persons for whom the act, rather than its product apart from the beloved person, is the attractive symbol.

The sexually symbolic nature of the act of urination for many people is indicated by the existence, according to Bloch, who enumerates various kinds of indecent photographs, of a group which he terms "the notorious *pisseuses*." It is further indicated by several of the reproductions in Fuch's *Erotsiche Element in der Karikatur*, such as Delorme's "La Necessité n'a point de Loi." (It should be added that such a scene by no means necessarily possesses any erotic symbolism, as we may see in Rembrandt's etching commonly called "Le Femme qui Pisse," in which the reflected lights on the partly shadowed stream furnish an artistic motive which is obviously free from any trace of obscenity.) In the case which Krafft-Ebing quotes from Maschka of a young man who would induce young girls to dance naked in his room, to leap, and to urinate in his presence, whereupon seminal ejaculation would take place, we have a typical example of urolagnic symbolism in a form adequate to produce complete gratification. A case in which the urolagnic form of scatalogic symbolism reached its fullest development as a sexual perversion has been described in Russia by Sukhanoff (summarized in *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, November, 1900, and *Annales Medico-psychologiques*, February, 1901), that of a young man of 27, of neuropathic temperament, who when he once chanced to witness a

woman urinating experienced voluptuous sensations. From that moment he sought close contact with women urinating, the maximum of gratification being reached when he could place himself in such a position that a woman, in all innocence, would urinate into his mouth. All his amorous adventures were concerned with the search for opportunities for procuring this difficult gratification. Closets in which he was able to hide, winter weather and dull days he found most favorable to success. (A somewhat similar case is recorded in the *Archives de Neurologie*, 1902, p. 462.)

In the case of a robust man of neuropathic heredity recorded by Pelanda some light is shed on the psychic attitude in these manifestations; there was masturbation up to the age of 16, when he abandoned the practice, and up to the age of 30 found complete satisfaction in drinking the still hot urine of women. When a lady or girl in the house went to her room to satisfy a need of this kind, she had hardly left it but he hastened in, overcome by extreme excitement, culminating in spontaneous ejaculation. The younger the woman the greater the transport he experienced. It is noteworthy that in this, as possibly in all similar cases, there was no sensory perversion and no morbid attraction of taste or smell; he stated that the action of his senses was suspended by his excitement, and that he was quite unable to perceive the odor or taste of the fluid. (Pelenda, "Pornopatice," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, facs. iii-iv, 1889, p. 356.) It is in the emotional symbolism that the fascination lies and not in any sensory perversion.

Magnan records the spontaneous development of this sexual symbolism in a girl of 11, of good intellectual development but alcoholic heredity, who seduced a boy younger than herself to mutual masturbation, and on one occasion, lying on the ground and raising her clothes, asked him to urinate on her. (*International Congress of Criminal Anthropology*, 1889.) This case (except for the early age of the subject) illustrates sporadically occurring urolagnic symbolism in a woman, to whom such symbolism is fairly obvious on account of the close resemblance between the emission of urine and the ejaculation of semen in the man, and the fact that the same conduit serves for both fluids. (A urolagnic day-dream of this kind is recorded in the history of a lady contained in the third volume of these *Studies*, Appendix B, History VIII.) The natural and inevitable character of this symbolism is shown by the fact that among primitive peoples urine is sometimes supposed to possess the fertilizing virtues of semen. J. G. Frazer in his edition of Pausanias (vol. iv, p. 139) brings together various stories of women impregnated by urine. Hartland also (*Legend of Perseus*, vol. i, pp. 76, 92) records legends of women who were impregnated by accidentally or intentionally drinking urine.

The symbolic sexual significance of urolagnia has hitherto usually been confused with the fetichistic and mainly olfactory perversion by

which the excretion itself becomes a source of sexual excitement. Long since Tardieu referred, under the name of "renifleurs," to persons who were said to haunt the neighborhood of quiet passages, more especially in the neighborhood of theatres, and who when they perceived a woman emerge after urination, would hasten to excite themselves by the odor of the excretion. Possibly a fetichism of this kind existed in a case recorded by Belletrud and Mercier (*Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, June, 1004, p. 48). A weak-minded, timid youth, who was very sexual but not attractive to women, would watch for women who were about to urinate and immediately they had passed on would go and lick the spot they had moistened, at the same time masturbating. Such a fetichistic perversion is strictly analogous to the fetichism by which women's handkerchiefs, aprons or underlinen become capable of affording sexual gratification. A very complete case of such urolagnic fetichism—complete because separated from association with the person accomplishing the act of urination—has been recorded by Moraglia in a woman. It is the case of a beautiful and attractive young woman of 18, with thick black hair, and expressive vivacious eyes, but sallow complexion. Married a year previously, but childless, she experienced a certain amount of pleasure in coitus, but she preferred masturbation, and frankly acknowledged that she was highly excited by the odor of fermented urine. So strong was this fetichism that when, for instance, she passed a street urinal she was often obliged to go aside and masturbate; once she went for this purpose into the urinal itself and was almost discovered in the act, and on another occasion into a church. Her perversion caused her much worry because of the fear of detection. She preferred, when she could, to obtain a bottle of urine—which must be stale and a man's (this, she said, she could detect by the smell)—and to shut herself up in her own room, holding the bottle in one hand and repeatedly masturbating with the other. (Moraglia, "Psicopatie Sessuali," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xiii, fase. 6, p. 267, 1892.) This case is of especial interest because of the great rarity of fully developed fetichism in women. In a slight and germinal degree I believe that cases of fetichism are not uncommon in women, but they are certainly rare in a well-marked form, and Krafft-Ebing declared, even in the late editions of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*, that he knew of no cases in women.

So far we have been concerned with the urolagnic rather than the coprolagnic variety of scatalogical symbolism. Although the two are sometimes associated there is no necessary connection, and most usually there is no tendency for the one to involve the other. Urolagnia is certainly much the more frequently found; the act of urination is far more apt to suggest

erotically symbolical ideas than the idea of defecation. It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. The act of urination lends itself more easily to sexual symbolism; it is more intimately associated with the genital function; its repetition is necessary at more frequent intervals so that it is more in evidence; moreover, its product, unlike that of the act of defecation, is not offensive to the senses. Still coprolagnia occurs and not so very infrequently. Burton remarked that even the normal lover is affected by this feeling: "immo nec ipsum amicæ stercus foetet."[1]

Of Caligula who, however, was scarcely sane, it was said "et quidem stercus uxoris degustavit."[2] In Parisian brothels (according to Taxil and others) provision is made for those who are sexually excited by the spectacle of the act of defecation (without reference to contact or odor) by means of a "tabouret de verre," from under the glass floor of which the spectacle of the defecating women may be closely observed. It may be added that the erotic nature of such a spectacle is referred to in the Marquis de Sade's novels.

There is one motive for the existence of coprolagnia which must not be passed over, because it has doubtless frequently served as a mode of transition to what, taken by itself, may well seem the least æsthetically attractive of erotic symbols. I refer to the tendency of the nates to become a sexual fetich. The nates have in all ages and in all parts of the world been frequently regarded as one of the most æsthetically beautiful parts of the feminine body.[3] It is probable that on the basis of this entirely normal attraction more than one form of erotic sym-

---

[1] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. III, Subs. I.

[2] It may be remarked here that while the eating of excrement (apart from its former use as a magic charm and as a therapeutic agent) is in civilization now confined to sexual perverts and the insane, among some animals it is normal as a measure of hygiene in relation to their young. Thus, as, *e.g.*, the Rev. Arthur East writes, the mistle thrush swallows the droppings of its young. (*Knowledge*, June 1, 1899, p. 133.) In the dog I have observed that the bitch licks her puppies shortly after birth as they urinate, absorbing the fluid.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," pp. 165 *et seq.*, and Dühren, *Geschlechtsleben in England*, bd. ii, pp. 258, *et seq.*

bolism is at all events in part supported. Dühren and others have considered that the æsthetic charm of the nates is one of the motives which prompt the desire to inflict flagellation on women. In the same way—certainly in some and probably in many cases—the sexual charm of the nates progressively extends to the anal region, to the act of defecation, and finally to the feces.

In a case of Krafft-Ebing's (*Op. cit.*, p. 183) the subject, when a child of 6, accidentally placed his hand in contact with the nates of the little girl who sat next to him in school, and experienced so great a pleasure in this contact that he frequently repeated it; when he was 10 a nursery governess, to gratify her own desires, placed his finger in her vagina, in adult life he developed urolagnic tendencies.

In a case of Moll's the development of a youthful admiration for the nates in a coprolagnic direction may be clearly traced. In this case a young man, a merchant, in a good position, sought to come in contact with women defecating; and with this object would seek to conceal himself in closets; the excretal odor was pleasurable to him, but was not essential to gratification, and the sight of the nates was also exciting and at the same time not essential to gratification; the act of defecation appears, however, to have been regarded as essential. He never sought to witness prostitutes in this situation; he was only attracted to young, pretty and innocent women. The coprolagnia here, however, had its source in a childish impression of admiration for the nates. When 5 or 6 years old he crawled under the clothes of a servant girl, his face coming in contact with her nates, an impression that remained associated in his mind with pleasure. Three or four years later he used to experience much pleasure when a young girl cousin sat on his face; thus was strengthened an association which developed naturally into coprolagnia. (Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 837.)

It is scarcely necessary to remark that an admiration for the nates, even when reaching a fetichistic degree, by no means necessarily involves, even after many years, any attraction to the excreta. A correspondent for whom the nates have constituted a fetich for many years writes: "I find my craving for women with profuse pelvic or posterior development is growing and I wish to copulate from behind; but I would feel a sickening feeling if any part of my person came in contact with the female anus. It is more pleasing to me to see the nates than the mons, yet I loathe everything associated with the anal region."

Moll has recorded in detail a case of what may be described as "ideal coprolagnia"—that is to say, where the symbolism,

though fully developed in imagination, was not carried into real life—which is of great interest because it shows how, in a very intelligent subject, the deviated symbolism may become highly developed and irradiate all the views of life in the same way as the normal impulse. (The subject's desires were also inverted, but from the present point of view the psychological interest of the case is not thereby impaired.) Moll's case was one of symbolism of act, the excreta offering no attraction apart from the process of defecation. In a case which has been communicated to me there was, on the other hand, an olfactory fetichistic attraction to the excreta even in the absence of the person.

In Moll's case, the patient, X., 23 years of age, belongs to a family which he himself describes as nervous. His mother, who is anæmic, has long suffered from almost periodical attacks of excitement, weakness, syncope and palpitation. A brother of the mother died in a lunatic asylum, and several other brothers complain much of their nerves. The mother's sisters are very good-natured, but liable to break out in furious passions; this they inherit from their father. There appears to be no nervous disease on the patient's father's side. X.'s sisters are also healthy.

X. himself is of powerful undersized build and enjoys good health, injured by no excesses. He considers himself nervous. He worked hard at school and was always the first in his class; he adds, however, that this is due less to his own abilities than the laziness of his schoolfellows. He is, as he remarks, very religious and prays frequently, but seldom goes to church.

In regard to his psychic characters he says that he has no specially prominent talent, but is much interested in languages, mathematics, physics and philosophy, in fact, in abstract subjects generally. "While I take a lively interest in every kind of intellectual work," he says, "it is only recently that I have been attracted to real life and its requirements. I have never had much skill in physical exercises. For external things until recently I have only had contempt. I have a delicately constituted nature, loving solitude, and only associating with a few select persons. I have a decided taste for fiction, poetry and music; my temperament is idealistic and religious, with strict conceptions of duty and morality, and aspirations towards the good and beautiful. I detest all that is common and coarse, and yet I can think and act in the way you will learn from the following pages."

Regarding his sexual life, X. made the following communication. "During the last two years I have become convinced of the perversion of my sexual instinct. I had often previously thought that in

me the impulse was not quite normal, but it is only lately that I have become convinced of my complete perversion. I have never read or heard of any case in which the sexual feelings were of the same kind. Although I can feel a lively inclination towards superior representatives of the female sex, and have twice felt something like love, the sight or the recollection even of a beautiful woman have never caused sexual excitement." In the two exceptional instances mentioned it appears that X. had an inclination to kiss the women in question, but that the thought of coitus had no attraction. "In my voluptuous dreams, connected with the emission of semen, women in seductive situations have never appeared. I have never had any desire to visit a *puella publica*. The love-stories of my fellow-students seemed very silly, dances and balls were a horror to me, and only on very rare occasions could I be persuaded to go into society. It will be easy to guess the diagnosis in my case: I suffer from the sexual attraction of my own sex, I am a lover of boys.

"You cannot imagine what a world of thoughts, wishes, feelings and impulses the words 'knabe,' 'παις,' 'garcon,' 'boy,' 'ragazzo' have for me; one of these words, even in an unmeaning clause of a translation-book, calls before me the whole sum of associations which in course of time have become bound up with this idea, and it is only with an effort that I can scare away the wild band. This group of thoughts shows a wonderful mixture of warm sensuality and ideal love, it unites my lowest and highest impulses, the strength and the weakness of my nature, my curse and my blessing. My inclination is especially towards boys of the age of 12 to 15; though they may be rather younger or older. That I should prefer beautiful and intelligent boys is comprehensible. I do not want a prostitute, but a friend or a son, whose soul I love, whom I can help to become a more perfect man, such as I myself would willingly be.

"When I myself belonged to that happy age (*i.e.*, below 15) I had no dearer wish than to possess a friend of similar tastes. I have sought, hoped, waited, grieved, and been at last disillusioned, overcome by desire and despair, and have not found that friend. Even later the hope often reappeared, but always in vain, and I cannot boast of that sure recognition which one reads of in the autobiographies of Urnings. I do not know personally a single fellow-sufferer. It is also doubtful whether such an acquaintanceship would greatly help me, for I have a very peculiar conception of homosexuality. As you will see, I have little more in common with what are called pæderasts than sexual indifference to the female sex, and I often ask myself: 'Does any other man in the whole world feel like you? Are you alone in the earth with your morbid desires? Are you a pariah of pariahs, or is there, perhaps, another soul with similar longings living near you? How often in summer have I gone to the lakes and streams outside cities to seek boys bathing; but I always came back unsatisfied, whether I found any or not. And

in winter I have been irresistibly impelled to return to the same spots, as if it were sanctified by the boys, but my darlings had vanished and cold winds blew over the icy floods, so that I would return feeling as though I had buried all my happiness.

"It must be borne in mind, therefore, that what I have to say regarding my sexual impulses only refers to fancies and never to their practical realization. My sensual impulses are not connected with the sexual organs; all my voluptuous ideas are not in the least connected with these parts. For this reason I have never practiced onanism and *immissio membri in anum* is as repulsive to me as to a normal man. Even every imitation of coitus is, for me, without attraction. In a boy's body two things specially excite me: *his belly and his nates*, the first as containing the digestive tract, the second as holding the opening of the bowels. Of the vegetable processes of life in the boy none interest me nearly so much as the progress of his digestion and the process of defecation. It is incredible to what an extent this part of physiology has occupied me from youth. If as a boy I wanted to read something of a piquantly exciting character I sought in my father's encyclopædia for articles like: Obstruction, Constipation, Hæmorrhoids, Fæces, etc. No function of the body seemed to be so significant as this, and I regarded its disturbances as the most important in the whole mechanism of life. The description of other disorders I could read in cold blood, but intussusception of the bowels makes me ill even to-day. I am always extremely pleased to hear that the digestion of the people around me is in good condition. A man who did not sufficiently watch over his digestion aroused distrust in me, and I imagined that wicked men must be horribly indifferent regarding this weighty matter. Even more than in ordinary persons was I interested in the digestion of more mysterious beings, like magicians in legends, or men of other nations. I would willingly have made an anthropological study of my favorite subject, only to my annoyance books nearly always pass over the matter in silence. In history and fiction I regretted the absence of information concerning the state of my heroes' digestion when they languished in prison or in some unaccustomed or unhealthy spot. For this reason I held no book more precious than one which describes how a young man after being shipwrecked lived for a long time in a narrow snow-hut, and it was conscientiously stated that he became aware of digestive disturbances. No immorality angers me more than the foolish practice of ladies who in society neglect the satisfaction of their natural needs from misplaced motives of modesty. On a railway journey I suffer horribly from the thought that one of my fellow-travelers may be prevented from fulfilling some imperative natural necessity.

"I naturally devote the greatest attention to my own digestion. With painful conscientiousness I go to stool every day at the same

hour; if the operation does not come off to my satisfaction I feel not so much physical as mental discomfort. To this quite useful hygienic interest became associated at puberty a sensual interest. Since my fourteenth year I have had no greater enjoyment than to defecate undressed (I do not do so now) after having first carefully examined the distension of my abdomen. In summer I would go into the woods, undress myself in a secluded spot and indulge in the voluptuous pleasures of defecation. I would sometimes combine with this a bath in a stream. I would exhaust my imagination in the effort to invent specially enjoyable variations, longed for a desert island where I could go about naked, fill my body with much nourishing food, hold in the excrement as long as possible and then discharge it in some subtly-thought-out spot. These practices and ideas often caused erections and later on emissions, but the genitals played no part in my conceptions; their movements were uncomfortable and gave no pleasure.

"I soon longed to be associated in these orgies with some boy of the same age, but I wanted not only a companion in my passion, but also a real friend. Since there could be no question of masturbation or pæderasty, our love would have been limited to kisses, embraces, and—as a compensation for coitus—defecation together. That would have been perfect bliss to me. I will spare you the unæsthetic contents of my voluptuous dreams. But I remained without a companion, and, therefore, without real enjoyment. [He has, however, on various occasions experienced erections, and even emissions, on seeing, by chance, men or boys defecate.] Hinc illæ lacrimæ; the excitement over my own defecation only took place *faute de mieux*.

"I knew very well that my thoughts and practices were impure and contemptible. Ah! how often, when the intoxication was over, have I thrown myself remorsefully on my knees, praying to God for pardon! For some weeks I repressed my longing; but at last it was too strong for me, I tried to justify myself and fell into my vice anew. That I was guilty of licentiousness and loved boys sexually first became clear to me later on, when I knew the significance of erection as a sign of sexual excitement.

"No one can imagine with what demoniacal joy I am possessed at the thought of a beautiful naked boy whose abdomen is filled as the result of long abstinence from stool. The thought powerfully excites me, a flood of passion goes through my blood and my limbs tremble. I would never grow tired of feeling that belly and looking at it. My passion would express itself in tempestuous caresses, and the boy would have to assume various positions in order to show off the beauty of his form, *i.e.*, to bring the parts in question into better view. To observe defecation would still further increase this peculiar enjoyment. If the boy's bowels were not sufficiently filled I would feed him with all sorts

of food which produces much excrement, such as potatoes, coarse bread, etc. If possible I would seek to delay defecation for two or three days, so that it might be as copious as possible. When at last it occurred it would be an unspeakable joy for me to watch the fæces—which would have to be fairly firm—emerging from the anus."

X. would like to be a teacher and thinks he could exert a beneficial influence on boys. In spite of the pain he has suffered he does not think he would like to be cured of his perverse inclinations, for they have given him joy as well as pain, and the pain has chiefly been owing to the fact that he could not gratify his inclinations. X. smokes and drinks in moderation, and has no feminine habits. (The foregoing is a condensed summary of the case which is fully reported by Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, pp. 295-305.)

The case of coprolagnia communicated to me is that of a married man, normal in all other respects, intellectually brilliant and filling successfully a very responsible position. When a child the women of his household were always indifferent as to his presence in their bedrooms, and would satisfy all natural calls without reserve before him. He would dream of this with erections. His sexual interests became slowly centered in the act of defecation, and this fetich throughout life never appealed to him so powerfully as when associated with the particular type of household furniture which was used for this purpose in his own house. The act of defecation in the opposite sex or anything pertaining to or suggesting the same caused uncontrollable sexual excitement; the nates also exerted a great attraction. The alvine excreta exerted this influence even in the absence of the woman; it was, however, necessary that she should be a sexually desirable person. The perversion in this case was not complete; that is to say, that the excitement produced by the act of defecation or the excretion itself was not actually preferred to coitus; the sexual idea was normal coitus in the normal manner, but preceded by the visual and olfactory enjoyment of the exciting fetich. When coitus was not possible the enjoyment of the fetich was accompanied by masturbation (as in the analogous case of urolagnia in a woman summarized on p. 62.) On one occasion he was discovered by a friend in a bedroom belonging to a woman, engaged in the act of masturbation over a vessel containing the desired fetich. In an agony of shame he begged the mercy of silence concerning this episode, at the same time revealing his life-history. He has constantly been haunted by the dread of detection, as well as by remorse and the consciousness of degradation, also by the fear that his unconquerable obsession may lead him to the asylum.

The scatalogic groups of sexual perversions, urolagnia and coprolagnia, as may be sufficiently seen in this brief summary,

are not merely olfactory fetiches. They are, in a larger proportion of cases, dynamic symbols, a preoccupation with physiological acts which, by associations of contiguity and still more of resemblance, have gained the virtue of stimulating in slight cases, and replacing in more extreme cases, the normal preoccupation with the central physiological act itself. We have seen that there are various considerations which amply suffice to furnish a basis for such associations. And when we reflect that in the popular mind, and to some extent in actual fact, the sexual act itself is, like urination and defecation, an excretory act, we can understand that the true excretory acts may easily become symbols of the pseudo-excretory act. It is, indeed, in the muscular release of accumulated pressures and tensions, involved by the act of liberating the stored-up excretion, that we have the closest simulacrum of the tumescence and detumescence of the sexual process.[1]

In this way the erotic symbolism of urolagnia and coprolagnia is completely analogous with that dynamic symbolism of the clinging and swinging garments which Herrick has so accurately described, with the complex symbolism of flagellation and its play of the rod against the blushing and trembling nates, with the symbols of sexual strain and stress which are embodied in the foot and the act of treading.

---

[1] In the study of *Love and Pain* in a previous volume (p. 130) I have quoted the remarks of a lady who refers to the analogy between sexual tension and vesical tension—"Cette volupté que ressentent les bords de la mer, d'être toujours pleins sans jamais déborder"—and its erotic significance.

IV.

Animals as Sources of Erotic Symbolism—Mixoscopic Zoophilia—The Stuff-fetichisms—Hair-fetichism—The Stuff-fetichisms Mainly on a Tactile Base—Erotic Zoophilia—Zooerastia—Bestiality—The Conditions that Favor Bestiality—Its Wide Prevalence Among Primitive Peoples and Among Peasants—The Primitive Conception of Animals—The Goat—The Influence of Familiarity with Animals—Congress Between Women and Animals—The Social Reaction Against Bestiality.

THE erotic symbols with which we have so far been concerned have in every case been portions of the body, or its physiological processes, or at least the garments which it has endowed with life. The association on which the symbol has arisen has in every case been in large measure, although not entirely, an association of contiguity. It is now necessary to touch on a group of sexual symbols in which the association of contiguity with the human body is absent: the various methods by which animals or animal products or the sight of animal copulation may arouse sexual desire in human persons. Here we encounter a symbolism mainly founded on association by resemblance; the animal sexual act recalls the human sexual act; the animal becomes the symbol of the human being.

The group of phenomena we are here concerned with includes several sub-divisions. There is first the more or less sexual pleasure sometimes experienced, especially by young persons, in the sight of copulating animals. This I would propose to call Mixoscopic Zoophilia; it falls within the range of normal variation. Then we have the cases in which the contact of animals, stroking, etc., produces sexual excitement or gratification; this is a sexual fetichism in the narrow sense, and is by Krafft-Ebing termed *Zoophilia Erotica*. We have, further, the class of cases in which a real or simulated sexual intercourse with animals is desired. Such cases are not regarded as fetichism by Krafft-

l-bing,[1] but they come within the phenomena of erotic symbolism as here understood. This class falls into two divisions: one in which the individual is fairly normal, but belongs to a low grade of culture; the other in which he may belong to a more refined social class, but is affected by a deep degree of degeneration. In the first case we may properly apply the term bestiality; in the second case it may perhaps be better to use the term *zooerastia*, proposed by Krafft-Ebing.[2]

Among children, both boys and girls, it is common to find that the copulation of animals is a mysteriously fascinating spectacle. It is inevitable that this should be so, for the spectacle is more or less clearly felt to be the revelation of a secret which has been concealed from them. It is, moreover, a secret of which they feel intimate reverberations within themselves, and even in perfectly innocent and ignorant children the sight may produce an obscure sexual excitement.[3] It would seem that this occurs more frequently in girls than in boys. Even in adult age, it may be added, women are liable to experience the same kind of emotion in the presence of such spectacles. One lady recalls, as a girl, that on several occasions an element of physical excitement entered into the feelings with which she watched the coquetry of cats. Another lady mentions that at the age of about 25, and when still quite ignorant of sexual matters, she saw from a window some boys tickling a dog and inducing sexual excitement in the animal; she vaguely divined what they were doing, and though feeling disgust at their conduct she at the same time experienced in a strong degree what she now knows was sexual excitement. The coupling of the larger animals is

---

[1] For Krafft-Ebing's discussion of the subject see *Op. cit.*, pp. 530-539.

[1] In England it is not uncommon to use the term "unnatural offence;" this is an awkward and possibly misleading practice which should not be followed. In Germany a similar confusion is caused by applying the term "sodomy" to these cases as well as to pederasty. Krafft-Ebing considers that this error is due to the jurists, while the theologians have always distinguished correctly. In this matter, he adds, science must be *ancilla theologiæ* and return to the correct usage of words.

[1] This childish interest, with later abnormal developments, may be seen in History I of the Appendix to this volume.

often an impressive and splendid spectacle which is far, indeed, from being obscene, and has commended itself to persons of intellectual distinction;[1] but in young or ill-balanced minds such sights tend to become both prurient and morbid. I have already referred to the curious case of a sexually hyperæsthetic nun who was always powerfully excited by the sight or even the recollection of flies in sexual connection, so that she was compelled to masturbate; this dated from childhood. After becoming a nun she recorded having had this experience, followed by masturbation, more than four hundred times.[2] Animal spectacles sometimes produce a sexual effect on children even when not specifically sexual; thus a correspondent, a clergyman, informs me that when a young and impressionable boy, he was much affected by seeing a veterinary surgeon insert his hand and arm into a horse's rectum, and dreamed of this several times afterward with emissions.

While the contemplation of animal coitus is an easily intelligible and in early life, perhaps, an almost normal symbol of sexual emotion, there is another sub-division of this group of animal fetichisms which forms a more natural transition from the fetichisms which have their center in the human body: the stuff-fetichisms, or the sexual attraction exerted by various tissues, perhaps always of animal origin. Here we are in the presence of a somewhat complicated phenomenon. In part we have,

---

[1] The Countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney's sister, appears to have found sexual enjoyment in the contemplation of the sexual prowess of stallions. Aubrey writes that she "was very salacious and she had a contrivance that in the spring of the year . . . the stallions . . . were to be brought before such a part of the house where she had a vidette to look on them." (*Short Lives*, 1898, vol. i, p. 311.) Although the modern editor's modesty has caused the disappearance of several lines from this passage, the general sense is clear. In the same century Burchard, the faithful secretary of Pope Alexander VI, describes in his invaluable diary how four race horses were brought to two mares in a court of the Vatican, the horses clamorously fighting for the possession of the mares and eventually mounting them, while the Pope and his daughter Lucrezia looked on from a window "cum magno risu et delectatione." (*Diarium*, ed Thuasne, vol. III, p. 169.)

[2] *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1902, fasc. ii-iii, p. 338. In the case of pathological sexuality in a boy of 15, reported by A. MacDonald, and already summarized, the sight of copulating flies is also mentioned among many other causes of sexual excitation.

in a considerable number of such cases, the sexual attraction of feminine garments, for all such tissues are liable to enter into the dress. In part, also, we have a sexual perversion of tactile sensibility, for in a considerable proportion of these cases it is the touch sensations which are potent in arousing the erotic sensations. But in part, also, it would seem, we have here the conscious or sub-conscious presence of an animal fetich, and it is notable that perhaps all these stuffs, and especially fur, which is by far the commonest of the groups, are distinctively animal products. We may perhaps regard the fetich of feminine hair—a much more important and common fetich, indeed, than any of the stuff fetichisms—as a link of transition. Hair is at once an animal and a human product, while it may be separated from the body and possesses the qualities of a stuff. Krafft-Ebing remarks that the senses of touch, smell, and hearing, as well as sight, seem to enter into the attraction exerted by hair.

The natural fascination of hair, on which hair-fetichism is founded, begins at a very early age. "The hair is a special object of interest with infants," Stanley Hall concludes, "which begins often in the latter part of the first year. . . . The hair, no doubt, gives quite unique tactile sensations, both in its own roots and to hands, and is plastic and yielding to the motor sense, so that the earliest interest may be akin to that in fur, which is a marked object in infant experience. Some children develop an almost fetichistic propensity to pull or later to stroke the hair or beard of every one with whom they come in contact." (G. Stanley Hall, "The Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, April, 1898, p. 359.)

It should be added that the fascination of hair for the infantile and childish mind is not necessarily one of attraction, but may be of repulsion. It happens here, as in the case of so many characteristics which are of sexual significance, that we are in the presence of an object which may exert a dynamic emotional force, a force which is capable of repelling with the same energy that it attracts. Féré records the instructive case of a child of 3, of psychopathic heredity, who when he could not sleep was sometimes taken by his mother into her bed. One night his hand came in contact with a hairy portion of his mother's body, and this, arousing the idea of an animal, caused him to leap out of the bed in terror. He became curious as to the cause of his terror and in time was able to observe "the animal," but the train of feelings which had been set up led to a life-long indifference to women and a tendency to homosexuality. It is noteworthy that he was attracted to

men in whom the hair and other secondary sexual characters were well developed. (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, pp. 262-267.)

As a sexual fetich hair strictly belongs to the group of parts of the body; but since it can be removed from the body and is sexually effective as a fetich in the absence of the person to whom it belongs, it is on a level with the garments which may serve in a similar way, with shoes or handkerchiefs or gloves. Psychologically, hair fetichism presents no special problem, but the wide attraction of hair—it is sexually the most generally noted part of the feminine body after the eyes—and the peculiar facility with which when plaited it may be removed, render hair-fetichism a sexual perversion of specially great medico-legal interest.

The frequency of hair-fetichism, as well as of the natural admiration on which it rests, is indicated by a case recorded by Laurent. "A few years ago," he states, "one constantly saw at the Bal Bullier, in Paris, a tall girl whose face was lean and bony, but whose black hair was of truly remarkable length. She wore it flowing down her shoulders and loins. Men often followed her in the street to touch or kiss the hair. Others would accompany her home and pay her for the mere pleasure of touching and kissing the long black tresses. One, in consideration of a relatively considerable sum, desired to polute the silky hair. She was obliged to be always on her guard, and to take all sorts of precautions to prevent any one cutting off this ornament, which conetituted her only beauty as well as her livelihood. (E. Laurent, *L'Amour Morbide*, 1891, p. 164; also the same author's *Fétichistes et Erotomanes*, p. 23.)

The hair despoiler (*Coupeur des Nattes* or *Zopfabschneider*) may be found in any civilized country, though the most carefully studied cases have occurred in Paris. (Several medico-legal histories of hair-despoilers are summarized by Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 329-334). Such persons are usually of nervous temperament and bad heredity; the attraction to hair occasionally develops in early life; sometimes the morbid impulse only appears in later life after fever. The fetich may be either flowing hair or braided hair, but is usually one or the other, and not both. Sexual excitement and ejaculation may be produced in the act of touching or cutting off the hair, which is subsequently, in many cases, used for masturbation. As a rule the hair-despoiler is a pure fetichist, no element of sadistic pleasure entering into his feelings. In the case of a "capillary kleptomaniac" in Chicago—a highly intelligent and athletic married young man of good family—the impulse to cut off girls' braids appeared after recovery from a severe fever. He would gaze admiringly at the long tresses and then clip them off with great rapidity; he did this in some fifty cases before he was caught and imprisoned. He usually threw the braids away before he reached home. (*Alienist and Neurologist*, April, 1889, p. 325.) In this case there

is no history of sexual excitement, probably because no proper medico-legal examination was made. (It may be added that hair-despoilers have been specially studied by Motet, "Les Coupeurs de Nattes," *Annales d'Hygiène*, 1890.)

The stuff-fetiches are most usually fur and velvet; feathers, silk, and leathers also sometimes exert this influence; they are all, it will be noted, animal substances.[1] The most interesting is probably fur, the attraction of which is not uncommon in association with passive algolagnia. As Stanley Hall has shown, the fear of fur, as well as the love of it, is by no means uncommon in childhood; it may appear even in infancy and in children who have never come in contact with animals.[2] It is noteworthy that in most cases of uncomplicated stuff-fetichism the attraction apparently arises on a congenital basis, as it appears in persons of nervous or sensitive temperament at an early age and without being attached to any definite causative incident. The sexual excitation is nearly always produced by the touch rather than by the sight. As we found, when dealing with the sense of touch in the previous volume, the specific sexual sensations may be regarded as a special modification of ticklishness. The erotic symbolism in the case of these stuff-fetichisms would seem to be a more or less congenital perversion of ticklishness in relation to specific animal contacts.

A further degree of perversion in this direction is reached in a case of erotic *zoophilia*, recorded by Krafft-Ebing.[3] In this case a congenital neuropath, of good intelligence but delicate and anæmic, with feeble sexual powers, had a great love of domestic animals, especially dogs and cats, from an early age; when petting them he experienced sexual emotions, although he was innocent in sexual matters. At puberty he realized the nature of his feelings and tried to break himself of his habits. He succeeded, but then began erotic dreams accompanied by images of

---

[1] Krafft-Ebing presents or quotes typical cases of all these fetiches, *Op. cit.*, pp. 255-266.

[2] G. Stanley Hall, "A study of Fears," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1897, pp. 213-215.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

animals, and these led to masturbation associated with ideas of a similar kind. At the same time he had no wish for any sort of sexual intercourse with animals, and was indifferent as to the sex of the animals which attracted him; his sexual ideals were normal. Such a case seems to be fundamentally one of fetichism on a tactile basis, and thus forms a transition between the stuff-fetichisms and the complete perversions of sexual attraction toward animals.

In some cases sexually hyperæsthetic women have informed me that sexual feeling has been produced by casual contact with pet dogs and cats. In such cases there is usually no real perversion, but it seems probable that we may here have an occasional foundation for the somewhat morbid but scarcely vicious excesses of affection which women are apt to display towards their pet dogs or cats. In most cases of this affection there is certainly no sexual element; in the case of childless women, it may rather be regarded as a maternal than as an erotic symbolism. (The excesses of this non-erotic zoophilia have been discussed by Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, pp. 166-171.)

Krafft-Ebing considers that complete perversion of sexual attraction toward animals is radically distinct from erotic *zoophilia*. This view cannot be accepted. Bestiality and *zooerastia* merely present in a more marked and profoundly perverted form a further degree of the same phenomenon which we meet with in erotic *zoophilia;* the difference is that they occur either in more insensitive or in more markedly degenerate persons.

A fairly typical case of *zooerastia* has been recorded in America by Howard, of Baltimore. This was the case of a boy of 16, precociously mature and fairly bright. He was, however, indifferent to the opposite sex, though he had amp'e opportunity for gratifying normal passions. His parents lived in the city, but the youth had an inordinate desire for the country and was therefore sent to school in a village. On the second day after his arrival at school a farmer missed a sow which was found secreted in an outhouse on the school grounds. This was the first of many similar incidents in which a sow always took part. So strong was his passion that on one occasion force had to be used to take him away from the sow he was caressing. He did

not masturbate, and even when restrained from approaching sows he had no sexual inclination for other animals. His nocturnal pollutions, which were frequent, were always accompanied by images of wallowing swine. Notwithstanding careful treatment no cure was effected; mental and physical vigor failed, and he died at the age of 23.[1]

It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether we can always or even usually distinguish between zooerastia and bestiality. Dr. G. F. Lydston, of Chicago, has communicated to me a case (in which he was consulted) which seems fairly typical and is instructive in this respect. The subject was a young man of 21, a farmer's son, not very bright intellectually, but very healthy and strong, of great assistance on the farm, very capable and industrious, such a good farm hand that his father was unwilling to send him away and to lose his services. There was no history of insanity or neurosis in the family, and no injury or illness in his own history. He had spells of moroseness and irritability, however, and had also been a masturbator. Women had no attraction for him, but he would copulate with the mares upon his father's farm, and this without regard to time, place, or spectators. Such a case would seem to stand midway between ordinary bestiality and pathologieal zooerastia as defined by Krafft-Ebing, yet it seems probable that in most cases of ordinary bestiality some slight traces of mental anomaly might be found, if such cases always were, as they should be, properly investigated.[2]

---

[1] W. Howard, "Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1896. Krafft-Ebing (*op. cit.*, p. 532) quotes from Boeteau the somewhat similar case of a gardener's boy of 16—an illegitimate child of neuropathic heredity and markedly degenerate—who had a passion, of irresistible and impulsive character, for rabbits. He was declared irresponsible. Moll (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, pp. 431-433) presents the case of a neurotic man who from the age of 15 had been sexually excited by the sight of animals or by contact with them. He had repeatedly had connection with cows and mares; he was also sexually excited by sheep, donkeys, and dogs, whether female or male; the normal sexual instinct was weak and he experienced very slight attraction to women.

[2] Moll also remarks ("Perverse Sexualempfindung," in Senator's and Kaminer's *Krankheiten und Ehe*) that in this matter it is often hardly possible to draw a sharp line betweeen vice and disease.

We have here reached the grossest and most frequent perversion in this group; bestiality, or the impulse to attain sexual gratification by intercourse, or other close contact, with animals. In seeking to comprehend this perversion it is necessary to divest ourselves of the attitude toward animals which is the inevitable outcome of refined civilization and urban life. Most sexual perversions, if not in large measure the actual outcome of civilized life, easily adjust themselves to it. Bestiality (except in one form to be noted later) is, on the other hand, the sexual perversion of dull, insensitive, and unfastidious persons. It flourishes among primitive peoples and among peasants. It is the vice of the clodhopper, unattractive to women or inapt to court them.

Three conditions have favored the extreme prevalence of bestiality: (1) primitive conceptions of life which built up no great barrier between man and the other animals; (2) the extreme familiarity which necessarily exists between the peasant and his beasts, often combined with separation from women; (3) various folk-lore beliefs such as the efficacy of intercourse with animals as a cure for venereal disease, etc.[1]

The beliefs and customs of primitive peoples, as well as their mythology and legends, bring before us a community of man and animals altogether unlike anything we know in civilization. Men may become animals and animals may become men; animals and men may communicate with each other and live on terms of equality; animals may be the ancestors of human tribes; the sacred totems of savages are most usually animals. There is no shame or degradation in the notion of a sexual relationship between men and animals, because in primitive conceptions animals are not inferior beings separated from man by a great gulf. They are much more like men in disguise, and in some respects possess powers which make them superior to men.

---

[1] Instances of this widespread belief—found among the Tamils of Ceylon as well as in Europe—are quoted from various authors by Bloch, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, p. 278. and Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 700. On the frequency of bestiality, from one cause or another, in the East, see, *e.g.*, Stern, *Medizin und Geschlechtsleben in der Türkei*, bd. ii, p. 219.

This is recognized in those plays, festivals, and religious dances, so common among primitive peoples, in which animal disguises are worn.[1] When men admire and emulate the qualities of animals and are proud to believe that they descend from them, it is not surprising that they should sometimes see nothing derogatory in sexual intercourse with them.[2]

A significant relic of primitive conceptions in this matter may perhaps be found in the religious rites connected with the sacred goat of Mendes described by Herodotus. After telling how the Mendesians reverence the goat, especially the he-goat, out of their veneration for Pan, whom they represent as a goat ("the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate"), he adds: "It happened in this country, and within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman."[3] The meaning of the passage evidently is that in the ordinary intercourse of women with the sacred goat, connection was only simulated or incomplete on account of the natural indifference of the goat to the human female, but that in rare cases the goat proved sexually excitable with the woman and capable of connection.[4] The goat has always been a kind of sacred emblem of lust. In the middle ages it became associated with the Devil as one of the favorite forms he assumed. It is significant of a primitively religious sexual association between men and animals, that witches constantly confessed, or were made to confess, that they had had intercourse with the Devil in the shape of an animal, very frequently a dog. The figures

---

[1] Sometimes (as among the Aleuts) the animal pantomime dances of savages may represent the transformation of a captive bird into a lovely woman who falls exhausted into the arms of the hunter. (H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. i, p. 93.) A system of beliefs which accepts the possibility that a human being may be latent in an animal obviously favors the practice of bestiality.

[2] For an example of the primitive confusion between the intercourse of women with animals and with men see, *e.g.*, Boas, "Sagen aus British-Columbia," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, heft V, p. 558.

[3] Herodotus, Book II, Chapter 46.

[4] Dulare (*Des Divinités Génératrices*, Chapter II) brings together the evidence showing that in Egypt women had connection with the sacred goat, apparently in order to secure fertility.

of human beings and animals in conjunction carved on temples in India, also seem to indicate the religious significance which this phenomenon sometimes presents. There is, indeed, no need to go beyond Europe even in her moments of highest culture to find a religious sanction for sexual union between human beings, or gods in human shape, and animals. The legends of Io and the bull, of Leda and the swan, are among the most familiar in Greek mythology, and in a later pictorial form they constitute some of the most cherished works of the painters of the Renaissance.

As regards the prevalence of occasional sexual intercourse between men or women and animals among primitive peoples at the present time, it is possible to find many scattered references by travelers in all parts of the world. Such references by no means indicate that such practices are, as a rule, common, but they usually show that they are accepted with a good-humored indifference.[1]

Bestiality is very rarely found in towns. In the country this vice of the clodhopper is far from infrequent. For the peasant, whose sensibilities are uncultivated and who makes but the most elementary demands from a woman, the difference between an animal and a human being in this respect scarcely seems to be very great. "My wife was away too long," a German peasant explained to the magistrate, "and so I went with my sow." It is certainly an explanation that to the uncultivated peasant, ignorant of theological and juridical conceptions, must often seem natural and sufficient.

Bestiality thus resembles masturbation and other abnormal manifestations of the sexual impulse which may be practiced merely *faute de mieux* and not as, in the strict sense, perversions of the impulse. Even necrophily may be thus practiced. A young man who when assisting the grave-digger conceived and carried out the idea of digging up the bodies of young girls to satisfy his passions with, and whose case

[1] Various facts and references bearing on this subject are brought together by Blumenbach, *Anthropological Memoirs*, translated by Bendyshe, p. 80; Block, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, pp. 276-283; also Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, seventh edition, p. 520.

has been recorded by Belletrud and Mercier, said: "I could find no young girl who would agree to yield to my desires; that is why I have done this. I should have preferred to have relations with living persons. I found it quite natural to do what I did: I saw no harm in it, and I did not think that any one else could. As living women felt nothing but repulsion for me, it was quite natural I should turn to the dead, who have never repulsed me. I used to say tender things to them like 'my beautiful, my love, I love you.'" (Belletrud and Mercier "Perversion de l'Instinct Genésique," *Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, June, 1903.) But when so highly abnormal an act is felt as natural we are dealing with a person who is congenitally defective so far as the finer developments of intelligence are concerned. It was so in this case of necrophily; he was the son of a weak-minded woman of unrestrainable sexual inclinations, and was himself somewhat feeble-minded; he was also, it is instructive to observe, anosmic.

But it is by no means only their dulled sensibility or the absence of women, which accounts for the frequency of bestiality among peasants. A highly important factor is their constant familiarity with animals. The peasant lives with animals, tends them, learns to know all their individual characters; he understands them far better than he understands men and women; they are his constant companions, his friends. He knows, moreover, the details of their sexual lives, he witnesses the often highly impressive spectacle of their coupling. It is scarcely surprising that peasants should sometimes regard animals as being not only as near to them as their fellow human beings, but even nearer.

The significance of the factor of familiarity is indicated by the great frequency of bestiality among shepherds, goatherds, and others whose occupation is exclusively the care of animals. Mirabeau, in the eighteenth century, stated, on the evidence of Basque priests, that all the shepherds in the Pyrenees practice bestiality. It is apparently much the same in Italy.[1] In South

---

[1] Mantegazza mentions (*Gli Amori degli Uomini*, cap V) that at Rimini a young goatherd of the Apennines, troubled with dyspepsia and nervous symptoms, told him this was due to excesses with the goats in his care. A finely executed marble group of a satyr having connection with a goat, found at Herculaneum and now in the Naples Museum (reproduced in Fuchs's *Erotische Element in der Karikatur*), perhaps symbolizes a traditional and primitive practice of the goatherd.

Italy and Sicily, especially, bestiality among goatherds and peasants is said to be almost a national custom.[1] In the extreme north of Europe, it is reported, the reindeer, in this respect, takes the place of the goat.

The importance of the same factor is also shown by the fact that when among women in civilization animal perversions appear, the animal is nearly always a pet dog. Usually in these cases the animal is taught to give gratification by *cunnilinctus*. In some cases, however, there is really sexual intercourse between the animal and the woman.

Moll mentions that in a case of *cunnilinctus* by a dog in Germany there was a difficulty as to whether the matter should be considered an unnatural offence or simply an offence against decency; the lower court considered it in the former light, while the higher court took the more merciful view. (Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 697.) In a case reported by Pfaff and mentioned by Moll, a country girl was accused of having sexual intercourse with a large dog. On examination Pfaff found in the girl's thick pubic hair a loose hair which under the microscope proved to belong to the dog. (*Loc. cit.*, p. 698.) In such a case it must be noted that while this evidence may be held to show sexual contact with the dog, it scarcely suffices to show sexual intercourse. This has, however, undoubtedly occurred from time to time, even more or less openly. Bloch (*Op. cit.*, pp. 277 and 282) remarks that this is not an infrequent exhibition given by prostitutes in certain brothels. Maschka has referred to such an exhibition between a woman and a bull-dog, which was given to select circles in Paris. Rosse refers to a case in which a young unmarried woman in Washington was surprised during intercourse with a large English mastiff, who in his efforts to get loose caused such severe injuries that the woman died from hæmorrhage in about an hour. Rosse also mentions that some years ago a performance of this kind between a prostitute and a Newfoundland dog could be witnessed in San Francisco by paying a small sum; the woman declared that a woman who had once copulated with a dog would ever afterwards prefer this animal to a man. Rosse adds that he was acquainted with a similar performance between a woman

---

[1] Bayle (*Dictionary*, Art, Bathyllus) quotes various authorities concerning the Italian auxiliaries in the south of France in the sixteenth century and their custom of bringing and using goats for this purpose. Warton in the eighteenth century was informed that in Sicily priests in confession habitually inquired of herdsmen if they had anything to do with their sows. In Normandy priests are advised to ask similar questions.

and a donkey, which used to take place in Europe (Irving Rosse, "Sexual Hypochondriasis and Perversion of the Genesic Instinct," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, October, 1892, p. 379). Juvenal mentions such relations between the donkey and woman (vi, 332). Krauss (quoted by Bloch, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, p. 276) states that in Bosnia women sometimes carry on these practices with dogs and also—as he would not have believed had he not on one occasion observed it—with cats. "It seems to me," writes Dr. Kiernan, of Chicago, (private letter) "that what Rosse says of the animal exhibitions in San Francisco is true of all great cities. The animal employed in such exhibitions here has usually been a donkey, and in one instance death occurred from the animal trampling the girl partner. The practice described occurs in country regions quite frequently. Thus in a case reported in the suburbs of Omaha, Nebraska, a sixteen-year-old boy engaged in rectal coitus with a large dog. In attempting to extricate his swollen penis from the boy's rectum the dog tore through the *sphincter ani* an inch into the gluteus muscles. (*Omaha Clinic*, March, 1893.) In a Missouri case, which I verified, a smart, pretty, well-educated country girl was found with a profuse offensive vaginal discharge which had been present for about a week, coming on suddenly. After washing the external genitals and opening the labia three rents were discovered, one through the fourchette and two through the left nymphæ. The vagina was excessively congested and covered with points bleeding on the slightest irritation. The patient confessed that one day while playing with the genitals of a large dog she became excited and thought she would have slight coitus. After the dog had made an entrance she was unable to free herself from him, as he clasped her so firmly with his fore legs. The penis became so swollen that the dog could not free himself, although for more than an hour she made persistent efforts to do so. (*Medical Standard*, June, 1903, p. 184). In an Indiana case, concerning which I was consulted, the girl was a hebephreniac who had resorted to this procedure with a Newfoundland dog at the instance of another girl, seemingly normal as regards mentality, and had been badly injured; a discharge resulted which resembled gonorrhœa, but contained no gonococci. These cases are probably more frequent than is usually assumed."

Women are known to have had intercourse with various other animals, occasionally or habitually, in various parts of the world. Monkeys have been mentioned in this connection. Moll remarks that it seems to be an indication of an abnormal interest in monkeys that some women are observed by the attendants in the monkey-house of zoölogical gardens to be very frequent visitors. Near the Amazon the traveler Castelnau saw an enormous Coati monkey belonging to an Indian woman and tried to purchase it; though he offered a large sum, the woman only laughed. "Your efforts are useless," remarked an

Indian in the same cabin, "he is her husband." (So far as the early literature of this subject is concerned, a number of facts and fables regarding the congress of women with dogs, goats and other animals was brought together at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Schurig in his *Gynæcologia*, Section II, cap. VII; I have not drawn on this collection.)

In some cases women, and also men, find gratification in the sexual manipulation of animals without any kind of congress. This may be illustrated by an observation communicated to me by a correspondent, a clergyman. "In Ireland, my father's house adjoined the residence of an archdeacon of the established church. I was then about 20 and was still kept in religious awe of evil ways. The archdeacon had two daughters, both of whom he brought up in great strictness, resolved that they should grow up examples of virtue and piety. Our stables adjoined, and were separated only by a thin wall in which was a doorway closed up by some boards, as the two stables had formerly been one. One night I had occasion to go to our stable to search for a garden tool I had missed, and I heard a door open on the other side, and saw a light glimmer through the cracks of the boards. I looked through to ascertain who could be there at that late hour, and soon recognized the stately figure of one of the daughters, F. F. was tall, dark and handsome, but had never made any advances to me, nor had I to her. She was making love to her father's mare after a singular fashion. Stripping her right arm, she formed her fingers into a cone, and pressed on the mare's vulva. I was astonished to see the beast stretching her hind legs as if to accommodate the hand of her mistress, which she pushed in gradually and with seeming ease to the elbow. At the same time she seemed to experience the most voluptuous sensation, crisis after crisis arriving." My correspondent adds that, being exceedingly curious in the matter, he tried a somewhat similar experiment himself with one of his father's mares and experienced what he describes as "a most powerful sexual battery" which produced very exciting and exhausting effects. Näcke (*Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen*, 1899, No. 2) refers to an idiot who thus manipulated the vulva of mares in his charge. The case has been recorded by Guillereau (*Journal de Médicine Véterinaire et de Zootechnie*, January, 1899) of a youth who was accustomed to introduce his hand into the vulva of cows in order to obtain sexual excitement.

The possibility of sexual excitement between women and animals involves a certain degree of sexual excitability in animals from contact with women. Darwin stated that there could be no doubt that various quadrumanous animals could distinguish women from men—in the first place probably by smell and secondarily by sight—and be thus liable to sexual excitement. He quotes the opinions on this point of Youatt,

Brehm, Sir Andrew Smith and Cuvier (*Descent of Man*, second edition, p. 8). Moll quotes the opinion of an experienced observer to the same effect (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, Bd. i, p. 429). Hufeland reported the case of a little girl of three who was playing, seated on a stool, with a dog placed between her thighs and locked against her. Seemingly excited by this contact the animal attempted a sort of copulation, causing the genital parts of the child to become inflamed. Bloch (*Op. cit.*, p. 280, *et seq.*) discusses the same point; he does not consider that animals will of their own motion sexually cohabit with women, but that they may be easily trained to it. There can be no doubt that dogs at all events are sometimes sexually excited by the presence of women, perhaps especially during menstruation, and many women are able to bear testimony to the embarrassing attentions they have sometimes received from strange dogs. There can be no difficulty in believing that, so far as *cunnilinctus* is concerned dogs would require no training. In a case recorded by Moll (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, p. 560) a lady states that this was done to her when a child, as also to other children, by dogs who, she said, showed signs of sexual excitement. In this case there was also sexual excitement thus produced in the child, and after puberty mutual *cunnilinctus* was practiced with girl friends. Guttceit (*Dreissig Jahre Praxis*, Theil I, p. 310) remarks that some Russian officers who were in the Turkish campaign of 1828 told him that from fear of venereal infection in Wallachia they refrained from women and often used female asses which appeared to show signs of sexual pleasure.

A very large number of animals have been recorded as having been employed in the gratification of sexual desire at some period or in some country, by men and sometimes by women. Domestic animals are naturally those which most frequently come into question, and there are few if any of these which can altogether be excepted. The sow is one of the animals most frequently abused in this manner.[1] Cases in which mares, cows, and donkeys figure constantly occur, as well as goats and sheep. Dogs, cats, and rabbits are heard of from time to time. Hens, ducks, and, especially in China, geese, are not uncommonly employed. The Roman ladies were said to have had an abnormal

---

[1] It is worth noting that in Greek the work χοῖρος means both a sow and a woman's pudenda; in the *Acharnians* Aristophanes plays on this association at some length. The Romans also (as may be gathered from Varro's *De Re Rustica*) called the feminine pudenda *porcus*.

affection for snakes. The bear and even the crocodile are also mentioned.[1]

The social and legal attitude toward bestiality has reflected in part the frequency with which it has been practiced, and in part the disgust mixed with mystical and sacrilegious horror which it has aroused. It has sometimes been met merely by a fine, and sometimes the offender and his innocent partner have been burnt together. In the middle ages and later its frequency is attested by the fact that it formed a favorite topic with preachers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is significant that in the Penitentials,—which were criminal codes, half secular and half spiritual, in use before the thirteenth century, when penance was relegated to the judgment of the confessor,—it was thought necessary to fix the periods of penance which should be undergone respectively by bishops, priests and deacons who should be guilty of bestiality.

In Egbert's Penitential, a document of the ninth and tenth centuries, we read (V. 22): "Item Episcopus cum quadrupede fornicans VII annos, consuetudinem X, presbyter V, diaconus III, clerus II." There was a great range in the penances for bestiality, from ten years to (in the case of boys) one hundred days. The mare is specially mentioned (Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii, p. 422). In Theodore's Penitential, another Anglo-Saxon document of about the same age, those who habitually fornicate with animals are adjudged ten years of penance. It would appear from the *Penitentiale Pseudo-Romanum* (which is earlier than the eleventh century) that one year's penance was adequate for fornication with a mare when committed by a layman (exactly the same as for simple fornication with a widow or virgin), and this was mercifully reduced to half a year if he had no wife. (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländlichen Kirche*, p 366). The *Penitentiale Hubertense* (emanating from the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes) fixes ten years' penance for sodomy, while Fulbert's Penitential (about the eleventh century) fixes seven years for either sodomy or bestiality. Burchard's Penitential,

[1] Schurig, *Gynœocologia*, pp. 280-387; Bloch, *op. cit.*, 270-277. The Arabs, according to Kocher, chiefly practice bestiality with goats, sheep and mares. The Annamites, according to Mondière, commonly employ sows and (more especially the young women) dogs. Among the Tamils of Ceylon bestiality with goats and cows is said to be very prevalent.

which is always detailed and precise, specially mentions the mare, the cow and the ass, and assigns forty days bread and water and seven years penance, raised to ten years in the case of married men. A woman having intercourse with a horse is assigned seven years penance in Burchard's Penitential. (Wasserschleben, *ib.*, pp. 651, 659.)

The extreme severity which was frequently exercised toward those guilty of this offense, was doubtless in large measure due to the fact that bestiality was regarded as a kind of sodomy, an offense which was frequently viewed with a mystical horror apart altogether from any actual social or personal injury it caused. The Jews seem to have felt this horror; it was ordered that the sinner and his victim should both be put to death (Exodus, Ch. 22, v. 19; Leviticus, Ch. 20, v. 15). In the middle ages, especially in France, the same rule often prevailed. Men and sows, men and cows, men and donkeys were burnt together. At Toulouse a woman was burnt for having intercourse with a dog. Even in the seventeenth century a learned French lawyer, Claude Lebrun de la Rochette, justified such sentences.[1] It seems probable that even to-day, in the social and legal attitude toward bestiality, sufficient regard is not paid to the fact that this offense is usually committed either by persons who are morbidly abnormal or who are of so low a degree of intelligence that they border on feeble-mindedness. To what extent, and on what grounds, it ought to be punished is a question calling for serious reconsideration.

---

[1] Mantegazza (*Gli Amori degli Uomini*, cap. V) brings together some facts bearing on this matter.

V.

Exhibitionism—Illustrative Cases—A Symbolic Perversion of Courtship—The Impulse to Defile—The Exhibitionist's Psychic Attitude—The Sexual Organs as Fetichs—Phallus Worship—Adolescent Pride in Sexual Development—Exhibitionism of the Nates—The Classification of the Forms of Exhibitionism—Nature of the Relationship of Exhibitionism to Epilepsy.

THERE is a remarkable form of erotic symbolism—very definite and standing clearly apart from all other forms—in which sexual gratification is experienced in the simple act of exhibiting the sexual organ to persons of the opposite sex, usually by preference to young and presumably innocent persons, very often children. This is termed exhibitionism.[1] It would appear to be a not very infrequent phenomenon, and most women, once or more in their lives, especially when young, have encountered a man who has thus deliberately exposed himself before them.

The exhibitionist, though often a young and apparently vigorous man, is always satisfied with the mere act of self-exhibition and the emotional reaction which that act produces; he makes no demands on the woman to whom he exposes himself; he seldom speaks, he makes no effort to approach her; as a rule, he fails even to display the signs of sexual excitation. His desires are completely gratified by the act of exhibition and by the emotional reaction it arouses in the woman. He departs satisfied and relieved.

A case recorded by Schrenck-Notzing very well represents both the nature of the impulse felt by the exhibitionist and the way in which it may originate. It is the case of a business man of 49, of neurotic

---

[1] Lasègue first drew attention to this sexual perversion and gave it its generally accepted name. "Les Exhibitionistes," *L'Union Médicale*, May, 1877. Magnan, on various occasions (for example, "Les Exhibitionistes," *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, vol. v, 1890, p. 458), has given further development and precision to the clinical picture of the exhibitionist.

heredity, an affectionate husband and father of a family, who, to his own grief and shame, is compelled from time to time to exhibit his sexual organs to women in the street. As a boy of 10 a girl of 12 tried to induce him to coitus; both had their sexual parts exposed. From that time sexual contacts, as of his own naked nates against those of a girl, became attractive, as well as games in which the boys and girls in turn marched before each other with their sexual parts exposed, and also imitation of the copulation of animals. Coitus was first practiced about the age of 20, but sight and touch of the woman's sexual parts were always necessary to produce sexual excitement. It was also necessary—and this consideration is highly important as regards the development of the tendency to exhibition—that the woman should be excited by the sight of his organs. Even when he saw or touched a woman's parts orgasm often occurred. It was the naked sexual organs in an otherwise clothed body which chiefly excited him. He was not possessed of a high degree of potency. Girls between the ages of 10 and 17 chiefly excited him, and especially if he felt that they were quite ignorant of sexual matters. His self-exhibition was a sort of psychic defloration, and it was accompanied by the idea that other people felt as he did about the sexual effects of the naked organs, that he was shocking but at the same time sexually exciting a young girl. He was thus gratifying himself through the belief that he was causing sexual gratification to an innocent girl. This man was convicted several times, and was finally declared to be suffering from impulsive insanity. (Schrenck-Notzing, *Kriminal-psychologische und Psycho-pathologische Studien*, 1902, pp. 50-57.) In another case of Schrenck-Notzing's, an actor and portrait painter, aged 31, in youth masturbated and was fond of contemplating the images of the sexual organs of both sexes, finding little pleasure in coitus. At the age of 24, at a bathing establishment, he happened to occupy a compartment next to that occupied by a lady, and when naked he became aware that his neighbor was watching him through a chink in the partition. This caused him powerful excitement and he was obliged to masturbate. Ever since he has had an impulse to exhibit his organs and to masturbate in the presence of women. He believes that the sight of his organs excites the woman (*Ib.*, pp. 57-65). The presence of masturbation in this case renders it untypical as a case of exhibitionism. Moll at one time went so far as to assert that when masturbation takes place we are not entitled to admit exhibitionism, (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 661), but now accepts exhibitionism with masturbation ("Perverse Sexualempfindung" *Krankheiten und Ehe*). The act of exhibition itself gratifies the sexual impulse, and usually it suffices to replace both tumescence and detumescence.

A fairly typical case, recorded by Krafft-Ebing, is that of a German factory worker of 37, a good, sober and intelligent workman. His

parents were healthy, but one of his mother's and also one of his father's sisters were insane; some of his relatives are eccentric in religion. He has a languishing expression and a smile of self-complacency. He never had any severe illness, but has always been eccentric and imaginative, much absorbed in romances (such as Dumas's novels) and fond of identifying himself with their heroes. No signs of epilepsy. In youth moderate masturbation, later moderate coitus. He lives a retired life, but is fond of elegant dress and of ornament. Though not a drinker, he sometimes makes himself a kind of punch which has a sexually exciting effect on him. The impulse to exhibitionism has only developed in recent years. When the impulse is upon him he becomes hot, his heart beats violently, the blood rushes to his head, and he is oblivious of everything around him that is not connected with his own act. Afterwards he regards himself as a fool and makes vain resolutions never to repeat the act. In exhibition the penis is only half erect and ejaculation never occurs. (He is only capable of coitus with a woman who shows great attraction to him.) He is satisfied with self-exhibition, and believes that he thus gives pleasure to the woman, since he himself receives pleasure in contemplating a woman's sexual parts. His erotic dreams are of self-exhibition to young and voluptuous women. He had been previously punished for an offense of this kind; medico-legal opinion now recognized the incriminated man's psychopathic condition. (Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 492-494.)

Trochon has reported the case of a married man of 33, a worker in a factory, who for several years had exhibited himself at intervals to shop-girls, etc., in a state of erection, but without speaking or making other advances. He was a hard-working, honest, sober man of quiet habits, a good father to his family and happy at home. He showed not the slightest sign of insanity. But he was taciturn, melancholic and nervous; a sister was an idiot. He was arrested, but on the report of the experts that he committed these acts from a morbid impulse he could not control he was released. (Trochon, *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1888, p. 256.)

In a case of Freyer's (*Zeitschrift für Medizinalbeamte*, third year, No. 8) the occasional connection of exhibitionism with epilepsy is well illustrated by a barber's assistant, aged 35, whose father suffered from chronic alcoholism and was also said to have committed the same kind of offense as his son. The mother and a sister suffered nervously. From ages of 7 to 18 the subject had epileptic convulsions. From 16 to 21 he indulged in normal sexual intercourse. At about that time he had often to pass a playground and at times would urinate there; it happened that the children watched him with curiosity. He noticed that when thus watched sexual excitement was caused, inducing erection and even ejaculation. He gradually found pleasure in this kind of

sexual gratification; finally he became indifferent to coitus. His erotic dreams, though still usually about normal coitus, were now sometimes concerned with exhibition before little girls. When overcome by the impulse he could see and hear nothing around him, though he did not lose consciousness. After the act was over he was troubled by his deed. In all other respects he was entirely reasonable. He was imprisoned many times for exhibiting himself to young schoolgirls, sometimes vaunting the beauty of his organs and inviting inspection. On one occasion he underwent mental examination, but was considered to be mentally sound. He was finally held to be a hereditarily tainted individual with neuropathic constitution. The head was abnormally broad, penis small, patellar reflex absent, and there were many signs of neurasthenia. (Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 490-492.)

The prevalence of epilepsy among exhibitionists is shown by the observations of Pelanda in Verona. He has recorded six cases of this perversion, all of which eventually reached the asylum and were either epileptics or with epileptic relations. One had a brother who was also an exhibitionist. In some cases the penis was abnormally large, in others abnormally small. Several had very weak sexual impulse; one, at the age of 62, had never effected coitus, and was proud of the fact that he was still a virgin, considering, he would say, the epoch of demoralization in which we live. (Pelanda, "Pornopatici," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, fasc. ii-iv, 1889.)

In a very typical case of exhibitionism which Garnier has recorded, a certain X., a gentleman engaged in business in Paris, had a predilection for exhibiting himself in churches, more especially in Saint-Roch. He was arrested several times for exposing his sexual organs here before ladies in prayer. In this way he finally ruined his commercial position in Paris and was obliged to establish himself in a small provincial town. Here again he soon exposed himself in a church and was again sent to prison, but on his liberation immediately performed the same act in the same church in what was described as a most imperturbable manner. Compelled to leave the town, he returned to Paris, and in a few weeks' time was again arrested for repeating his old offense in Saint Roch. When examined by Garnier, the information he supplied was vague and incomplete, and he was very embarrassed in the attempt to explain himself. He was unable to say why he chose a church, but he felt that it was to a church that he must go. He had, however, no thought of profanation and no wish to give offense. "Quite the contrary!" he declared. He had the sad and tired air of a man who is dominated by a force stronger than his will. "I know," he added, "what repulsion my conduct must inspire. Why am I made thus? Who will cure me?" (P. Garnier, "Perversions Sexuelles," *Comptes Rendus*, International Congress of Medicine at Paris in 1900, *Section de Psychiatrie*, pp. 433-435.)

In some cases, it would appear, the impulse to exhibitionism may be overcome or may pass away. This result is the more likely to come about in those cases in which exhibitionism has been largely conditioned by chronic alcoholism or other influences tending to destroy the inhibiting and restraining action of the higher centers, which may be overcome by hygiene and treatment. In this connection I may bring forward a case which has been communicated to me by a medical correspondent in London. It is that of an actor, of high standing in his profession and extremely intelligent, 40 years of age, married and father of a large family. He is sexually vigorous and of erotic temperament. His general health has always been good, but he is a high-strung, neurotic man, with quick mental reactions. His habits had for a long time been decidedly alcoholic, but two years ago, a small quantity of albumen being found in the urine, he was persuaded to leave off alcohol, and has since been a teetotaller. Though ordinarily very reticent about sexual matters, he began four or five years ago to commit acts of exhibitionism, exposing himself to servants in the house and occasionally to women in the country. This continued after the alcohol had been abandoned and lasted for several years, though the attention of the police was never attracted to the matter, and so far as possible he was quietly supervised by his friends. Nine months after, the acts of exhibitionism ceased, apparently in a spontaneous manner, and there has so far been no relapse.

Exhibitionism is an act which, on the face of it, seems nonsensical and meaningless, and as such, as an inexplicable act of madness, it has frequently been treated both by writers on insanity and on sexual perversion. "These acts are so lacking in common sense and intelligent reflection that no other reason than insanity can be offered for the patient," Ball concluded.[1] Moll, also, who defines exhibitionism somewhat too narrowly as a condition in which "the charm of the exhibition lies for the subject in the display itself," not sufficiently taking into consideration the imagined effect on the spectator, concludes that "the psychological basis of exhibitionism is at present by no means cleared up."[2]

We may probably best approach exhibitionism by regarding it as fundamentally a symbolic act based on a perversion of courtship. The exhibitionist displays the organ of sex to a

---

[1] B. Ball, *La Folie Erotique*, p 86.
[2] Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 661.

feminine witness, and in the shock of modest sexual shame by which she reacts to that spectacle, he finds a gratifying similitude of the normal emotions of coitus.[1] He feels that he has effected a psychic defloration.

Exhibitionism is thus analogous, and, indeed, related, to the impulse felt by many persons to perform indecorous acts or tell indecent stories before young and innocent persons of the opposite sex. This is a kind of psychic exhibitionism, the gratification it causes lying exactly, as in physical exhibitionism, in the emotional confusion which it is felt to arouse. The two kinds of exhibitionism may be combined in the same person: Thus, in a case reported by Hoche (p. 97), the exhibitionist an intellectual and highly educated man, with a doctor's degree, also found pleasure in sending indecent poems and pictures to women, whom, however, he made no attempt to seduce; he was content with the thought of the emotions he aroused or believed that he aroused.

It is possible that within this group should come the agent in the following incident which was lately observed by a lady, a friend of my own. An elderly man in an overcoat was seen standing outside a large and well-known draper's shop in the outskirts of London; when able to attract the attention of any of the shop-girls or of any girl in the street he would fling back his coat and reveal that he was wearing over his own clothes a woman's chemise (or possibly bodice) and a woman's drawers; there was no exposure. The only intelligible explanation of this action would seem to be that pleasure was experienced in the mild shock of interested surprise and injured modesty which this vision was imagined to cause to a young girl. It would thus be a comparatively innocent form of psychic defloration.

It is of interest to point out that the sexual symbolism of active flagellation is very closely analogous to this symbolism of exhibitionism. The flagellant approaches a woman with the rod (itself a symbol of the penis and in some countries bearing names which are also applied to that organ) and inflicts on an

---

[1] "Exhibitionism in its most typical form is," Garnier truly says, "a *systematic act*, manifesting itself as the *strange equivalent of a sexual connection*, or its *substitution*." The brief account of exhibitionism (pp. 433-437) in Garnier's discussion of "Perversions Sexuelles" at the International Medical Congress at Paris in 1900 (*Section de Psychiatrie: Comptes-Rendus*) is the most satisfactory statement of the psychological aspects of this perversion with which I am acquainted. Garnier's unrivalled clinical knowledge of these manifestations, due to his position during many years as physician at the Depôt of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, adds great weight to his conclusions.

intimate part of her body the signs of blushing and the spasmodic movements which are associated with sexual excitement, while at the same time she feels, or the flagellant imagines that she feels, the corresponding emotions of delicious shame.[1] This is an even closer mimicry of the sexual act than the exhibitionist attains, for the latter fails to secure the consent of the woman nor does he enjoy any intimate contact with her naked body. The difference is connected with the fact that the active flagellant is usually a more virile and normal person than the exhibitionist. In the majority of cases the exhibitionist's sexual impulse is very feeble, and as a rule he is either to some degree s degenerate, or else a person who is suffering from an early stage of general paralysis, dementia, or some other highly enfeebling cause of mental disorganization, such as chronic alcoholism. Sexual feebleness is further indicated by the fact that the individuals selected as witnesses are frequently mere children.

It seems probable that a form of erotic symbolism somewhat similar to exhibitionism is to be found in the rare cases in which sexual gratification is derived from throwing ink, acid or other defiling liquids on women's dresses. Thoinet has recorded a case of this kind (*Attentats aux Moeurs*, 1898, pp. 484, *et seq.*). An instructive case has been presented by Moll. In this case a young man of somewhat neuropathic heredity had as a youth of 16 or 17, when romping with his young sister's playfellows, experienced sexual sensations on chancing to see their white underlinen. From that time white underlinen and white dresses became to him a fetich and he was only attracted to women so attired. One day, at the age of 25, when crossing the street in wet weather with a young lady in a white dress, a passing vehicle splashed the dress with mud. This incident caused him strong sexual excitement, and from that time he had the impulse to throw ink, perchloride of iron, etc., on to ladies' white dresses, and sometimes to cut and tear them, sexual excitement and ejaculation taking place every time he effected this. (Moll, "Gutachten über einem Sexual Perversen [Besudelungstrieb]," *Zeitschrift für Medizinalbeamte*, Heft XIII, 1906) Such a case is of considerable psychological interest. Thoinet considers that in these cases the fleck is a fetich. That is an incorrect account of the matter. In this case the

[1] The symbolism of coitus involved in flagellation has been touched on by Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 121), and is more fully developed by Dühren (*Geschlechtsleben in England*, bd. ii, pp. 366, *et seq.*).

white garments constituted the primary fetich, but that fetich becomes more acutely realized, and at the same time both parties are thrown into an emotional state which to the fetichist becomes a mimicry of coitus, by the act of defilement. We may perhaps connect with this phenomenon the attraction which muddy shoes often exert over the shoe-fetichist, and the curious way in which, as we have seen (p. 18), Restif de la Bretonne associates his love of neatness in women with his attraction to the feet, the part, he remarks, least easy to keep clean.

Garnier applied the term *sadi-fetichism* to active flagellation and many similar manifestations such as we are here concerned with, on the grounds that they are hybrids which combine the morbid adoration for a definite object with the impulse to exercise a more or less degree of violence. From the standpoint of the conception of erotic symbolism I have adopted there is no need for this term. There is here no hybrid combination of two unlike mental states. We are simply concerned with states of erotic symbolism, more or less complete, more or less complex.

The conception of exhibitionism as a process of erotic symbolism, involves a conscious or unconscious attitude of attention in the exhibitionist's mind to the psychic reaction of the woman toward whom his display is directed. He seeks to cause an emotion which, probably in most cases, he desires should be pleasurable. But from one cause or another his finer sensibilities are always inhibited or in abeyance, and he is unable to estimate accurately either the impression he is likely to produce or the general results of his action, or else he is moved by a strong impulsive obsession which overpowers his judgment. In many cases he has good reason for believing that his act will be pleasurable, and frequently he finds complacent witnesses among the low-class servant girls, etc.

It may be pointed out here that we are quite justified in speaking of a penis-fetichism and also of a vulva-fetichism. This might be questioned. We are obviously justified in recognizing a fetichism which attaches itself to the pubic hair, or, as in a case with which I am acquainted, to the clitoris, but it may seem that we cannot regard the central sexual organs as symbols of sex, symbols, as it were, of themselves. Properly regarded, however, it is the sexual act rather than the sexual organ which is craved in normal sexual desire: the organ is regarded merely as the means and not as the end. Regarded as a means the organ is indeed an object of desire, but it only becomes a fetich when it arrests and fixes the attention. An attention thus pleasurably fixed, a vulva-fetichism or a penis-fetichism, is within the normal range

of sexual emotion (this point has been mentioned in the previous volume when discussing the part played by the primary sexual organs in sexual selection), and in coarse-grained natures of either sex it is a normal allurement in its generalized shape, apart from any attraction to the person to whom the organs belong. In some morbid cases, however, this penis-fetichism may become a fully developed sexual perversion. A typical case of this kind has been recorded by Howard in the United States. Mrs. W., aged 39, was married at 20 to a strong, healthy man, but derived no pleasure from coitus, though she received great pleasure from masturbation practiced immediately after coitus, and nine years after marriage she ceased actual coitus, compelling her husband to adopt mutual masturbation. She would introduce men into the house at all times of the day or night, and after persuading them to expose their persons would retire to her room to masturbate. The same man never aroused desire more than once. This desire became so violent and persistent that she would seek out men in all sorts of public places and, having induced them to expose themselves, rapidly retreat to the nearest convenient spot for self-gratification. She once abstracted a pair of trousers she had seen a man wear and after fondling them experienced the orgasm. Her husband finally left her, after vainly attempting to have her confined in an asylum. She was often arrested for her actions, but through the intervention of friends set free again. She was a highly intelligent woman, and apart from this perversion entirely normal. (W. L. Howard, "Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1896.) It is on the existence of a more or less developed penis-fetichism of this kind that the exhibitionist, mostly by an ignorant instinct, relies for the effects he desires to produce.

The exhibitionist is not usually content to produce a mere titillated amusement; he seeks to produce a more powerful effect which must be emotional whether or not it is pleasurable. A professional man in Strassburg (in a case reported by Hoche[1]) would walk about in the evening in a long cloak, and when he met ladies would suddenly throw his cloak back under a street lamp, or igniting a red-fire match, and thus exhibit his organs. There was an evident effort—on the part of a weak, vain, and effeminate man—to produce a maximum of emotional effect. The attempt to heighten the emotional shock is also seen in the fact that the exhibitionist frequently chooses a church as the scene of his exploits, not during service, for he

[1] A. Hoche, *Neurologische Centralblatt*, 1896, No. 2.

always avoids a concourse of people, but perhaps toward evening when there are only a few kneeling women scattered through the edifice. The church is chosen, often instinctively rather than deliberately, from no impulse to commit a sacrilegious outrage—which, as a rule, the exhibitionist does not feel his act to be—but because it really presents the conditions most favorable to the act and the effects desired. The exhibitionist's attitude of mind is well illustrated by one of Garnier's patients who declared that he never wished to be seen by more than two women at once, "just what is necessary," he added, "for an exchange of impressions." After each exhibition he would ask himself anxiously: "Did they see me? What are they thinking? What do they say to each other about me? Oh! how I should like to know!" Another patient of Garnier's, who haunted churches for this purpose, made this very significant statement: "Why do I like going to churches? I can scarcely say. *But I know that it is only there that my act has its full importance.* The woman is in a devout frame of mind, and she must see that such an act in such a place is not a joke in bad taste or a disgusting obscenity; *that if I go there it is not to amuse myself; it is more serious than that!* I watch the effect produced on the faces of the ladies to whom I show my organs. I wish to see them express a profound joy. I wish, in fact, that they may be forced to say to themselves: *How impressive Nature is when thus seen!*"

Here we trace the presence of a feeling which recalls the phenomena of the ancient and world-wide phallic worship, still liable to reappear sporadically. Women sometimes took part in these rites, and the osculation of the male sexual organ or its emblematic representation by women is easily traceable in the phallic rites of India and many other lands, not excluding Europe even in comparatively recent times. (Dulaure in his *Divinités Génératices* brings together much bearing on these points; *cf.*: Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XVII, and Bloch, *Beiträge zur Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil I, pp. 115-117. Colin Scott has some interesting remarks on phallic worship and the part it has played in aiding human evolution, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 191-197. Irving Rosse describes some modern phallic rites in which both men and women took part, similar to those practiced in vaudouism, "Sexual Hypochondriasis," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, October, 1892.)

Putting aside any question of phallic worship, a certain pride and more or less private feeling of ostentation in the new expansion and development of the organs of virility seems to be almost normal at adolescence. "We have much reason to assume," Stanley Hall remarks, "that in a state of nature there is a certain instinctive pride and ostentation that accompanies the new local development. I think it will be found that exhibitionists are usually those who have excessive growth here, and that much that modern society stigmatizes as obscene is at bottom more or less spontaneous and perhaps in some cases not abnormal. Dr. Seerley tells me he has never examined a young man largely developed who had the usual strong instinctive tendency of modesty to cover himself with his hands, but he finds this instinct general with those whose development is less than the average." (G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 97.) This instinct of ostentation, however, so far as it is normal, is held in check by other considerations, and is not, in the strict sense, exhibitionism. I have observed a full-grown telegraph boy walking across Hampstead Heath with his sexual organs exposed, but immediately he realized that he was seen he concealed them. The solemnity of exhibitionism at this age finds expression in the climax of the sonnet, "Oraison du Soir," written at 16 by Rimbaud, whose verse generally is a splendid and insolent manifestation of rank adolescence:—

"Doux comme le Seigneur du cèdre et des hysopes,
Je pisse vers les cieux bruns très haut et très loin,
Avec l'assentiment des grands héliotropes."

(J. A. Rimbaud, *Œuvres*, p. 68.)

In women, also, there would appear to be traceable a somewhat similar ostentation, though in them it is complicated and largely inhibited by modesty, and at the same time diffused over the body owing to the absence of external sexual organs. "Primitive woman," remarks Madame Renooz, "proud of her womanhood, for a long time defended her nakedness which ancient art has always represented. And in the actual life of the young girl to-day there is a moment when by a secret atavism she feels the pride of her sex, the intuition of her moral superiority, and cannot understand why she must hide its cause. At this moment, wavering between the laws of Nature and social conventions, she scarcely knows if nakedness should or should not affright her. A sort of confused atavistic memory recalls to her a period before clothing was known, and reveals to her as a paradisiacal ideal the customs of that human epoch." (Celine Renooz, *Psychologie Comparée de l'Homme et de la Femme*, p. 85.) It may be added that among primitive peoples, and even among some remote European populations to-day, the exhibition of feminine nudity has sometimes been regarded as a spectacle with religious or magic operation. Ploss, *Das Weib*, seventh edition, vol. ii,

pp. 663-680; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 304.) It is stated by Gopcevic that in the long struggle between the Albanians and the Montenegrians the women of the former people would stand in the front rank and expose themselves by raising their skirts, believing that they would thus insure victory. As, however, they were shot down, and as, moreover, victory usually fell to the Montenegrians, this custom became discredited. (Quoted by Bloch, *Op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 307.)

With regard to the association, suggested by Stanley Hall, between exhibitionism and an unusual degree of development of the sexual organs, it must be remarked that both extremes—a very large and a very small penis—are specially common in exhibitionists. The prevalence of the small organ is due to an association of exhibitionism with sexual feebleness. The prevalence of the large organ may be due to the cause suggested by Hall. Among Mahommedans the sexual organs are sometimes habitually exposed by religious penitents, and I note that Bernhard Stern, in his book on the medical and sexual aspects of life in Turkey, referring to a penitent of this sort whom he saw on the Stamboul bridge at Constantinople, remarks that the organ was very largely developed. It may well be in such a case that the penitent's religious attitude is reinforced by some lingering relic of a more fleshly ostentation.

It is by a pseudo-atavism that this phallicism is evoked in the exhibitionist. There is no true emergence of an ancestrally inherited instinct, but by the paralysis or inhibition of the finer and higher feelings current in civilization, the exhibitionist is placed on the same mental level as the man of a more primitive age, and he thus presents the basis on which the impulses belonging to a higher culture may naturally take root and develop.

Reference may here be made to a form of primitive exhibitionism, almost confined to women, which, although certainly symbolic, is absolutely non-sexual, and must not, therefore, be confused with the phenomena we are here occupied with. I refer to the exhibition of the buttocks as a mark of contempt. In its most primitive form, no doubt, this exhibitionism is a kind of exorcism, a method of putting evil spirits, primarily, and secondarily evil-disposed persons, to flight. It is the most effective way for a woman to display sexual centers, and it shares in the magical virtues which all unveiling of the sexual centers is believed by primitive peoples to possess. It is recorded that the women of some peoples in the Balkan peninsula formerly used this gesture against enemies in battle. In the sixteenth century so distinguished a theologian as Luther when assailed by the Evil One at night was able to put the adversary to flight by protruding his uncovered buttocks

from the bed. But the spiritual significance of this attitude is lost with the decay of primitive beliefs. It survives, but merely as a gesture of insult. The symbolism comes to have reference to the nates as the excretory focus, the seat of the anus. In any case it ignores any sexual attractiveness in this part of the body. Exhibitionism of this kind, therefore, can scarcely arise in persons of any sensitiveness or æsthetic perception, even putting aside the question of modesty, and there seems to be little trace of it in classic antiquity when the nates were regarded as objects of beauty. Among the Egyptians, however, we gather from Herodotus' (Bk. II, Chapter LX) that at a certain popular religious festival men and women would go in boats on the Nile, singing and playing, and when they approached a town the women on the boats would insult the women of the town by injurious language and by exposing themselves. Among the Arabs, however, the specific gesture we are concerned with is noted, and a man to whom vengeance is forbidden would express his feelings by exposing his posterior and strewing earth on his head (Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 1897, p. 195). It is in Europe and in mediæval and later times that this emphatic gesture seems to have flourished as a violent method of expressing contempt. It was by no means confined to the lower classes, and Kleinpaul, in discussing this form of "speech without words," quotes examples of various noble persons, even princesses, who are recorded thus to have expressed their feelings. (Kleinpaul, *Sprache ohne Worte*, pp. 271-273.) In more recent times the gesture has become merely a rare and extreme expression of unrestrained feeling in coarse-grained peasants. Zola, in the figure of Mouquette in *Germinal*, may be said to have given a kind of classic expression to the gesture. In the more remote parts of Europe it appears to be still not altogether uncommon. This seems to be notably the case among the South Slavs, and Krauss states that "when a South Slav woman wishes to express her deepest contempt for anyone she bends forward, with left hand raising her skirts, and with the right slapping her posterior, at the same time exclaiming: 'This for you!'" (*Κρυπτάδια*, vol. vi, p. 200.)

A verbal survival of this gesture, consisting in the contemptuous invitation to kiss this region, still exists among us in remote parts of the country, especially as an insult offered by an angry woman who forgets herself. It is said to be commonly used in Wales. ("Welsh Ædœology," *Κρυπτάδια*, vol. ii, pp. 358, *et seq.*) In Cornwall, when addressed by a woman to a man it is sometimes regarded as a deadly insult, even if the woman is young and attractive, and may cause a life-long enmity between related families. From this point of view the nates are a symbol of contempt, and any sexual significance is excluded. (The distinction is brought out by Diderot in *Le Neveu de Rameau*: "*Lui.*—Il y a d'autres jours où il ne m'en coûterait rien pour être vil tant

qu'on voudrait; ces jours-là, pour un liard, je baiserais le cul à la petite Hus. *Moi:*—Eh! mais, l'ami, elle est blanche, jolie, douce, potelée, et c'est un acte d'humilité auquel un plus delicat que vous pourrait quelquefois s'abaisser. *Lui:*—Entendons-nous; c'est qu'il y a baiser le cul au simple, et baiser le cul au figuré.")

It must be added that a sexual form of exhibitionism of the nates must still be recognized. It occurs in masochism and expresses the desire for passive flagellation. Rousseau, whose emotional life was profoundly affected by the castigations which as a child he received from Mlle Lambercier, has in his *Confessions* told us how, when a youth, he would sometimes expose himself in this way in the presence of young women. Such masochistic exhibitionism seems, however, to be rare.

While the manifestations of exhibitionism are substantially the same in all cases, there are many degrees and varieties of the condition. We may find among exhibitionists, as Garnier remarks, dementia, states of unconsciousness, epilepsy, general paralysis, alcoholism, but the most typical cases, he adds, if not indeed the cases to which the term properly belongs, are those in which it is an impulsive obsession. Krafft-Ebing[1] divides exhibitionists into four clinical groups: (1) acquired states of mental weakness, with cerebral or spinal disease clouding consciousness and at the same time causing impotence; (2) epileptics, in whom the act is an abnormal organic impulse performed in a state of imperfect consciousness; (3) a somewhat allied group of neurasthenic cases; (4) periodical impulsive cases with deep hereditary taint. This classification is not altogether satisfactory. Garnier's classification, placing the group of obsessional cases in the foreground and leaving the other more vaguely defined groups in the background, is probably better. I am inclined to consider that most of the cases fall into one or other of two mixed groups. The first class includes cases in which there is more or less congenital abnormality, but otherwise a fair or even complete degree of mental integrity; they are usually young adults, they are more or less precisely conscious of the end they wish to attain, and it is often only with a severe struggle that they yield to their impulses. In the second class the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 478, *et seq.*

beginnings of mental or nervous disease have diminished the sensibility of the higher centers; the subjects are usually old men whose lives have been absolutely correct; they are often only vaguely aware of the nature of the satisfaction they are seeking, and frequently no struggle precedes the manifestation; such was the case of the overworked clergyman described by Hughes,[1] who, after much study, became morose and absent-minded, and committed acts of exhibitionism which he could not explain but made no attempt to deny; with rest and restorative treatment his health improved and the acts ceased. It is in the first class of cases alone that there is a developed sexual perversion. In the cases of the second class there is a more or less definite sexual intention, but it is only just conscious, and the emergence of the impulse is due not to its strength but to the weakness, temporary or permanent, of the higher inhibiting centers.

Epileptic cases, with loss of consciousness during the act, can only be regarded as presenting a pseudo-exhibitionism. They should be excluded altogether. It is undoubtedly true that many cases of real or apparent exhibitionism occur in epileptics.[2] We must not, however, too hastily conclude that because these acts occur in epileptics they are necessarily unconscious acts. Epilepsy frequently occurs on a basis of hereditary degeneration, and the exhibitionism may be, and not infrequently is, a stigma of the degeneracy and not an indication of the occurrence of a minor epileptic fit. When the act of pseudo-exhibitionism is truly epileptic, it will usually have no psychic sexual content, and it will certainly be liable to occur under all sorts of circumstances, when the patient is alone or in a miscellaneous concourse of people. It will be on a level with the acts of the highly respectable young woman who, at the conclusion of an attack of *petit mal*, consisting chiefly of a sudden desire to pass urine, on

---

[1] C. H. Hughes, "Morbid Exhibitionism," *Alienist and Neurologist*, August, 1904. Another somewhat similar American case, also preceded by overwork, and eventually adjudged insane by the courts, is recorded by D. S. Booth, *Alienist and Neurologist*, February, 1905.

[2] Exhibitionism in epilepsy is briefly discussed by Féré. *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, pp. 194-195.

one occasion lifted up her clothes and urinated at a public entertainment, so that it was with difficulty her friends prevented her from being handed over to the police.[1] Such an act is automatic, unconscious, and involuntary; the spectators are not even perceived; it cannot be an act of exhibitionism. Whenever, on the other hand, the place and the time are evidently chosen deliberately,—a quiet spot, the presence of only one or two young women or children,—it is difficult to admit that we are in the presence of a fit of epileptic unconsciousness, even when the subject is known to be epileptic.

Even, however, when we exclude those epileptic pseudo-exhibitionists who, from the legal point of view, are clearly irresponsible, it must still be remembered that in every case of exhibitionism there is a high degree of either mental abnormality on a neuropathic basis, or else of actual disease. This is true to a greater extent in exhibitionism than in almost any other form of sexual perversion. No subject of exhibitionism should be sent to prison without expert medical examination.

---

[1] W. S. Colman, "Post-Epileptic Unconscious Automatic Actions," *Lancet*, July 5, 1890.

VI.

The Forms of Erotic Symbolism are Simulacra of Coitus—Wide Extension of Erotic Symbolism—Fetichism Not Covering the Whole Ground of Sexual Selection—It is Based on the Individual Factor in Selection—Crystallization—The Lover and the Artist—The Key to Erotic Symbolism to be Found in the Emotional Sphere—The Passage to Pathological Extremes.

We have now examined several very various and yet very typical manifestations in all of which it is not difficult to see how, in some strange and eccentric form—on a basis of association through resemblance or contiguity or both combined—there arises a definite mimicry of the normal sexual act together with the normal emotions which accompany that act. It has become clear in what sense we are justified in recognizing erotic symbolism.

The symbolic and, as it were, abstracted nature of these manifestations is shown by the remarkable way in which they are sometimes capable of transference from the object to the subject. That is to say that the fetichist may show a tendency to cultivate his fetich in his own person. A foot-fetichist may like to go barefoot himself; a man who admired lame women liked to halt himself; a man who was attracted by small waists in women found sexual gratification in tight-lacing himself; a man who was fascinated by fine white skin and wished to cut it found satisfaction in cutting his own skin; Moll's coprolagnic fetichist found a voluptuous pleasure in his own acts of defecation. (See, *e.g.*, Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, p. 221, 224, 226; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 74; *cf.* ante, p. 68.) Such symbolic transference seems to have a profoundly natural basis, for we may see a somewhat similar phenomenon in the well-known tendency of cows to mount a cow in heat. This would appear to be, not so much a homosexual impulse, as the dynamic psychic action of an olfactory sexual symbol in a transformed form.

We seem to have here a psychic process which is a curious reversal of that process of *Einfühlung*—the projection of one's own activities into the object contemplated—which Lipps has so fruitfully developed as the essence of every æsthetic condition. (T. Lipps, *Æsthetik*, Teil I, 1903.) By *Einfühlung* our own interior activity becomes the activity

: the object perceived, a thing being beautiful in proportion as it lends self to our *Einfühlung*. But by this action of erotic symbolism, on the ther hand, we transfer the activity of the object into ourselves.

When the idea of erotic symbolism as manifested in such efinite and typical forms becomes realized, it further becomes lear that the vaguer manifestations of such symbolism are exeedingly widespread. When in a previous volume we were discussing and drawing together the various threads which unite 'Love and Pain," it will now be understood that we were standng throughout on the threshold of erotic symbolism. Pain itself, in the sense in which we slowly learned to define it in this relationship—as a state of intense emotional excitement—may, under a great variety of special circumstances, become an erotic symbol and afford the same relief as the emotions normally accompanying the sexual act. Active algolagnia or sadism is thus a form of erotic symbolism; passive algolagnia or masochism is (in a man) an inverted form of erotic symbolism. Active flagellation or passive flagellation are, in exactly the same way, manifestations of erotic symbolism, the imaginative mimicry of coitus..

Binet and also Krafft-Ebing[1] have argued in effect that the whole of sexual selection is a matter of fetichism, that is to say, of erotic symbolism of object. "Normal love," Binet states, "appears as the result of a complicated fetichism." Tarde also seems to have regarded love as normally a kind of fetichism. "We are a long time before we fall in love with a woman," he remarks; "we must wait to see the detail which strikes and delights us, and causes us to overlook what displeases us. Only in normal love the details are many and always changing. Constancy in love is rarely anything else but a voyage around the beloved person, a voyage of exploration and ever new discoveries. The most faithful lover does not love the same woman in the same way for two days in succession."[2]

---

[1] Binet, *Etudes de Psychologie Expérimentale*, esp., p. 84; Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] G. Tarde, "L'Amour Morbide," *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1890, p. 585.

From that point of view normal sexual love is the sway of a fetich—more or less arbitrary, more or less (as Binet terms it) polytheistic—and it can have little objective basis. But, as we saw when considering "Sexual Selection in Man" in the previous volume, more especially when analyzing the notion of beauty, we are justified in believing that beauty has to a large extent an objective basis, and that love by no means depends simply on the capricious selection of some individual fetich The individual factor, as we saw, is but one of many factors which constitute beauty. In the study of sexual selection that individual factor was passed over very lightly. We now see that it is often a factor of great importance, for in it are rooted all these outgrowths—normal in their germs, highly abnormal in their more extreme developments—which make up erotic symbolism.

Erotic symbolism is therefore concerned with all that is least generic, least specific, all that is most intimately personal and individual, in sexual selection. It is the final point in which the decreasing circle of sexual attractiveness is fixed. In the widest and most abstract form sexual selection in man is merely human, and we are atttracted to that which bears most fully the marks of humanity; in a less abstract form it is sexual, and we are attracted to that which most vigorously presents the secondary sexual characteristics; still narrowing, it is the type of our own nation and people that appeals most strongly to us in matters of love; and still further concentrating we are affected by the ideal—in civilization most often the somewhat exotic ideal—of our own day, the fashion of our own city. But the individual factor still remains, and amid the infinite possibilities of erotic symbolism the individual may evolve an ideal which is often, as far as he knows and perhaps in actuality, an absolutely unique event in the history of the human soul.

Erotic symbolism works in its finer manifestations by means of the idealizing aptitudes; it is the field of sexual psychology in which that faculty of crystallization, on which Stendhal loved to dwell, achieves its most brilliant results. In the solitary passage in which we seem to see a smile on the face of the austere

poet of the *De Rerum Naturâ*, Lucretius tells us how every lover, however he may be amused by the amorous extravagances of other men, is himself blinded by passion: if his mistress is black she is a fascinating brunette, if she squints she is the rival of Pallas, if too tall she is majestic, if too short she is one of the Graces, *tota merum sal;* if too lean it is her delicate refinement, if too fat then a Ceres, dirty and she disdains adornment, a chatterer and brilliantly vivacious, silent and it is her exquisite modesty.[1] Sixteen hundred years later Robert Burton, when describing the symptoms of love, made out a long and appalling list of the physical defects which the lover is prepared to admire.[2]

Yet we must not be too certain that the lover is wrong in this matter. We too hastily assume that the casual and hasty judgment of the world is necessarily more reliable, more conformed to what we call "truth," than the judgment of the lover which is founded on absorbed and patient study. In some cases where there is lack of intelligence in the lover and dissimulation in the object of his love, it may be so. But even a poem or a picture will often not reveal its beauty except by the expenditure of time and study. It is foolish to expect that the secret beauty of a human person will reveal itself more easily. The lover is an artist, an artist who constructs an image, it is true, but only by patient and concentrated attention to nature; he knows the defects of his image, probably better than anyone, but he knows also that art lies, not in the avoidance of defects, but in the realization of those traits which swallow up defects and so render them non-existent. A great artist, Rodin, after a life spent in the study of Nature, has declared that for art there is no ugliness in Nature. "I have arrived at this belief by the study of Nature," he said; "I can only grasp the beauty of the soul by the beauty of the body, but some day one will come who will explain what I only catch a glimpse of and will declare how the whole earth is beautiful, and all human beings beautiful. I have never been able to say this in sculpture so well as I wish

---

[1] Lucretius, Lib. IV, vv. 1150-1163.

[2] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. III, Subs I.

and as I feel it affirmed within me. For poets Beauty has always been some particular landscape, some particular woman; but it should be all women, all landscapes. A negro or a Mongol has his beauty, however remote from ours, and it must be the same with their characters. There is no ugliness. When I was young I made that mistake, as others do; I could not undertake a woman's bust unless I thought her pretty, according to my particular idea of beauty; to-day I should do the bust of any woman, and it would be just as beautiful. And however ugly a woman may look, when she is with her lover she becomes beautiful; there is beauty in her character, in her passions, and beauty exists as soon as character or passion becomes visible, for the body is a casting on which passions are imprinted. And even without that, there is always the blood that flows in the veins and the air that fills the lungs."[1]

The saint, also, is here at one with the lover and the artist. The man who has so profoundly realized the worth of his fellow men that he is ready even to die in order to save them, feels that he has discovered a great secret. Cyples traces the "secret delights" that have thus risen in the hearts of holy men to the same source as the feelings generated between lovers, friends, parents, and children. "A few have at intervals walked in the world," he remarks, "who have, each in his own original way, found out this marvel. . . . Straightway man in general has become to them so sweet a thing that the infatuation has seemed to the rest of their fellows to be a celestial madness. Beggars' rags to their unhesitating lips grew fit for kissing, because humanity had touched the garb; there were no longer any menial acts, but only welcome services. . . . Remember by how much man is the subtlest circumstance in the world; at how many points he can attach relationships; how manifold and perennial he is in his results. All other things are dull, meager, tame beside him."[1]

---

[1] Judith Cladel, *Auguste Rodin Pris sur la Vie*, 1908, pp. 103-104. Some slight modifications have been made in the translation of this passage on account of the conversational form of the original.

[1] W. Cyples, *The Process of Human Experience*, p. 462. Even if (as we have already seen, *ante*, p. 58) the saint cannot always feel actual

It may be added that even if we still believe that lover and artist and saint are drawing the main elements of their conceptions from the depths of their own consciousness, there is a sense in which they are coming nearer to the truth of things than those for whom their conceptions are mere illusions. The aptitude for realizing beauty has involved an adjustment of the nerves and the associated brain centers through countless ages that began before man was. When the vision of supreme beauty is slowly or suddenly realized by anyone, with a reverberation that extends throughout his organism, he has attained to something which for his species, and for far more than his species, is truth, and can only be illusion to one who has artificially placed himself outside the stream of life.

In an essay on "The Gods as Apparitions of the Race-Life," Edward Carpenter, though in somewhat Platonic phraseology, thus well states the matter: "The youth sees the girl; it may be a chance face, a chance outline, amid the most banal surroundings. But it gives the cue. There is a memory, a confused reminiscence. The mortal figure without penetrates to the immortal figure within, and there rises into consciousness a shining form, glorious, not belonging to this world, but vibrating with the agelong life of humanity, and the memory of a thousand love-dreams. The waking of this vision intoxicates the man; it glows and burns within him; a goddess (it may be Venus herself) stands in the sacred place of his temple; a sense of awe-struck splendor fills him, and the world is changed." "He sees something" (the same writer continues in a subsequent essay, "Beauty and Duty") "which, in a sense, is more real than the figures in the street, for he sees something that has lived and moved for hundreds of years in the heart of the race; something which has been one of the great formative influences of his own life, and which has done as much to create those very figures in the street as qualities in the circulation of the blood may do to form a finger or other limb. He comes into touch with a very real Presence or Power—one of those organic centers of growth in the life of humanity—and feels this larger life within himself, subjective, if you like, and yet intensely objective. And more. For is it not also evident that the woman, the mortal woman who excites his Vision, *has* some closest relation to it, and is, indeed, far more than a mere mask or empty formula which reminds him of it? For she indeed has within her, just as much as the

---

physical pleasure in the intimate contact of humanity, the ardor of devoted service which his vision of humanity arouses remains unaffected.

man has, deep subconscious Powers working; and the ideal which has dawned so entrancingly on the man is in all probability closely related to that which has been working most powerfully in the heredity of the woman, and which has most contributed to mold *her* form and outline. No wonder, then, that her form should remind him of it. Indeed, when he looks into her eyes he sees *through* to a far deeper life even than she herself may be aware of, and yet which is truly hers—a life perennial and wonderful. The more than mortal in him beholds the more than mortal in her; and the gods descend to meet." (Edward Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, pp. 137, 186.)

It is this mighty force which lies behind and beneath the aberrations we have been concerned with, a great reservoir from which they draw the life-blood that vivifies even their most fantastic shapes. Fetichism and the other forms of erotic symbolism are but the development and the isolation of the crystallizations which normally arise on the basis of sexual selection. Normal in their basis, in their extreme forms they present the utmost pathological aberrations of the sexual instinct which can be attained or conceived. In the intermediate space all degrees are possible. In the slightest degree the symbol is merely a specially fascinating and beloved feature in a person who is, in all other respects, felt to be lovable; as such its recognition is a legitimate part of courtship, an effective aid to tumescence. In a further degree the symbol is the one arresting and attracting character of a person who must, however, still be felt as a sexually attractive individual. In a still further degree of perversion the symbol is effective, even though the person with whom it is associated is altogether unattractive. In the final stage the person and even all association with a person disappear altogether from the field of sexual consciousness; the abstract symbol rules supreme.

Long, however, before the symbol has reached that final climax of morbid intensity we may be said to have passed beyond the sphere of sexual love. A person, not an abstracted quality, must be the goal of love. So long as the fetich is subordinated to the person it serves to heighten love. But love must be based on a complexus of attractive qualities, or it has no

stability.[1] As soon as the fetich becomes isolated and omnipotent, so that the person sinks into the background as an unimportant appendage of the fetich, all stability is lost. The fetichist now follows an impersonal and abstract symbol withersoever it may lead him.

It has been seen that there are an extraordinary number of forms in which erotic symbolism may be felt. It must be remembered, and it cannot be too distinctly emphasized, that the links that bind together the forms of erotic symbolism are not to be found in objects or even in acts, but in the underlying emotion. A feeling is the first condition of the symbol, a feeling which recalls, by a subtle and unconscious automatic association of resemblance or of contiguity, some former feeling. It is the similarity of emotion, instinctively apprehended, which links on a symbol only partially sexual, or even apparently not sexual at all, to the great central focus of sexual emotion, the great dominating force which brings the symbol its life-blood.[2]

The cases of sexual hyperæsthesia, quoted at the beginning of this study, do but present in a morbidly comprehensive and sensitive form those possibilities of erotic symbolism which, in some degree, or at some period, are latent in most persons. They are genuinely instinctive and automatic, and have nothing in common with that fanciful and deliberate play of the intelligence around sexual imagery—not infrequently seen in abnormal and insane persons—which has no significance for sexual psychology.

It is to the extreme individualization involved by the developments of erotic symbolism that the fetichist owes his morbid and perilous isolation. The lover who is influenced by all the elements of sexual selection is always supported by the fellow-feeling of a larger body of other human beings; he has behind him his species, his sex, his nation, or at the very least a fashion. Even the inverted lover in most cases is soon able to create

---

[1] "To love," as Stendhal defined it (*De l'Amour*, Chapter II), "is to have pleasure in seeing, touching, and feeling by all the senses, and as near as possible, a beloved object by whom one is oneself loved."

[2] Pillon's study of "La Mémoire Affective" (*Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901) helps to explain the psychic mechanism of the process.

around him an atmosphere constituted by persons whose ideals resemble his own. But it is not so with the erotic symbolist. He is nearly always alone. He is predisposed to isolation from the outset, for it would seem to be on a basis of excessive shyness and timidity that the manifestations of erotic symbolism are most likely to develop. When at length the symbolist realizes his own aspirations—which seem to him for the most part an altogether new phenomenon in the world—and at the same time realizes the wide degree in which they deviate from those of the rest of mankind, his natural secretiveness is still further reinforced. He stands alone. His most sacred ideals are for all those around him a childish absurdity, or a disgusting obscenity, possibly matter calling for the intervention of the policeman. We have forgotten that all these impulses which to us seem so unnatural—this adoration of the foot and other despised parts of the body, this reverence for the excretory acts and products, the acceptance of congress with animals, the solemnity of self-exhibition—were all beliefs and practices which, to our remote forefathers, were bound up with the highest conceptions of life and the deepest ardors of religion.

A man cannot, however, deviate at once so widely and so spontaneously in his impulses from the rest of the world in which he himself lives without possessing an aboriginally abnormal temperament. At the very least he exhibits a neuropathic sensitiveness to abnormal impressions. Not infrequently there is more than this, the distinct stigmata of degeneration, sometimes a certain degree of congenital feeble-mindedness or a tendency to insanity.

Yet, regarded as a whole, and notwithstanding the frequency with which they witness to congenital morbidity, the phenomena of erotic symbolism can scarcely fail to be profoundly impressive to the patient and impartial student of the human soul. They often seem absurd, sometimes disgusting, occasionally criminal; they are always, when carried to an extreme degree, abnormal. But of all the manifestations of sexual psychology, normal and abnormal, they are the most specifically human. More than any others they involve the

potently plastic force of the imagination. They bring before us the individual man, not only apart from his fellows, but in opposition, himself creating his own paradise. They constitute the supreme triumph of human idealism.

THE MECHANISM OF DETUMESCENCE.

I.

The Psychological Significance of Detumescence—The Testis and the Ovary—Sperm Cell and Germ Cell—Development of the Embryo—The External Sexual Organs—Their Wide Range of Variation—Their Nervous Supply—The Penis—Its Racial Variations—The Influence of Exercise—The Scrotum and Testicles—The Mons Veneris—The Vulva—The Labia Majora and their Varieties—The Pubic Hair and Its Characters—The Clitoris and Its Functions—The Anus as an Erogenous Zone—The Nymphæ and their Function—The Vagina—The Hymen—Virginity—The Biological Significance of the Hymen.

In analyzing the sexual impulse we have seen that the process whereby the conjunction of the sexes is achieved falls naturally into two phases: the first phase, of tumescence, during which force is generated in the organism, and the second phase, of detumescence, in which that force is discharged during conjugation.[1] Hitherto we have been occupied mainly with the first phase, that of tumescence, and with its associated psychic phenomena. It was inevitable that this should be so, for it is during the slow process of tumescence that sexual selection is decided, the crystallizations of love elaborated, and, to a large extent, the individual erotic symbols determined. But we can by no means altogether pass over the final phase of detumescence. Its consideration, it is true, brings us directly into the field of anatomy and physiology; while tumescence is largely under control of the will, when the moment of detumescence arrives the reins slip from the control of the will; the more fundamental and uncontrollable impulses of the organ-

[1] "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," in vol. iii of these *Studies*.

ism gallop on unchecked; the chariot of Phaëthon dashes blindly down into a sea of emotion.

Yet detumescence is the end and climax of the whole drama; it is an anatomico-physiological process, certainly, but one that inevitably touches psychology at every point.[1] It is, indeed, the very key to the process of tumescence, and unless we understand and realize very precisely what it is that happens during detumescence, our psychological analysis of the sexual impulse must remain vague and inadequate.

From the point of view we now occupy, a man and a woman are no longer two highly sensitive organisms vibrating, voluptuously it may indeed be, but vaguely and indefinitely, to all kinds of influences and with fluctuating impulses capable of being directed into any channel, even in the highest degree divergent from the proper ends of procreation. They are now two genital organisms who exist to propagate the race, and whatever else they may be, they must be adequately constituted to effect the act by which the future of the race is ensured. We have to consider what are the material conditions which ensure the most satisfactory and complete fulfillment of this act, and how those conditions may be correlated with other circumstances in the organism. In thus approaching the subject we shall find that we have not really abandoned the study of the psychic aspects of sex.

The two most primary sexual organs are the testis and the ovary; it is the object of conjugation to bring into contact the sperm from the testis with the germ from the ovary. There is no reason to suppose that the germ-cell and the sperm-cell are essentially different from each other. Sexual conjugation thus remains a process which is radically the same as the non-sexual mode of propagation which preceded it. The fusion of the nuclei of the two cells was regarded by Van Beneden, who in 1875 first accurately described it, as a process of conjugation comparable to that of the protozoa and the protophyta. Boveri,

---

[1] "The accomplishment of no other function," Hyrtl remarks, "is so intimately connected with the mind and yet so independent of it."

who has further extended our knowledge of the process, considers that the spermatozoon removes an inhibitory influence preventing the commencement of development in the ovum; the spermatozoon replaces a portion of the ovum which has already undergone degeneration, so that the object of conjugation is chiefly to effect the union of the properties of two cells in one, sexual fertilization achieving a division of labor with reciprocal inhibition; the two cells have renounced their original faculty of separate development in order to attain a fusion of qualities and thus render possible that production of new forms and qualities which has involved the progress of the organized world.[1]

While in fishes this conjugation of the male and female elements is usually ensured by the female casting her spawn into an artificial nest outside the body, on to which the male sheds his milt, in all animals (and, to some extent, birds, who occupy an intermediate position) there is an organic nest, or incubation chamber as Bland Sutton terms it, the womb, in the female body, wherein the fertilized egg may develop to a high degree of maturity sheltered from those manifold risks of the external world which make it necessary for the spawn of fishes to be so enormous in amount. Since, however, men and women have descended from remote ancestors who, in the manner of aquatic creatures, exercised functions of sperm-extrusion and germ-extrusion that were exactly analogous in the two sexes, without any specialized female uterine organization, the early stages of human male and female fœtal development still display the comparatively undifferentiated sexual organization of those remote ancestors, and during the first months of fœtal life it is practically impossible to tell by the inspection of the genital regions whether the embryo would have developed into a man or into a woman. If we examine the embryo at an early stage of development we see that the hind end is the body stalk, this stalk in later stages becoming part of the umbilical cord

---

[1] The process is still, however, but imperfectly understood; see Art. "Fécondation," by Ed. Retterer, in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. vi. 1905.

The urogenital region, formed by the rapid extension of the hind end beyond its original limit, which corresponds to what is later the umbilicus, develops mainly by the gradual differentiation of structures (the Wolffian and Müllerian bodies) which originally exist identically in both sexes. This process of sexual differentiation is highly complex, so that it cannot yet be said that there is complete agreement among investigators as to its details. When some irregularity or arrest of development occurs in the process we have one or other of the numerous malformations which may affect this region. If the arrest occurs at a very early stage we may even find a condition of things which seems to approximate to that which normally exists in the adult reptilia.[1] Owing to the fact that both male and female organs develop from more primitive structures which were sexually undifferentiated, a fundamental analogy in the sexual organs of the sexes always remains; the developed organs of one sex exist as rudiments in the other sex; the testicles correspond to the ovaries; the female clitoris is the homologue of the male penis; the scrotum of one sex is the labia majora in the other sex, and so throughout, although it is not always possible at present to be quite certain in regard to these homologies.

Since the object to be attained by the sexual organs in the human species is identical with that which they subserve in their pre-human ancestors, it is not surprising to find that these structures have a clear resemblance to the corresponding structures in the apes, although on the whole there would appear to be in man a higher degree of sexual differentiation. Thus the uterus of various species of *semnopithecus* seems to show a noteworthy correspondence with the same organ in woman.[2] The somewhat less degree of sexual differentiation is well shown in the gorilla; in the male the external organs are in the passive state covered by the wrinkled skin of the abdomen, while in the

---

[1] Thus a male fœtus showing reptilian characters in sexual ducts was exhibited by Shattock at the Pathological Society of London, February 19, 1895.

[2] J. Kohlbrugge, "Die Umgestaltung des Uterus der Affen nach der Geburt," *Zeitschrift für Morphologie*, bd. iv, p. 1, 1901.

female, on the contrary, they are very apparent, and in sexual excitement the large clitoris and nymphæ become markedly prominent. The penis of the gorilla, however, more nearly resembles that of man, according to Hartmann, than does that of the other anthropoid apes, which diverge from the human type in this respect more than do the cynocephalic apes and some species of baboon.

From the psychological point of view we are less interested in the internal sexual organs, which are most fundamentally concerned with the production and reception of the sexual elements, than with the more external parts of the genital apparatus which serve as the instruments of sexual excitation, and the channels for the intromission and passage of the seminal fluid. It is these only which can play any part at all in sexual selection; they are the only part of the sexual apparatus which can enter into the formation of either normal or abnormal erotic conceptions; they are the organs most prominently concerned with detumescence; they alone enter normally into the conscious process of sex at any time. It seems desirable, therefore, to discuss them briefly at this point.

Our knowledge of the individual and racial variations of the external sexual organs is still extremely imperfect. A few monographs and collections of data on isolated points may be found in more or less inaccessible publications. As regards women, Ploss and Bartels have devoted a chapter to the sexual organs of women which extends to a hundred pages, but remains scanty and fragmentary. (*Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter VI.) The most systematic series of observations have been made in the case of the various kinds of degenerates—idiots, the insane, criminals, etc.—but it would be obviously unsafe to rely too absolutely on such investigations for our knowledge of the sexual organs of the ordinary population.

There can be no doubt, however, that the external sexual organs in normal men and women exhibit a peculiarly wide range of variation. This is indicated not only by the unsystematic results attained by experienced observers, but also by more systematic studies. Thus Herman has shown by detailed measurements that there are great normal variations in the conformation of the parts that form the floor of the female pelvis. He found that the projection of the pelvic floor varied from nothing to as much as two inches, and that in healthy women who had borne no children the distance between the coccyx and anus, the length

of the perineum, the distance between the fourchette and the symphysis pubis, and the length of the vagina are subject to wide variations. (*Lancet*, October 12, 1889.) Even the female urethral opening varies very greatly, as has been shown by Bergh, who investigated it in nearly 709 women and reproduces the various shapes found; while most usually (in about a third of the cases observed), a longtitudinal slit, it may be cross-shaped, star-shaped, crescentic, etc.; and while sometimes very small, in about 6 per cent. of the cases it admitted the tip of the little finger. (Bergh, *Monatsheft für Praktische Dermatologie*, 15 Sept., 1897.)

As regards both sexes, Stanley Hall states that "Dr. F. N. Seerley, who has examined over 2000 normal young men as well as many young women, tells me that in his opinion individual variations in these parts are much greater even than those of face and form, and that the range of adult and apparently normal size and proportion, as well as function, and of both the age and order of development, not only of each of the several parts themselves, but of all their immediate annexes, and in females as well as males, is far greater than has been recognized by any writer. This fact is the basis of the anxieties and fears of morphological abnormality so frequent during adolescence." (G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 414).

In accordance with the supreme importance of the part they play, and the intimately psychic nature of that part, the sexual organs, both internal and external, are very richly supplied with nerves. While the internal organs are very abundantly furnished with sympathetic nerves and ganglia, the external organs show the highest possible degree of specialization of the various peripheral nervous devices which the organism has developed for receiving, accumulating, and transmitting stimuli to the brain.[1]

"The number of conducting cords which attach the genitals to the nervous centers is simply enormous," writes Bryan Robinson; "the pudic nerve is composed of nearly all the third sacral and branches from the second and fourth sacral. As one examines this nerve he is forced to the conclusion that it is an enormous supply for a small organ. The periphery of the pudic nerve spreads itself like a fan over the genitals." The lesser sciatic nerve supplies only one muscle—the gluteus maximus

---

[1] There are, however, no special nerve endings (Krause corpuscles), as was formerly supposed. The nerve endings in the genital region are the same as elsewhere. The difference lies in the abundance of superposed arboreal ramifications. See, *e.g.*, Ed. Retterer, Art. "Ejaculation," Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. v.

—and then sends the large pudendal branch to the side of the penis, and hence the friction of coitus induces active contraction of the gluteus maximus, "the main muscle of coition." The large pudic and the pudendal constitute the main supply of the external genitals. In women the pudic nerve is equally large, but the pudendal much smaller, possibly, Bryan Robinson suggests, because women take a less active part in coitus. The nerve supply of the clitoris, however, is three or four times as large as that of the penis in proportion to size. (F. B. Robinson, "The Intimate Nervous Connection of the Genito-Urinary Organs With the Cerebro-Spinal and Sympathetic Systems," *New York Medical Journal*, March 11, 1893; *id. The Abdominal Brain*, 1899.)

Of all the sexual organs the penis is without doubt that which has most powerfully impressed the human imagination. It is the very emblem of generation, and everywhere men have contemplated it with a mixture of reverence and shuddering awe that has sometimes, even among civilized peoples, amounted to horror and disgust. Its image is worn as an amulet to ward off evil and invoked as a charm to call forth blessing. The sexual organs were once the most sacred object on which a man could place his hands to swear an inviolate oath, just as now he takes up the Testament. Even in the traditions of the great classic civilization which we inherit the penis is *fascinus*, the symbol of all fascination. In the history of human culture it has had far more than a merely human significance; it has been the symbol of all the generative force of Nature, the embodiment of creative energy in the animal and vegetable worlds alike, an image to be held aloft for worship, the sign of all unconscious ecstasy. As a symbol, the sacred phallus, it has been woven in and out of all the highest and deepest human conceptions, so intimately that it is possible to see it everywhere, that it is possible to fail to see it anywhere.

In correspondence with the importance of the penis is the large number of names which men have everywhere bestowed upon it. In French literature many hundred synonyms may be found. They were also numerous in Latin. In English the literary terms for the penis seem to be comparatively few, but a large number of non-literary synonyms exist in colloquial and perhaps merely local usage. The Latin term penis, which has

established itself among us as the most correct designation, is generally considered to be associated with *pendere* and to be connected therefore with the usually pendent position of the organ. In the middle ages the general literary term throughout Europe was *coles* (or *colis*) from *caulis*, a stalk, and *virga*, a rod. The only serious English literary term, yard (exactly equivalent to *virga*), as used by Chaucer—almost the last great English writer whose vocabulary was adequate to the central facts of life—has now fallen out of literary and even colloquial usage.

Pierer and Chaulant, in their anatomical and physiological *Real-Lexicon* (vol. vi, p. 134), give nearly a hundred synonyms for the penis. Hyrtl (*Topographisches Anatomie*, seventh edition, vol. ii, pp. 67-69), adds others. Schurig, in his *Spermatologia* (1720, pp. 89-91), also presents a number of names for the penis; in Chapter III (pp. 189-192) of the same book he discusses the penis generally with more fullness than most authors. Louis de Landes, in his *Glossaire Erotique* of the French language (pp. 239-242), enumerates several hundred literary synonyms for the penis, though many of them probably only occur once.

There is no thorough and comprehensive modern study of the penis on an anthropological basis (though I should mention a valuable and fully illustrated study of anthropological and pathological variations of the penis in a series of articles by Marandon de Montyel, "Des Anomalies des Organs Génitaux Externes Chez les Aliénées," etc., *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1895), and it would be out of place here to attempt to collect the scattered notices regarding racial and other variations. It may suffice to note some of the evidence showing that such variations seem to be numerous and important. The Arab penis (according to Kocher) is slender and long (a third longer than the average European penis) and with a club-shaped glans. It undergoes little change when it enters the erect state. The clothes leaves it quite free, and the Arab practices manual excitement at an early age to favor its development.

Among the Fuegians, also, according to Hyades and Deniker (*Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 153), the average length of the penis is 77 millimeters, which is longer than in Europeans.

In men of black race, also, the penis is decidedly large. Thus Sir H. H. Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 399) states this to be a universal rule. Among the Wankenda of Northern Nyassa, for instance, he remarks that, while the body is of medium size, the penis is generally large. He gives the usual length as about six inches, reaching nine or ten in erection. The prepuce, it is added, is often very long, and circumcision is practiced by many tribes.

Among the American negroes Hrdlicka has found, also (*Proceedings American Association for the Advancement of Science*, vol. xlvii, p. 475), that the penis in black boys is larger than in white boys.

The passages cited above suggest the question whether the penis becomes larger by exercise of its generative functions. Most old authors assert that frequent erection makes the penis large and long (Schurig, *Spermatologia*, p. 107). Galen noted that in singers and athletes, who were chaste in order to preserve their strength, the sexual parts were small and rugrose, like those of old men, and that exercise of the organs from youth develops them; Roubaud, quoting this observation (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 373), agrees with the statement. It seems probable that there is an element of truth in this ancient belief. At the same time it must be remembered that the penis is only to small extent a muscular organ, and that the increase of size produced by frequent congestion of erectile tissues cannot be either rapid or pronounced. Variations in the size of the sexual organs are probably on the whole mainly inherited, though it is impossible to speak decisively on this point until more systematic observations become customary.

The scrotum has usually, in the human imagination, been regarded merely as an appendage of the penis, of secondary importance, although it is the garment of the primary and essential organs of sex, and the fact that it is not the seat of any voluptuous sensation has doubtless helped to confirm this position. Even the name is merely a mediæval perversion of *scortum*, skin or hide. In classic times it was usually called the pouch or purse. The importance of the testicles has not, however, been altogether ignored, as the very word *testis* itself shows, for the *testis* is simply the *witness* of virility.[1]

It is easy to understand why the penis should occupy this special place in man's thoughts as the supreme sexual organ. It is the one conspicuous and prominent portion of the sexual apparatus, while its aptitude for swelling and erecting itself involuntarily, under the influence of sexual emotion, gives it a peculiar and almost unique position in the body. At the same time it is the point at which, in the male body, all voluptuous sensation is concentrated, the only normal masculine center of sex.[2]

---

[1] Hyrtl, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 39.

[2] Sensations of pleasure without those of touch appear to be

It is not easy to find any correspondingly conspicuous symbol of sex in the sexual region of women. In the normal position nothing is visible but the peculiarly human cushion of fat picturesquely termed the Mons Veneris (because, as Palfyn said, all those who enroll themselves under the banner of Venus must necessarily scale it), and even that is veiled from view in the adult by the more or less bushy plantation of hair which grows upon it. A triangle of varyingly precise definition is thus formed at the lower apex of the trunk, and this would sometimes appear to have been regarded as a feminine aymbol.[1] But the more usual and typical symbol of femininity is the idealized ring (by some savages drawn as a lozenge) of the vulvar opening—the *yoni* corresponding to the masculine *lingam*—which is normally closed from view by the larger lips arising from beneath the shadow of the *mons*. It is a symbol that, like the masculine phallus, has a double meaning among primitive peoples and is sometimes used to call down a blessing and sometimes to invoke a curse.[2]

This external opening of the feminine genital passage with its two enclosing lips is now generally called the vulva. It would appear that originally (as by Celsus and Pliny) this term included the womb, also, but when the term "uterus" came into use "vulva" was confined (as its sense of folding doors suggests that it should be) to the external entrance. The classic term *cunnus* for the external genitals was chiefly used by the poets; it has been the etymological source of various European names for this region, such as the old French *con*, which has now, however, disappeared from literature while even in popular usage it has given place to *lapin* and similar terms. But there is always a tendency, marked in most parts of the world, for the names of the external female parts to become indecorous. Even in classic antiquity this part was the *pudendum*, the part

---

normal at the tip of the penis, as pointed out by Scripture, quoted in *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1898.

[1] See the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," p 161.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, beginning of chapter VI.

to be ashamed of, and among ourselves the mass of the population, still preserving the traditions of primitive times, continue to cherish the same notion.

The anatomy, anthropology, folk-lore, and terminology of the external and to some extent the internal feminine sexual region may be studied in the following publications, among others: Ploss, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter VI; Hyrtl, *Topographisches Anatomie*, vol. ii, and other publications by the same scholarly anatomist; W. J. Stewart Mackay, *History of Ancient Gynæcology*, especially pp. 244-250; R. Bergh, "Symbolæ ad Cognitionem Genitalium Externorum Fœminearum" (in Danish). *Hospitalstidende*, August, 1894; and also in *Monatshefte für Praktische Dermatologie*, 1897. D. S. Lamb, "The Female External Genital Organs," *New York Journal of Gynæcology*, August, 1894; R. L. Dickinson, "Hypertrophies of the Labia Minora and Their Significance," *American Gynecology*, September, 1902; Κρυπτάδια (in various languages), vol. viii, pp. 3-11, 11-13. and many other passages. Several of Schurig's works (especially *Gynæcologia*, *Muliebria*, and *Parthenologia*) contain full summaries of the statements of the early writers.

The external or larger lips, like the mons veneris, are specifically human in their full development, for in the anthropoid apes they are small as is the mons, and in the lower apes absent altogether; they are, moreover, larger in the white than in the other human races. Thus in the negro, and to a less degree in the Japanese (Wernich) and the Javanese (Scherzer) they are less developed than in women of white race. The greater lips develop in the fœtus later than the lesser lips, which are thus at first uncovered; this condition thus constitutes an infantile state which occasionally (in less than 2 per cent. of cases, according to Bergh) persists in the adult. Their generally accepted name, labia majora, is comparatively modern.[1]

The outer sides of the labia majora are covered with hair, and on the inner sides, which are smooth and moist, but are not true mucous membrane, there are a few sweat glands and numerous large sebaceous glands. Bergh considers that there is little or no hair on the inner sides of the labia majora, but Lamb states that careful examination shows that from one- to two-thirds of the inner surface in adult women,

[1] Hyrtl states that the name *labia* was first used by Haller in the middle of the eighteenth century in his *Elements of Physiology*, being adopted by him from the Greek poet Erotion, who gave these structures the very obvious name χείλεα. lips. But this seems to be a mistake. for the seventeenth century anatomists certainly used the name "labia" for these parts.

show hairs like those of the external surface. In brunettes and women of dark races this surface is pigmented; in dark races it is usually a slate gray. From an examination of 2200 young Danish prostitutes Bergh has found that there are two main varieties in the shape of the labia majora, with transitional forms. In the first and most frequent form the labia tend to be less marked and more effaced and separated at the upper and anterior part, often being lost in the sides of the mons and presenting a fissure which is broader in its upper part and showing the inner lips more or less bare. In the second form the labia are thicker and more outstanding and the inner edges lie in contact throughout their whole length, showing the *rima pudendi* as a long narrow fissure. Whatever the form, the labia close more tightly together in virgins and in young individuals generally than in the deflowered and the elderly. In children, as Martineau pointed out, the vulva appears to look directly forward and the clitoris and urinary meatus easily appear, while in adult women, and especially after attempts at coitus have been made, the vulva appears directed more below and behind, and the clitoris and meatus more covered by the labia majora; so that the child urinates forward, while the adult woman is usually able to urinate almost directly downwards in the erect position, though in some cases (as may occasionally be observed in the street) she can only do so when bending slightly forwards. This difference in the direction of the stream formerly furnished one of the methods of diagnosing virginity, an uncertain one, since the difference is largely due to age and individual variation. The main factor in the position and aspect of the vulva is pelvic inclination. (See Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 64; Stratz, *Die Schönheit des Weiblichen Korpers*, Chapter XII.) In the European woman, according to Stratz, a considerable degree of pelvic inclination is essential to beauty, concealing all but the anterior third of the vulva. In negresses and other women of lower race the vulva, however, usually lies further back, being more conspicuous from behind than in European women; in this respect lower races resemble the apes. Those women of dark race, therefore, whose modesty is focussed behind rather than in front thus have sound anatomical considerations on their side.

As Ploss and Bartels remark, a very common variation among European women consists in an unusually posterior position of the vulva and vaginal entrance, so that unless a cushion is placed under the buttocks it is difficult for the man to effect coitus in the usual position without giving much pain to the woman. They add that another anomaly, less easy to remedy, consists in an abnormally anterior position of the vaginal entrance close beneath the pelvic bone, so that, although intromission is easy, the spasmodic contraction of the vagina at the culmination of orgasm presses the penis against the bone and causes intolerable pain to the man.

The mons veneris and the labia majora are, after the age of puberty, always normally covered by a more or less profuse growth of hair. It is notable that the apes, notwithstanding their general tendency to hairiness, show no such special development of hair in this region. We thus see that all the external and more conspicuous portions of the sexual sphere in woman —the mons veneris, the labia majora, and the hair—represent not so much an animal inheritance, such as we commonly misrepresent them to be, but a higher and genuinely human development. As none of these structures subserve any clear practical use, it would appear that they must have developed by sexual selection to satisfy the æsthetic demands of the eye.[1]

The character and arrangement of the pubic hair, investigated by Eschricht and Voigt more than half a century ago, have been more recently studied by Bergh. As these observers have pointed out, there are various converging hair streams from above and below, the clitoris seeming to be the center towards which they are directed. The hair-covering thus formed is usually ample and, as a rule, is more so in brunettes than in blondes. It is nearly always bent, curly and more or less spirally twisted.[2] There are frequently one or two curls at the commencement of the fissure, rolled outwards, and occasionally a well marked tuft in the middle line. In abundance the pubic hair corresponds with the axillary hair; when one region is defective in hair the other is usually so also. Strong eyebrows also usually indicate a strong development of pubic hair. But the hair of the head usually varies independently, and Bergh found that of 154 women with spare pubic hair 72 had good and often profuse hair on the head. Complete or almost

---

[1] Bergh tentatively suggests, as regards the pubic hair, that its appearance may be due to the upright walk in man and the human position during coitus, the hair preventing irritation of the genitals from the sweat pouring down from the body and protecting the skin from direct friction in coitus. (In both these suggestions he was, however, long previously anticipated by Fabricius ab Aquapendente.) The fanciful suggestion of Louis Robinson that the pubic hair has developed in order to enable the human infant to cling securely to his mother is very poorly supported by facts, and has not met with acceptance. It may be mentioned that (as stated by Ploss and Bartels) the women of the Bismarck Archipelago, whose pubic hair is very abundant, use it as a kind of handkerchief on which to clean their hands.

[2] Routh and Heywood Smith have noted that the pubic hair tends to lose its curliness and become straight in women who masturbate. (*British Gynæcological Journal*, February, 1887, p. 505.)

complete absence of pubic hair is in Bergh's experience only found in about 3 per cent. of women; these were all young and blonde.

Rothe, in his investigation of the pubic hair of 1000 Berlin women, found that no two women were really alike in this respect, but there was a tendency to two main types of arrangement, with minor subdivisions, according as the hair tended to grow chiefly in the middle line extending laterally from that line, or to grow equally over the whole extent of the pubic region; these two groups included half the cases investigated.

In men the pubic hair normally ascends anteriorly in a faint line up to the navel, with tendency to form a triangle with the apex above, and posteriorly extends backwards to the anus. In women these anterior and posterior extensions are comparatively rare, or at all events are only represented by a few stray hairs. Rothe found this variation in 4 per cent. of North German women, though a triangle of hair was only found in 2 per cent.; Lombroso found it in 5 per cent. of Italian women; Bergh found it in only 1.6 per cent. among 1000 Danish prostitutes, all sixteen of whom with three exceptions were brunettes. In Vienna, among 600 women, Coe found only 1 per cent. with this distribution of hair, and states that they were women of decidedly masculine type, though Ploss and Bartels, as well as Rothe, find, however, that heterogeny, as they term the masculine distribution, is more common in blondes. The anterior extension of hair is usually accompanied by the posterior extensio around the anus, usually very slight, but occasionally as pronounce as in men. (According to Rothe, however, anterior heterogen comparatively rare.) These masculine variations in the extension of the pubic hair appear to be not uncommonly associated with other physical and psychic anomalies; it is on this account that they have sometimes been regarded as indications of a vicious or a criminal temperament; they are, however, found in quite normal women.

The pubic hair of women is usually shorter than that of men, but thick, and the individual hairs stronger and larger i diameter than those of men, as Pfaff first showed; dark hair is usually stronger than light. In both length and size the individual variations are considerable. The usual length is about 2 inches, or 3-5 centimeters, occasionally reaching about 4 inches, or 9-10 centimeters, in the larger curls. In a series of 100 women attended during confinement in London and the north of England I have only once (in a rather blonde Lancashire woman) found the hair on labia reaching a conspicuous length of several inches and forming an obstruction to the manipulations involved in delivery. But Jahn delivered a woman whose pubic hair was longer than that of her head, reaching below her knee; Paulini also knew a woman whose

pubic hair nearly reached her knees and was sold to make wigs; Bartholin mentions a soldier's wife who plaited her pubic hair behind her back; while Brantôme has several references to abnormally long hair in ladies of the French court during the sixteenth century. In 8 cases out of 2200 Bergh found the pubic hair forming a large curly wig extending to the iliac spines. The individual hairs have occasionally been found so stiff and brush-like as to render coitus difficult.

In color the pubic hair, while generally approximating to that of the head, is sometimes (according to Rothe, in Germany, in one-third cases) lighter, and sometimes somewhat darker, as is found to be the case by Coe, especially in brunettes. and also by Bergh, in Denmark. Bergh remarks that it is generally intermediate in color between the eyebrows and the axillary hair, the latter being more or less decolorized by sweat, and that, owing to the influence of the urine and vaginal discharges, the labial hair is paler than that on the mons; blondes with dark eyebrows usually have dark hair on the mons. The hair on this spot, as Aristotle observed, is usually the last to turn gray.

The key to the genital apparatus in women from the psychic point of view, and, indeed, to some extent, its anatomical center, is to be found in the clitoris. Anatomically and developmentally the clitoris is the rudimentary analogue of the masculine penis. Functionally, however, its scope is very much smaller. While the penis both receives and imparts specific voluptuous sensations, and is at the same time both the intromittent organ for the semen and the conduit for the urine, the sole function of the clitoris is to enter into erection under the stress of sexual emotion and receive and transmit the stimulatory voluptuous sensations imparted to it by friction with the masculine genital apparatus. It is so insignificant an organ that it is only within recent times that its homology with the penis has been realized. In 1844 Kobelt wrote in his important book, *Die Mannlichen und Weiblichen Wollust-Organe,* that in his attempt to show that the female organs are exactly analogous to the male the reader will probably be unable to follow him, while even Johannes Müller, the father of scientific physiology, declared at about the same period that the clitoris is essentially different from the penis. It is indeed but three centuries since the clitoris was so little known that (in 1593) Realdus Columbus actually claimed the honor of discovering it.

Columbus was not its discoverer, for Fallopius speedily showed that Avicenna and Albucasis had referred to it.[1] The Arabs appear to have been very familiar with it, and, from the various names they gave it, clearly understood the important part it plays in generating voluptuous emotion.[2] But it was known in classic antiquity; the Greeks called it *μύρτον*. the myrtle-berry; Galen and Soranus called it *νύμφη* because it is covered as a bride is veiled, while the old Latin name was *tentigo*, from its power of entering into erection, and *columella*, the little pillar, from its shape. The modern term, which is Greek and refers to the sensitiveness of the part to voluptuous titillation, is said to have originated with Suidas and Pollux.[3] It was mentioned, though not adopted, by Rufus.

"The clitoris," declared Haller, "is a part extremely sensible and wonderfully prurient." It is certainly the chief though by no means the only point through which the immediate call to detumescence is conveyed to the female organism. It is, indeed, as Bryan Robinson remarks, "a veritable electrical bell button which, being pressed or irritated, rings up the whole nervous system."

The nervous supply of this little organ is very large, and the dorsal nerve of the clitoris is relatively three or four times larger than that of the penis. Yet the sensitive point of this organ is only 5 to 7 millimeters in extent. The length of the clitoris is usually rather over 2 centimeters (or about an inch) and 3 centimeters when erect; a length of 4 centimeters or more was regarded by Martineau as within the normal range of variation. It is not usual to find the clitoris longer than this in Europe (for among some races like the negro the clitoris is generally large), but all degrees of magnitude may be found as rare exceptions. (See, *e.g.*, Sir J. Y. Simpson, "Hermaphrodites," *Obstetric Memoirs and Contributions*, vol. ii, pp. 217-226; also Dickinson, *loc. cit.*) It was formerly thought that the clitoris is easily enlarged by masturbation, and Martineau believed that in this way it might be doubled in length. It is probable that slight enlargement of the clitoris may be

---

[1] Schurig, *Muliebria*, p. 75. Plazzon in 1621 said that in Italian it had a popular name, *il besneeglo*.

[2] Schurig brought together in his *Gynæcologia* (pp. 2-4) various early opinions concerning the clitoris as the seat of voluptuous feeling.

[3] Hyrtl, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 193.

caused by very frequent masturbation, but only to an insignificant extent, and it is impossible to diagnose masturbation from the size of the clitoris. Among the women of Lake Nyassa, as well as in the Caroline Islands, special methods are practiced for elongating the clitoris, but in Europe, at all events, it is probable that the variations in the size of the organ are mainly congenital. It may well be that a congenitally large clitoris is associated with an abnormally developed excitability of the sexual apparatus. Tilt stated (*On Uterine and Ovarian Inflammation*, p. 37) that in his experience there was a frequent though not invariable connection between a large clitoris and sexual proclivity. (Schurig referred to a case of intense and lifelong sexual obsession associated with an extremely large clitoris, *Gynæcologia*, pp. 16-17.) Of recent years considerable importance has been attached by some gynecologists (*e.g.*, R. T. Morris, "Is Evolution Trying to Do Away With the Clitoris?" *Transactions American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*, vol. v, 1893) to preputial adhesions around the clitoris as a source of nervous disturbance and invalidism in young women.

While the clitoris is anatomically analogous to the penis, its actual mechanism under the stress of sexual excitement is somewhat different. As Liétaud long since pointed out, it cannot rise freely in erection as the penis can; it is apparently bound down by its prepuce and its frenulum. Waldeyer, in his book on the pelvis, states more precisely that, unlike the penis, when erect it retains its angle, only this becomes somewhat rounded so that the organ is to some slight extent lifted and protruded. Waldeyer considered that the clitoris was thus perfectly fitted to fulfill its part as the recipient of erotic stimulation from friction by the penis. Adler, however, has pointed out with considerable justice, that this is not altogether the case. The clitoris was developed in mammals who practiced the posterior mode of coitus; in this position the clitoris was beneath the penis, which was thus easily able in coitus to press it against the pubic bone close beneath which it is situated, and thus impart the compression and friction which the feminine organ craves. But in the human anterior mode of coitus it is not necessarily brought into close contact with the penis during the act of coitus, and thus fails to receive powerful stimulation. Its restricted posi-

tion, which is an advantage in posterior coitus, is a disadvantage in anterior coitus. Adler observes that it thus comes about that the human method of coitus, while by bringing breast to breast and face to face it has added a new dignity and refinement, a fresh source of enjoyment, to the embrace of the sexes, has not been an unmixed advantage to woman, for while man has lost nothing by the change, woman has now to contend with an increased difficulty in attaining an adequate amount of pressure on that "electric button" which normally sets the whole mechanism in operation.[1]

We may well bring into connection with the changed conditions brought about by anterior coitus the interesting fact that while the clitoris remains the most exquisitely sensitive of the sexual centers in woman, voluptuous sensitivity is much more widely diffused in woman than in man. Over the whole body, indeed, it is apt to be more distinctly marked than is usually the case in man. But even if we confine ourselves to the genital region, while in man that portion of the penis which enters the vagina, and especially the glans, is normally the only portion which, even during turgescence, is sensitive to voluptuous contacts, in woman the whole of the region comprised within the larger lips, including even the anus and internally the vagina and the vaginal portion of the womb,[1] become sensitive to voluptuous contacts. Deprived of the penis the ability of a man to experience specifically sexual sensations becomes very limited indeed. But the loss of the clitoris or of any other structure involves no correspondingly serious disability on women. Ablation of the clitoris for sexual hyperæsthesia has for this reason been abandoned, except under special circumstances. The members of the Russian Skoptzy sect habitually amputate

---

[1] O. Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, 1904, pp. 117-119.

[2] The voluptuous sensations caused by sexual contacts producing movements of the womb are probably normal and usual. They may even occur under circumstances unconnected with sexual emotion, and Mundé (*International Journal of Surgery*, March, 1893) mentions incidentally that in one case while titillating the cervix with a sound the woman very plainly showed voluptuous manifestations.

the clitoris, nymphæ, and breasts, yet many young Skoptzy women told the Russian physician, Guttceit, that they were perfectly well able to enjoy coitus.

Freud believes that in very young girls the clitoris is the exclusive seat of sexual sensation, masturbation at this age being directed to the clitoris alone, and spontaneous sexual excitement being confined to twitchings and erection of this organ, so that young girls are able, from their own experience, to recognize without instruction the signs of sexual excitement in boys. At a later age sexual excitability spreads from the clitoris to other regions—just as the easy inflammability of wood sets light to coal—though in the male the penis remains from first to last normally the almost exclusive seat of specific excitability. (S. Freud, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, p. 62.)

The anus would, however, seem to be sometimes an erogenous zone even at an early age. Titillation of the anus appears to be frequently pleasurable in women; and this is not surprising considering the high degree of erotic sensitivity which is easily developed at the body orifices where skin meets mucous membrane. (Thus the meatus of the urethra is a highly erogenous zone, as is sufficiently shown by the frequency with which hair-pins and other articles used in masturbation find their way into the bladder.) It is in this germinal sensitivity, undoubtedly, that we find a chief key to the practice of *pedicatio*. Freud attaches great importance to the anus as a sexually erogenous zone at a very early age, and considers that it very frequently makes its influence felt in this respect. He believes that intestinal catarrhs in very early life and hæmorrhoids later tend to develop sensibility in the anus. He finds an indication that the anus has become a sexually erogenous zone when children wish to allow the contents of the rectum to accumulate so that defecation may by its increased difficulty involve voluptuous sensations, and adds that masturbatory excitation of the anus with the fingers is by no means rare in older children. (S. Freud, *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.) A medical correspondent in India tells me of a European lady who derived, she said, "quite as much, indeed more," pleasure from digitally titillating her rectum as from vulvo-vaginal titillation; she had several times submitted to *pedicatio* and enjoyed it, though it was painful during penetration. The anus may retain this erogenous irritability even in old age, and Routh mentions the case of a lady of over 70, the reverse of lustful, who was so excited by the act of defecation that she was invariably compelled to masturbate, although this state of things was a source of great mental misery to her. (C. H. F. Routh, *British Gynæcological Journal*, February, 1887, p. 48.)

Bölsche has sought the explanation of the erogenous nature of the anus, and the key to *pedicatio*, in an atavistic return to the very

remote amphibian days when the anus was combined with the sexual parts in a common cloaca. But it is unnecessary to invoke any vestigial inheritance from a vastly remote past when we bear in mind that the innervation of these two adjoining regions is inevitably very closely related. The presence of a body exit with its marked and special sensitivity at a point where it can scarcely fail to receive the nervous overflow from an immensely active center of nervous energy quite adequately accounts for the phenomenon in question.

The inner lips, the nymphæ or labia minora, running parallel with the greater lips which enclose them, embrace the clitoris anteriorly and extend backward, enclosing the urethral exit between them as well as the vaginal entrance. They form little wings whence their old Latin name, *alæ,* and from their resemblance to the cock's comb were by Spigelius termed crista galli. The red and (especially in brunettes) dark appearance of the nymphæ suggests that they are mucous membrane and not integumentary; it is, however, now considered that even on the inner surface they are covered by skin and separated from the mucous membrane by a line.[1] In structure, as described by Waldeyer, they consist of fine connective tissue rich in elastic fibers as well as some muscular tissue, and full of large veins, so that they are capable of a considerable degree of turgescence resembling erection during sexual excitement, while Ballantyne finds that the nymphæ are supplied to a notable extent with nervous end-organs.

More than any other part of the sexual apparatus in either sex, the lesser lips, on account of their shape, their position, and their structure, are capable of acquired modifications, more especially hypertrophy and elongation. By stretching, it is stated, a labium can be doubled in its dimensions. The "Hottentot apron," or elongated nymphæ, commonly found among some peoples in South Africa, has long been a familiar phenomenon. In such cases a length or transverse diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters is commonly found. But such elongated

[1] Henle stated that fine hairs are frequently visible on the nymphæ; Stieda (*Zeitschrift für Morphologie*, 1902, p. 458) remarks that he has never been able to see them with the naked eye.

nymphæ are by no means confined to one part of the world or to one race; they are quite common among women of European race, and reach a size equal to most of the more reliably recorded Hottentot cases. Dickinson, who has very carefully studied this question in New York, finds that in 1000 consecutive gynæcological cases the labia showed some form of hypertrophy in 36 per cent., or more than 1 in 3; while among 150 of these cases who were neurasthenic, the proportion reached 56 per cent., even when minor or doubtful enlargements were disregarded. Bergh, in about 16 per cent. cases, found very enlarged nymphæ, the height reached in about 5 per cent. of the cases of enlargement being nearly six centimeters. Ploss and Bartels, in a full discussion of the "Hottentot apron," come to the conclusion that this condition is perhaps in most cases artificially produced. It is known that among the Basutos it is the custom for the elder girls to manipulate the nymphæ of younger children, when alone with them, almost from birth, and on account of the elastic nature of these structures such manipulation quite adequately accounts for the elongation. It is not necessary to suppose that the custom is practiced for the sake of producing sexual stimulation—though this may frequently occur—since there are numerous similar primitive customs involving deformation of the sexual organs without the production of sexual excitement. Dickinson has come to a similar conclusion as regards the corresponding elongation of the nymphæ in civilized European women. In 361 out of 1000 women of good social class he found elongation or thickening, often with a notable degree of wrinkling and pigmentation, and believes that this is always the result of frequently repeated masturbation practiced with the separation of the nymphæ; in 30 per cent. of the cases admission of masturbation was made.[1] While this conclusion is probably correct in the main, it requires some qualification. To assert

[1] R. L. Dickinson, "Hypertrophies of the Labia Minora and Their Significance," *American Gynæcologist*, September, 1902. It is perhaps noteworthy that Bergh found that in 302 cases in which the nymphæ were of unequal length, in all but 24 the left was longer.

that whenever in women who have not been pregnant the marked protrusion of the inner lips beyond the outer lips means that at some period manipulation has been practiced with or without the production of sexual excitement is to make too absolute a statement. It is highly probable that the nymphæ, like the clitoris, are congenitally more prominent in some of the lower human races, as they are also in the apes; among the Fuegians, for instance, according to Hyades and Deniker, the labia minora descend lower than in Europeans, although there is not the slightest reason to suppose that these women practice any manipulations. Among European women, again, the nymphæ sometimes protrude very prominently beyond the labia majora in women who are organically of somewhat infantile type; this occurs in cases in which we may be convinced that no manipulations have ever been practiced.[1]

It is difficult to speak very decisively as to the function of the labia minora. They doubtless exert some amount of protective influence over the entrance to the vagina, and in this way correspond to the lips of the mouth after which they are called. They fulfill, however, one very definite though not obviously important function which is indicated by the mythologic name they have received. There is, indeed, some obscurity in the origin of this term, nymphæ, which has not, I believe, been satisfactorily cleared up. It has been stated that the Greek name *νύμφη* has been transferred from the clitoris to the labia minora. Any such transfer could only have taken place when the meaning of the word had been forgotten, and *νύμφη* had become the totally different word *nymphæ,* the goddesses who presided over streams. The old anatomists were much exercised in their minds as to the meaning of the name, but on the whole were inclined to believe that it referred to the

---

[1] It may be remarked that Bergh believes that the nymphæ, and indeed the external genitals generally, are congenitally more strongly developed in libidinous persons, and at the same time in brunettes, while in public prostitutes this is not usually the case, which confirms the belief that exalted sexual sensibility does not usually lead to prostitution. He adds that prostitution, unless carried on for many years, has little effect on the shape of the external genitals.

action of the labia minora in directing the urinary stream. The term nymphæ was first applied in the modern sense, according to Bergh, in 1599, by Pinæus, mainly from the influence of these structures on the urinary stream, and he dilated in his *De Virginitate* on the suitability of the term to designate so poetic a spot.[1] In more modern times Luschka and Sir Charles Bell considered that it is one of the uses of the nymphæ to direct the stream of urine, and Lamb from his own observation thinks the same conclusion probable. In reality there cannot be the slightest doubt about the function of the nymphæ, as, in Hyrtl's phrase, "the naiads of the urinary source," and it can be demonstrated by the simplest experiment.[2]

The nymphæ form the intermediate portal of the vagina, as the canal which conducts to the womb was in anatomy first termed (according to Hyrtl) by De Graaf.[3] It is a secreting, erectile, more or less sensitive canal lined by what is usually considered mucous membrane, though some have regarded it as integument of the same character as that of the external genitals; it certainly resembles such integument more than, for instance, the mucous membrane of the rectum. In the woman who has never had sexual intercourse and has been subjected to no manipulations or accidents affecting this region, the vagina

---

[1] Schurig (*Muliebria*, 1729, Section II, cap. II) gives numerous quotations on this point; thus De Graaf wrote in his book on the sexual organs of women: "Tales protuberantiæ nymphæ appellantur ea propter quod aquis e vesica prosilientibus proxime adstare reperiantur, quandoquidem inter illas, tanquam duos parietes, urina magno impetu cum sibilo sæpe et absque labiorum irrigatione erumpit, vel quod sint castitatis præsides, aut sponsam primo intromittant."

[2] Havelock Ellis, "The Bladder as a Dynamometer," *American Journal of Dermatology*, May, 1902. If a woman who has never been pregnant, standing in the erect position before commencing the act of urination presses apart the labia minora with index and middle fingers the stream will be projected forward so as to fall usually at a considerable distance in front of a vertical line from the meatus; if when the act is half completed the fingers are removed, the labia close together and the stream, though maintained at a constant pressure, at once changes its character and direction.

[3] In poetry this term was employed by Plautus, *Pseudolus*. Act IV, Sc. 7. The Greek αἰδοῖον sometimes meant vagina and sometimes the external sexual parts; κόλπος was used for the vagina alone.

is closed by a last and final gate of delicate membrane—scarcely admitting more than a slender finger—called the hymen.

The poets called the hymen "flos virginitatis," the flower of virginity, whence the medico-legal term *defloratio*. Notwithstanding the great significance which has long been attached to the phenomena connected with it, the hymen was not accurately known until Vesalius, Fallopius, and Spigelius described and named it. It was, however, recognized by the Arab authors, Avicenna and Averroes. The early literature concerning it is summarized by Schurig, *Mulieria*, 1729, Section II, cap. V. The same author's *Parthenologia* is devoted to the various ancient problems connected with the question of virginity.

To say that this delicate piece of membrane is from the non-physical point of view a more important structure than any other part of the body is to convey but a feeble idea of the immense importance of the hymen in the eyes of the men of many past ages and even of our own times and among our own people.[1] For the uses of the feminine body, or for its beauty, there is no part which is more absolutely insignificant. But in human estimation it has acquired a spiritual value which has made it far more than a part of the body. It has taken the place of the soul, that whose presence gives all her worth and dignity, even her name, to the unmarried woman, her purity, her sexual desirability, her market value. Without it—though in all physical and mental respects she might remain the same person—she has sometimes been a mark for contempt, a worthless outcast.[2]

So fragile a membrane scarcely possesses the reliability which should be possessed by a structure whose presence or absence has often meant so much. Its absence by no means necessarily signifies that a woman has had intercourse with a man. Its presence by no means signifies that she has never had such intercourse.

There are many ways in which the hymen may be destroyed apart from coitus. Among the Chinese (and also, it would appear, in India and some other parts of the East) the female parts are from infancy

---

[1] It is curious, however, that the European physicians of the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries were doubtful of its value as a sign of virginity and considered it often absent.

[2] For a summary of the beliefs and practices of various peoples with regard to the hymen and virginity see Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XVI.

kept so scrupulously clean by daily washing, the finger being introduced into the vagina, that the hymen rapidly disappears, and its existence is unknown even to Chinese doctors. Among some Brazilian Indians a similar practice exists among mothers as regards their young children, less, however, for the sake of cleanliness than in order to facilitate sexual intercourse in future years. (Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter VI.) The manipulations of vaginal masturbation will, of course, similarly destroy the hymen. It is also quite possible for the hymen to be ruptured by falls and other accidents. (See, *e.g.*, a lengthy study by Nina-Rodrigues, "Des Ruptures de l'Hymen dans les Chutes," *Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, September, 1903.)

On the other hand, integrity of the hymen is no proof of virginity, apart from the obvious fact that there may be intercourse without penetration. (The case has even been recorded of a prostitute with syphilitic condylomata, a somewhat masculine type of pubic arch, and vulva rather posteriorly placed, whose hymen had never been penetrated.) The hymen may be of a yielding or folding type, so that complete penetration may take place and yet the hymen be afterwards found unruptured. It occasionally happens that the hymen is found intact at the end of pregnancy. In some, though not all, of these cases there has been conception without intromission of the penis. This has occurred even when the entrance was very minute. The possibility of such conception has long been recognized, and Schurig (*Syllepsilogia*, 1731, Section I, cap. VIII, p. 2) quotes ancient authors who have recorded cases. For some typical modern cases see Guérard (*Centralblatt fur Gynäkologie*, No. 15, 1895), in one of whose cases the hymen of the pregnant woman scarcely admitted a hair; also Braun (*ib.*, No. 23, 1895).

The hymen has played a very definite and pronounced part in the social and moral life of humanity. Until recently it has been more difficult to decide what precise biological function it has exercised to ensure its development and preservation. Sexual selection, no doubt, has worked in its favor, but that influence has been very limited and comparatively very recent. Virginity is not usually of any value among peoples who are entirely primitive. Indeed, even in the classic civilization which we inherit, it is easy to show that the virgin and the admiration for virginity are of late growth; the virgin goddesses were not originally virgins in our modern sense. Diana was the many-breasted patroness of childbirth before she became the chaste and solitary huntress, for the earliest distinction would appear

to have been simply between the woman who was attached to a man and the woman who followed an earlier rule of freedom and independence; it was a later notion to suppose that the latter woman was debarred from sexual intercourse. We certainly must not seek the origin of the hymen in sexual selection; we must find it in natural selection. And here it might seem at first sight that we come upon a contradiction in Nature, for Nature is always devising contrivances to secure the maximum amount of fertilization. "Increase and multiply" is so obviously the command of Nature that the Hebrews, with their usual insight, unhesitatingly dared to place it in the mouth of Jehovah. But the hymen is a barrier to fertilization. It has, however, always to be remembered that as we rise in the zoological scale, and as the period of gestation lengthens and the possible number of offspring is fewer, it becomes constantly more essential that fertilization shall be effective rather than easy; the fewer the progeny the more necessary it is that they shall be vigorous enough to survive. There can be little doubt that, as one or two writers have already suggested, the hymen owes its development to the fact that its influence is on the side of effective fertilization. It is an obstacle to the impregnation of the young female by immature, aged, or feeble males. The hymen is thus an anatomical expression of that admiration of force which marks the female in her choice of a mate. So regarded, it is an interesting example of the intimate manner in which sexual selection is really based on natural selection. Sexual selection is but the translation into psychic terms of a process which has already found expression in the physical texture of the body.

It may be added that this interpretation of the biological function of the hymen is supported by the facts of its evolution. It is unknown among the lower mammals, with whom fertilization is easy, gestation short and offspring numerous. It only begins to appear among the higher mammals in whom reproduction is already beginning to take on the characters which become fully developed in man. Various authors have found traces of a rudimentary hymen, not only in apes, but in elephants, horses, donkeys, bitches, bears, pigs, hyenas, and giraffes. (Hyrtl, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 189; G. Gellhoen, "Anatomy and Development

of the Hymen," *American Journal Obstetrics*, August, 1904.) It is the human species that the tendency to limitation of offspring is mo marked, combined at the same time with a greater aptitude for impre nation than exists among any lower mammals. It is here, therefor that a physical check is of most value, and accordingly we find that i woman alone, of all animals, is the hymen fully developed.

The Object of Detumescence—Erogenous Zones—The Lips—The Vasoular Characters of Detumescence—Erectile Tissue—Erection in Woman—Mucous Emission in Women—Sexual Connection—The Human Mode of Intercourse—Normal Variations—The Motor Characters of Detumescence—Ejaculation—The Virile Reflex—The General Phenomena of Detumescence—The Circulatory and Respiratory Phenomena—Blood Pressure—Cardiac Disturbance—Glandular Activity—Distillatio—The Essentially Motor Character of Detumescence—Involuntary Muscular Irradiation to Bladder, etc.—Erotic Intoxication—Analogy of Sexual Detumescence and Vesical Tension—The Specifically Sexual Movements of Detumescence in Man—In Woman—The Spontaneous Movements of the Genital Canal in Woman—Their Function in Conception—Part Played by Active Movement of the Spermatozoa—The Artificial Injection of Semen—The Facial Expression During Detumescence—The Expression of Joy—The Occasional Serious Effects of Coitus.

We have seen what the object of detumescence is, and we have briefly considered the organs and structures which are chiefly concerned in the process. We have now to inquire what are the actual phenomena which take place during the act of detumescence.

Detumescence is normally linked closely to tumescence. Tumescence is the piling on of the fuel; detumescence is the leaping out of the devouring flame whence is lighted the torch of life to be handed on from generation to generation. The whole process is double and yet single; it is exactly analogous to that by which a pile is driven into the earth by the raising and then the letting go of a heavy weight which falls on to the head of the pile. In tumescence the organism is slowly wound up and force accumulated; in the act of detumescence the accumulated force is let go and by its liberation the sperm-bearing instrument is driven home. Courtship, as we commonly term the process of tumescence which takes place when a woman is first sexually approached by a man, is usually a highly pro-

longed process. But it is always necessary to remember that every repetition of the act of coitus, to be normally and effectively carried out on both sides, demands a similar double process; detumescence must be preceded by an abbreviated courtship.

This abbreviated courtship by which tumescence is secured or heightened in the repetition of acts of coitus which have become familiar, is mainly tactile.[1] Since the part of the man in coitus is more active and that of the woman more passive, the sexual sensitivity of the skin seems to be more pronounced in women. There are, moreover, regions of the surface of a woman's body where contact, when sympathetic, seems specially liable to arouse erotic excitement. Such erogenous zones are often specially marked in the breasts, occasionally in the palm of the hand, the nape of the neck, the lobule of the ear, the little finger; there is, indeed, perhaps no part of the surface of the body which may not, in some individuals at some time, become normally an erogenous zone. In hysteria the erotic excitability of these zones is sometimes very intense. The lips are, however, without doubt, the most persistently and poignantly sensitive region of the whole body outside the sphere of the sexual organs themselves. Hence the significance of the kiss as a preliminary of detumescence.[2]

The importance of the lips as a normal erogenous zone is shown by the experiments of Gualino. He applied a thread, folded on itself several times, to the lips, thus stimulating them in a simple mechanical manner. Of 20 women, between the ages of 18 and 35, only 8 felt this as a merely mechanical operation, 4 felt a vaguely erotic element in the proceeding, 3 experienced a desire for coitus and in 5 there was actual sexual excitement with emission of mucus. Of 25 men, between the ages of 20 and 30, in 15 all sexual feeling was absent, in 7 erotic ideas were suggested with congestion of the sexual organs without erection, and in 3 there was the beginning of erection. It should be added that both the women and the men in whom this sexual reflex was more especially

---

[1] The elements furnished by the sense of touch in sexual selection have been discussed in the first section of the previous volume of these *Studies*.

[2] See Appendix A. "The Origins of the Kiss," in the previous volume.

marked were of somewhat nervous temperament; in such persons erotic reactions of all kinds generally occur most easily. (Gualino, "Il Riflesso Sessuale nell' eccitamento alle labbre," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1904, p. 341.)

As tumescence, under the influence of sensory stimulation, proceeds toward the climax when it gives place to detumescence, the physical phenomena become more and more acutely localized in the sexual organs. The process which was at first predominantly nervous and psychic now becomes more prominently vascular. The ancient sexual relationship of the skin asserts itself; there is marked surface congestion showing itself in various ways. The face tends to become red, and exactly the same phenomenon is taking place in the genital organs; "an erection," it has been said, "is a blushing of the penis." The difference is that in the genital organs this heightened vascularity has a definite and specific function to accomplish—the erection of the male organ which fits it to enter the female parts—and that consequently there has been developed in the penis that special kind of vascular mechanism, consisting of veins in connective tissue with unstriped muscular fibers, termed erectile tissue.[1]

It is not only the man who is supplied with erectile tissue which in the process of tumescence becomes congested and swollen. The woman also, in the corresp nding external genital region, is likewise supplied with erectile tissue now also charged with blood, and exhibits the same changes as have taken place in her partner, though less conspicuously visible. In the anthropoid apes, as the gorilla, the large clitoris and the nymphæ become prominent in sexual excitement, but the less development of the clitoris in women, together with the specifically human evolution of the mons veneris and larger lips, renders this sexual turgescence practically invisible, though it is perceptible to touch in an increased degree of spongy and elastic tension. The whole feminine genital canal, including the uterus, indeed, is richly supplied with blood-vessels, and is ca-

[1] See, *e.g.*, Art. "Erection," by Retterer, in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. v.

pable during sexual excitement of a very high degree of turgescence, a kind of erection.

The process of erection in woman is accompanied by the pouring out of fluid which copiously bathes all parts of the vulva around the entrance to the vagina. This is a bland, more or less odorless mucus which, under ordinary circumstances, slowly and imperceptibly suffuses the parts. When, however, the entrance to the vagina is exposed and extended, as during a gynæcological examination which occasionally produces sexual excitement, there may be seen a real ejaculation of the fluid which, as usually described, comes largely from the glands of Bartholin, situated at the mouth of the vagina. Under these circumstances it is sometimes described as being emitted in a jet which is thrown to a distance.[1] This mucous ejaculation was in former days regarded as analogous to the seminal ejaculation in man, and hence essential to conception. Although this belief was erroneous the fluid poured out in this manner whenever a high degree of tumescence is attained, and before the onset of detumescence, certainly performs an important function in lubricating the entrance to the genital canal and so facilitating the intromission of the male organ.[2] Menstruation has a similar influence in facilitating coitus, as Schurig long since pointed out.[3] A like process takes place during parturition when the same parts are being lubricated and stretched in preparation for the protrusion of the fœtal head. The occurrence of the mucous flow in tumescence always indicates that that process is actively affecting the central sexual organs, and that voluptuous emotions are present.[4]

---

[1] Guibaut, *Traité Clinique des Maladies des Femmes*, p. 242. Adler discusses the sexual secretions in women and their significance, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, pp. 19-26.

[2] In some parts of the world this is further aided by artificial means. Thus it is stated by Riedel (as quoted by Ploss and Bartels) that in the Gorong Archipelago the bridegroom, before the first coitus, anoints the bride's pudenda with an ointment containing opium, musk, etc. I have been told of an English bride who was instructed by her mother to use a candle for the same purpose.

[3] *Parthenologia*, pp. 302, *et seq.*

[4] The connection of this mucous flow with sexual emotion was dis-

The secretions of the genital canal and outlet in women are somewhat numerous. We have the odoriferous glands of sebaceous origin, and with them the prepuce of the clitoris which has been described as a kind of gigantic sebaceous follicle with the clitoris occupying its interior. (Hyrtl.) There is the secretion from the glands of Bartholin. There is again the vaginal secretion, opaque and albuminous, which appears to be alkaline when secreted, but becomes acid under the decomposing influence of bacteria, which are, however, harmless and not pathogenic. (Gow, *Obstetrical Society of London*, January 3, 1894.) There is, finally, the mucous uterine secretion, which is alkaline, and, being poured out during orgasm, is believed to protect the spermatozoa from destruction by the acid vaginal secretion.

The belief that the mucus poured out in women during sexual excitement is feminine semen and therefore essential to conception had many remarkable consequences and was widespread until the seventeenth century. Thus, in the chapter "De Modo coeundi et de regimine eorum qui coeunt" of *De Secretis Mulierum*, there is insistence on the importance of the proper mixture of the male semen with the female semen and of arranging that it shall not escape from the vagina. The woman must lie quiet for several hours at least, not rising even to urinate, and when she gets up, be very temperate in eating and drinking, and not run or jump, pretending that she has a headache. It was the belief in feminine semen which led some theologians to lay down that a woman might masturbate if she had not experienced orgasm in coitus. Schurig in his *Muliebria* (1729, pp. 159, *et seq.*) discusses the opinions of old authors regarding the nature, source, and uses of the female genital secretions, and quotes authorities against the old view that it was female semen. In a subsequent work (*Syllepsilogia*, 1731, pp. 3, *et seq.*) he returns to the same question, quotes authors who accept a feminine semen, shows that Harvey denied it any significance, and himself decides against it. It has not seriously been brought forward since.

When erection is completed in both the man and the woman the conditions necessary for conjugation have at last been fulfilled. In all animals, even those most nearly allied to man, coitus is effected by the male approaching the female posteriorly. In man the normal method of male approach is anteriorly, face to face. · Leonardo da Vinci, in a well-known drawing representing a sagittal section of a man and a woman connected in this position of so-called Venus obversa, has shown how well

---

cussed early in the eighteenth century by Schurig in his *Gynæcologia*, pp. 8-11; it is frequently passed over by more modern writers.

adapted the position is to the normal position of the organs in the human species.[1]

Among monkeys, it is stated, congress is sometimes performed when the female is on all fours; at other times the male brings the female between his thighs when he is sitting, holding her with his fore-paws. Froriep informed Lawrence that the male sometimes supported his feet on the female's calves. (Sir W. Lawrence, *Lectures on Physiology*, 1823, p. 186.) A summary of the methods of congress practiced by the various animals below mammals will be found in the article "Copulation" by H. de Varigny in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. iv.

The anterior position in coitus, with the female partner lying supine, is so widespread throughout the world that it may fairly be termed the most typically human attitude in sexual congress. It is found represented in Egyptian graves at Benihassan, belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty; it is regarded by Mohammedans as the normal position, although other positions are permitted by the Prophet: "Your wives are your tillage: go in unto your tillage in what manner soever you will;" it is that adopted in Malacca; it appears, from Peruvian antiquities, to have been the position generally, though not exclusively, adopted in ancient Peru; it is found in many parts of Africa, and seems also to have been the most usual position among the American aborigines.

Various modifications of this position are, however, found. Thus, in some parts of the world, as among the Suahelis in Zanzibar, the male partner adopts the supine position. In Loango, according to Pechuel-Loesche, coitus is performed lying on the side. Sometimes, as on the west coast of Africa, the woman is supine and the man more or less erect; or, as among the Queenslanders (as described by Roth) the woman is supine and the man squats on his heels with her thighs clasping his flanks, while he raises her buttocks with his hands.

The position of coitus in which the man is supine is without doubt a natural and frequent variation of the specifically human obverse method of coitus. It was evidently familiar to the Romans. Ovid mentions it (*Ars Amatoria*, III, 777-8), recommending it to little women, and saying that Andromache was too tall to practice it with Hector. Aristophanes refers to it, and there are Greek epigrams in which women boast of their skill in riding their lovers. It has sometimes been viewed with a certain disfavor because it seems to confer a superiority on the woman. "Cursed be he," according to a Mohammedan saying, "who maketh woman heaven and man earth."

---

[1] The drawing is reproduced by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XVII; many facts bearing on the ethnography of coitus are brought together in this chapter.

Of special interest is the wide prevalence of an attitude in coitus recalling that which prevails among quadrupeds. The frequency with which on the walls of Pompeii coitus is represented with the woman bending forward and her partner approaching her posteriorly has led to the belief that this attitude was formerly very common in Southern Italy. However that may be, it is certainly normal at the present day among various more or less primitive peoples in whom the vulva is often placed somewhat posteriorly. It is thus among the Soudanese, as also, in an altogether different part of the world, among the Eskimo Innuit and Koniags. The New Caledonians, according to Foley, cohabit in the quadrupedal manner, and so also the Papuans of New Guinea (Bongu), according to Vahness. The same custom is also found in Australia, where, however other postures are also adopted. In Europe the quadrupedal posture would seem to prevail among some of the South Slavs, notably the Dalmatians. (The different methods of coitus practiced by the South Slavs are described in Κρυπτάδια vol. vi, pp. 220, *et seq.*)

This method of coitus was recommended by Lucretius (lib. iv) and also advised by Paulus Æginetus as favorable to conception. (The opinions of various early physicians are quoted by Schurig, *Spermatologia*, 1720, pp. 232, *et seq.*). It seems to be a position that is not infrequently agreeable to women, a fact which may be brought into connection with the remarks of Adler already quoted (p. 131) concerning the comparative lack of adjustment of the feminine organs to the obverse position. It is noteworthy that in the days of witchcraft hysterical women constantly believed that they had had intercourse with the Devil in this manner. This circumstance, indeed, probably aided in the very marked disfavor in which coitus *a posteriori* fell after the decay of classic influences. The mediæval physicians described it as *mos diabolicus* and mistakenly supposed that it produced abortion (Hyrtl, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 87). The theologians, needless to say, were opposed to the *mos diabolicus*, and already in the Anglo-Saxon Penitential of Theodore, at the end of the seventh century, 40 days' penance is prescribed for this method of coitus.

From the frequency with which they have been adopted by various peoples as national customs, most of the postures in coitus here referred to must be said to come within the normal range of variation. It is a mistake to regard them as vicious perversions.

Up to the point to which we have so far considered it, the process of detumescence has been mainly nervous and vascular in character; it has, in fact, been but the more acute stage of a process which has been going on throughout tumes-

cence. But now we reach the point at which a new element comes in: muscular action. With the onset of muscular action, which is mainly involuntary, even when it affects the voluntary muscles, detumescence proper begins to take place. Henceforward purposeful psychic action, except by an effort, is virtually abolished. The individual, as a separate person, tends to disappear. He has become one with another person, as nearly one as the conditions of existence ever permit; he and she are now merely an instrument in the hands of a higher power—by whatever name we may choose to call that Power—which is using them for an end not themselves.

The decisive moment in the production of the instinctive and involuntary orgasm occurs when, under the influence of the stimulus applied to the penis by friction with the vagina, the tension of the seminal fluid poured into the urethra arouses the ejaculatory center in the spinal cord and the bulbo-cavernosus muscle surrounding the urethra responsively contracts in rhythmic spasms. Then it is that ejaculation occurs.[1]

"The circulation quickens, the arteries beat strongly," wrote Roubaud in a description of the physical state during coitus which may almost be termed classic; "the venous blood, arrested by muscular contraction, increases the general heat, and this stagnation, more pronounced in the brain by the contraction of the muscles of the neck and the throwing of the head backward, causes a momentary cerebral congestion, during which intelligence is lost and the faculties abolished. The eyes, violently injected, become haggard, and the look uncertain, or, in the majority of cases, the eyes are closed spasmodically to

---

[1] Onanoff (Paris Société de Biologie, May 3, 1890) proposed the name of bulbo-cavernous reflex for the smart contraction of the ischio- and bulbo-cavernosus muscles (erector penis and accelerator urinæ) produced by mechanical excitation of the glans. This reflex is clinically elicited by placing the index-finger of the left hand on the region of the bulb while the right hand rapidly rubs the dorsal surface of the glands with the edge of a piece of paper or lightly pinches the mucous membrane; a twitching of the region of the bulb is then perceived. This reflex is always present in healthy adult subjects and indicates the integrity of the physical mechanism of detumescence. It has been described by Hughes. (C. H. Hughes, "The Virile or Bulbo-cavernous Reflex," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1898.)

avoid the contact of the light. The respiration is hurried, sometimes interrupted, and may be suspended by the spasmodic contraction of the larynx, and the air, for a time compressed, is at last emitted in broken and meaningless words. The congested nervous centers only communicate confused sensations and volitions; mobility and sensation show extreme disorder; the limbs are seized by convulsions and sometimes by cramps, or are thrown wildly about or become stiff like iron bars. The jaws, tightly pressed, grind the teeth, and in some persons the delirium is carried so far that they bite to bleeding the shoulders their companions have imprudently abandoned to them. This frantic state of epilepsy lasts but a short time, but it suffices to exhaust the forces of the organism, especially in man. It is, I believe, Galen, who said: 'Omne animal post coitum triste præter mulierem gallumque.'"[1] Most of the elements that make up this typical picture of the state of coitus are not absolutely essential to that state, but they all come within the normal range of variation. There can be no doubt that this range is considerable. There would appear to be not only individual, but also racial, differences; there is a remarkable passage in Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra* describing the varying behavior of the women of different races in India under the stress of sexual excitement—Dravidian women with difficulty attaining erethism, women of the Punjaub fond of being caressed with the tongue, women of Oude with impetuous desire and profuse flow of mucus, etc.—and it is highly probable, Ploss and Bartels remark, that these characterizations are founded on exact observations.[2]

The various phenomena included in Roubaud's description of the condition during coitus may all be directly or indirectly reduced to two groups: the first circulatory and respiratory, the second motor. It is necessary to consider both these aspects of the process of detumescence in somewhat greater detail, although while it is most convenient to discuss them separately,

---

[1] Roubaud, *Traité de l'Impuissance*, 1855, p. 39.
[2] *Das Weib*, seventh edition, vol. i, p. 510.

it must be borne in mind that they are not really separable; the circulatory phenomena are in large measure a by-product of the involuntary motor process.

With the approach of detumescence the respiration becomes shallow, rapid, and to some extent arrested. This characteristic of the breathing during sexual excitement is well recognized; so that in, for instance, the *Arabian Nights,* it is commonly noted of women when gazing at beautiful youths whose love they desired, that they ceased breathing.[1] It may be added that exactly the same tendency to superficial and arrested respiration takes place whenever there is any intense mental concentration, as in severe intellectual work.[2]

The arrest of respiration tends to render the blood venous, and thus aids in stimulating the vasomotor centers, raising the blood-pressure in the body generally, and especially in the erectile tissues. High blood-pressure is one of the most marked features of the state of detumescence. The heart beats are stronger and quicker, the surface arteries are more visible, the conjunctivæ become red. The precise degree of blood-pressure attained during coitus has been most accurately ascertained in the dog. In Bechterew's laboratory in St. Petersburg a manometer was introduced into the central end of the carotid artery of a bitch; a male dog was then introduced, and during coitus observations were made on the blood-pressure at the peripheral and central ends of the artery. It was found that there was a great general elevation of blood-pressure, intense hyperæmia of the brain, rapid alternations, during the act, of vasoconstriction and vasodilatation of the brain, with increase and diminution of the general arterial tension in relation with the various phases of the act, the greatest cerebral vasodilatation and hyperæmia coinciding with the moment following the intromission of the penis; the end of the act is followed by a considerable

---

[1] The influence of impeded respiration in exciting more or less perverted forms of sexual gratification has been discussed in a section of "Love and Pain" in the third volume of these *Studies.*

[2] See, *e.g.*, the experiments of Obici on this point, *Revista Sperimentale di Freniatria,* 1903, pp. 689, *et seq.*

fall in the blood-pressure.[1] I am not acquainted with any precise observations on the blood-pressure in human subjects during detumescence, and there are obvious difficulties in the way of such observations. It is probable, however, that the conditions found would be substantially the same. This is indicated, so far as the very marked increase of blood-pressure is concerned, by some observations made by Vaschide and Vurpas with the sphygmanometer on a lady under the influence of sexual excitement. In this case there was a relationship of sympathy and friendly tenderness between the experimenter and the subject, Madame X, aged 25. Experimenter and subject talked sympathetically, and finally, we are told, while the latter still had her hands in the sphygmanometer, the former almost made a declaration of love. Madame X was greatly impressed, and afterward admitted that her emotions had been genuine and strong. The blood-pressure, which was in this subject habitually 65 millimeters, rose to 150 and even 160, indicating a very high pressure, which rarely occurs; at the same time Madame X looked very emotional and troubled.[2]

Some authorities are of opinion that irregularities in the accomplishment of the sexual act are specially liable to cause disturbances in the circulation. Thus Kisch, of Prague, refers to the case of a couple practising coitus interruptus—the husband withdrawing before ejaculation—in which the wife, a vigorous woman, became liable after some years to attacks termed by Kisch *neurasthenia cordis vasomotoria*, in which there was at daily or longer intervals palpitation, with feelings of anxiety, headache, dizziness, muscular weakness and tendency to faint. He regards coitus as a cause of various heart troubles in women: (1) Attacks of tachycardia in very excitable and sexually inclined women; (2) attacks of tachycardia with dyspnœa in young women, with vaginismus; (3) cardiac symptoms with lowered vascular tone in women who for a long time have practised coitus interruptus without complete sexual gratification (Kisch, "Herzbeschwerden der Frauen verursacht

[1] Summarized in *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, March, 1903, p. 188. The tendency to closure of the eyes noted by Roubaud, to avoid contact of the light, indicates dilatation of the pupils, for which we need not seek other explanation than the general tendency of all peripheral stimulation, according to Schiff's law, to produce such dilatation.

[2] Vaschide and Vurpas, "Du Coefficient Sexuel de l'Impulsion Musicale," *Archives de Neurologie*, May, 1904.

durch den Cohabitationsact," *Münchener Medizinisches Wochenschrift*, 1897, p. 617). In this connection, also, reference may probably be made to those attacks of anxiety which Freud associates with psychic sexual lesions of an emotional character.

Associated with this vascular activity in detumescence we find a general tendency to glandular activity. Various secretions are formed abundantly. Perspiration is copious, and the ancient relationship between the cutaneous and sexual systems seems to evoke a general activity of the skin and its odoriferous secretions. Salivation, which also occurs, is very conspicuous in many lower animals, as for instance in the donkey, notably the female, who just before coitus stands with mouth open, jaws moving, and saliva dribbling. In men, corresponding to the more copious secretion in women, there is, during the latter stages of tumescence, a slight secretion of mucus—Fürbringer's *urethrorrhœa ex libidine*—which appears in drops at the urethral orifice. It comes from the small glands of Littré and Cowper which open into the urethra. This phenomenon was well known to the old theologians, who called it *distillatio*, and realized its significance as at once distinct from semen and an indication that the mind was dwelling on voluptuous images; it was also known in classic times[1]; more recently it has often been confused with semen and has thus sometimes caused needless anxiety to nervous persons. There is also an increased secretion of urine, and it is probable that if the viscera were more accessible to observation we might be able to demonstrate that the glands throughout the body share in this increased activity.

The phenomena of detumescence culminate, however, and have their most obvious manifestation in motor activity. The genital act, as Vaschide and Vurpas remark, consists essentially

---

[1] In the *Priapeia* is an inscription which has thus been translated:—

"You see this organ, after which I'm called
And which is my certificate, is humid;
This moisture is not dew nor drops of rain,
It is the outcome of sweet memory,
Recalling thoughts of a complacent maid."

The translator supposes that semen is referred to, but without doubt the allusion is to the theologians' *distillatio*.

in "a more and more marked tension of the motor state which, reaching its maximum, presents a short tonic phase, followed by a clonic phase, and terminates in a period of adynamia and repose." This motor activity is of the essence of the impulse of detumescence, because without it the sperm cells could not be brought into the neighborhood of the germ cell and be propelled into the organic nest which is assigned for their conjunction and incubation.

The motor activity is general as well as specifically sexual. There is a general tendency to more or less involuntary movement, without any increase of voluntary muscular power, which is, indeed, decreased, and Vaschide and Vurpas state that dynamometric results are somewhat lower than normal during sexual excitement, and the variations greater.[1] The tendency to diffused activity of involuntary muscle is well illustrated by the contraction of the bladder associated with detumescence. While this occurs in both sexes, in men erection produces a mechanical impediment to any evacuation of the bladder. In women there is not only a desire to urinate but, occasionally, actual urination. Many quite healthy and normal women have, as a rare accident supervening on the coincidence of an unusually full bladder with an unusual degree of sexual excitement, experienced a powerful and quite involuntary evacuation of the bladder at the moment of orgasm. In women with less normal nervous systems this has, more rarely, been almost habitual. Brantôme has perhaps recorded the earliest case of this kind in referring to a lady he knew who "quand on lui faisait cela

---

[1] A woman of 30, normal and intelligent, after conversing on love and passion, and then listening to the music of Grieg and Schumann, felt real and strong sexual excitement, increased by memories recalled by the presence of a sympathetic person. When then tested by the dynamometer the average of ten efforts with the right hand was found to be 28.2 (her normal average being 31.1) and with the left hand 28.0 (the normal being 30.0). There was, however, great variability in the individual pressures which sometimes equaled and even exceeded the subject's normal efforts. The voluntary muscles are thus in harmony with the approaching general sexual avalanche. (Vaschide and Vurpas, "Quelques Données Expérimentales sur l'Influence de l'Excitation Sexuelle." *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1903, fasc. v-vi.)

elle se compissait à bon escient."[1] The tendency to trembling, constriction of throat, sneezing, emission of internal gas, and the other similar phenomena occasionally associated with detumescence, are likewise due to diffusion of the motor disturbance. Even in infancy the motor signs of sexual excitement are the most obvious indications of orgasm; thus West, describing masturbation in a child of six or nine months who practiced thigh-rubbing, states that when sitting in her high chair she would grasp the handles, stiffen herself, and stare, rubbing her thighs quickly together several times, and then come to herself with a sigh, tired, relaxed, and sweating, these seizures, which lasted one or two minutes, being mistaken by the relations for epileptic fits.[2]

The essentially motor character of detumescence is well shown by the extreme forms of erotic intoxication which sometimes appear as the result of sexual excitement. Féré, who has especially called attention to the various manifestations of this condition, presents an instructive case of a man of neurotic heredity and antecedents, in whom it occasionally happened that sexual excitement, instead of culminating in the normal orgasm, attained its climax in a fit of uncontrollable muscular excitement. He would then sing, dance, gesticulate, roughly treat his partner, break the objects around him, and finally sink down exhausted and stupefied. (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, Chapter X.) In such a case a diffused and general detumescence has taken the place of the normal detumescence which has its main focus in the sexual sphere.

The same relationship is shown in a case of impotence accompanied by cramps in the calves and elsewhere, which has been recorded by Brügelmann ("Zur Lehre vom Perversen Sexualismus," *Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus*, 1900, Heft I). These muscular conditions ceased for several days whenever coitus was effected.

An instructive analogy to the motor irradiations preceding the moment of sexual detumescence may be found in the somewhat similar motor irradiations which follow the delayed expulsion of a highly distended bladder. These sometimes become very marked in a child or

---

[1] *Cf.* MacGillicuddy, *Functional Disorders of the Nervous System in Women*, p. 110; Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, p. 238; *id*, "Note sur une Anomalie de l'instinct Sexuel," *Belgique Médicale*, 1905; also "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," in an earlier volume of these *Studies*.

[2] J. P. West, "Masturbation in Early Childhood," *Medical Standard*, November, 1895.

young woman unable to control the motor system absolutely. The legs are crossed, the foot swung, the thighs tightly pressed together, the toes curled. The fingers are flexed in rhythmic succession. The whole body slowly twists as though the seat had become uncomfortable. It is difficult to concentrate the mind; the same remark may be automatically repeated; the eyes search restlessly, and there is a tendency to count surrounding objects or patterns. When the extreme degree of tension is reached it is only by executing a kind of dance that the explosive contraction of the bladder is restrained.

The picture of muscular irradiation presented under these circumstances differs but slightly from that of the onset of detumescence. In one case the explosion is sought, in the other case it is dreaded; but in both cases there is a retarded muscular tension,—in the one case involuntary, in the other case voluntary—maintained at a point of acute intensity, and in both cases the muscular irradiations of this tension spread over the whole body.

The increased motor irritability of the state of detumescence somewhat resembles the conditions produced by a weak anæsthetic and there is some interest in noting the sexual excitement liable to occur in anæsthesia. I am indebted to Dr. J. F. W. Silk for some remarks on this point:—

"I. Sexual emotions may apparently be aroused during the stage of excitement preceding or following the administration of any anæsthetic; these emotions may take the form of mere delirious utterances, or may be associated with what is apparently a sexual orgasm. Or reflex phenomena connected with the sexual organs may occasionally be observed under special circumstances; or, to put it in another way, such reflex possibilities are not always abolished by the condition of narcosis or anæsthesia.

"II. Of the particular anæsthetics employed I am inclined to think that the possibility of such conditions arising is inversely proportionate to their strength, *e.g.*, they are more frequently observed with a weak anæsthetic like nitrous oxide than with chloroform.

"III. Sexual emotions I believe to be rarely observable in men, and this is remarkable, or, I should say, particularly noticeable, for the presence of nurses, female students, etc., might almost have led one to expect that the contrary would have been the case. On the other hand, it is among men that I have frequently observed a reflex phenomenon which has usually taken the shape of an erection of the penis when the structures in the neighborhood of the spermatic cord have been handled.

"IV. Among females the emotional sexual phenomena most frequently obtrude themselves, and I believe that if it were possible to induce people to relate their dreams they would very often be found to be of a sexual character."

Much more important than the general motor phenomena, more purposive though involuntary, are the specifically sexual muscular movements. From the very beginning of detumescence, indeed, muscular activity makes itself felt, and the peripheral muscles of sex act, according to Kobelt's expression, as a peripheral sexual heart. In the male these movements are fairly obvious and fairly simple. It is required that the semen should be expressed from the vesiculæ seminales, propelled along the urethra, in combination with the prostatic fluid which is equally essential, and finally ejected with a certain amount of force from the urethral orifice. Under the influence of the stimulation furnished by the contact and friction of the vagina, this process is effectively caried out, mainly by the rhythmic contractions of the bulbo-cavernosus muscle, and the semen is emitted in a jet which may be ejaculated to a distance varying from a few centimeters to a meter or more.

With regard to the details of the psychic sides of this process a correspondent, a psychologist, writes as follows:—

"I have never noticed in my reading any attempt to analyze the sensations which accompany the orgasm, and, as I have made a good many attempts to make such an analysis myself, I will append the results on the chance that they may be of some value. I have checked my results so far as possible by comparing them with the experience of such of my friends as had coitus frequently and were willing to tell me as much as they could of the psychology of the process.

"The first fact that I hit upon was the importance of pressure. As one of my informants picturesquely phrases it—'the tighter the fit the greater the pleasure.' This agrees, too, with their unanimous testimony that the pleasurable sensations were much greater when the orgasm occurred simultaneously in the man and woman. Their analysis seldom went further than this, but a few remarked that the distinctive sensations accompanying the orgasm seem to begin near the root of the penis or in the testes, and that they are qualitatively different from the tickling sensations which precede them.

"These tickling sensations are caused, I think, by the friction of the glands against the vaginal walls, and are supplemented by other sensations from the urethra, whose nerves are stimulated by pressure of the vaginal walls and sphincter. The specific sensation of the orgasm begins, I believe, with a strong contraction of the muscles of the urethral walls along the entire length of the canal, and is felt as a peculiar

ache starting from the base of the penis and quickly becoming diffused through the whole organ. This sensation reaches its climax with the expulsion of the semen into the urethra and the consequent feeling of distention, which is instantly followed by the rhythmic peristaltic contractions of the urethral muscles which mark the climax of the orgasm.

"The most careful introspection possible under the circumstances seems to show that these sensations arise almost wholly from the urethra and in a far less degree from the corona. During periods of great sexual excitement the nerves of the urethra and corona seem to possess a peculiar sensitivity and are powerfully stimulated by the violent peristaltic contractions of the muscles in the urethral walls during ejaculation. It seems possible that the intensity and volume of sensation felt at the glans may be due in part to the greater area of sensitive surface presented in the fossa as well as to the sensitivity of the corona, and in part to the fact that during the orgasm the glans is more highly congested than at any other time, and the nerve endings thus subjected to additional pressure.

"If the foregoing statements are true, it is easy to see why the pleasure of the man is much increased when the orgasm occurs at the same time in his partner and himself, for the contractions of the vagina upon the penis would increase the stimulation of all the nerve endings in that organ for which a mechanical stimulus is adequate, and the prominence of the corpus spongiosum and corona would ensure them the greatest stimulation. It seems not improbable that the specific sensation of orgasm rises from the stimulation of the peculiar form of nerve end-bulbs which Krause found in the corpus spongiosum and in the glans.

"The characteristic massiveness of the experience is probably due largely to the great number of sensations of strain and pressure caused by the powerful reflex contraction of so many of the voluntary muscles.

"Of course, the foregoing analysis is purely tentative, and I offer it only on the chance that it may suggest some line of inquiry which may lead to results of value to the student of sexual psychology."

In man the whole process of detumescence, when it has once really begun, only occupies a few moments. It is so likewise in many animals; in the genera Bos, Ovis, etc., it is very short, almost instantaneous, and rather short also in the Equidæ (in a vigorous stallion, according to Colin, ten to twelve seconds). As Disselhorst has pointed out, this is dependent on the fact that these animals, like man, possess a vas deferens which broadens into an ampulla serving as a receptacle which holds the semen ready for instant emission when required. On the other hand, in the dog, cat, boar, and the Canidæ, Felidæ, and Suidæ generally, there is no receptacle of this kind, and coitus is slow, since a longer time is required for the peristaltic action of the vas to bring the semen

to the urogenital sinus. (R. Disselhorst, *Die Accessorischen Geschlechtsdrusen der Wirbelthiere*, 1897, p. 212.)

In man there can be little doubt that detumescence is more rapidly accomplished in the European than in the East, in India, among the yellow races, or in Polynesia. This is probably in part due to a deliberate attempt to prolong the act in the East, and in part to a greater nervous erethism among Westerns.

In the woman the specifically sexual muscular process is less visible, more obscure, more complex, and uncertain. Before detumescence actually begins there are at intervals involuntary rhythmic contractions of the walls of the vagina, seeming to have the object of at once stimulating and harmonizing with those that are about to begin in the male organ. It would appear that these rhythmic contractions are the exaggeration of a phenomenon which is normal, just as slight contraction is normal and constant in the bladder. Jastreboff has shown, in the rabbit, that the vagina is in constant spontaneous rhythmic contraction from above downward, not peristaltic, but in segments, the intensity of the contractions increasing with age and especially with sexual development. This vaginal contraction which in women only becomes well marked just before detumescence, and is due mainly to the action of the sphincter cunni (analogous to the bulbo-cavernosus in the male), is only a part of the localized muscular process. At first there would appear to be a reflex peristaltic movement of the Fallopian tubes and uterus. Dembo observed that in animals stimulation of the upper anterior wall of the vagina caused gradual contraction of the uterus, which is erected by powerful contraction of its muscular fiber and round ligaments while at the same time it descends toward the vagina, its cavity becoming more and more diminished and mucus being forced out. In relaxing, Aristotle long ago remarked, it aspirates the seminal fluid.

Although the active participation of the sexual organs in woman, to the end of directing the semen into the womb at the moment of detumescence, is thus a very ancient belief, and harmonizes with the Greek view of the womb as an animal in

the body endowed with a considerable amount of activity,[1] precise observation in modern times has offered but little confirmation of the reality of this participation. Such observations as have been made have usually been the accidental result of sexual excitement and orgasm occurring during a gynæcological examination. As, however, such a result is liable to occur in erotic subjects, a certain number of precise observations have accumulated during the past century. So far as the evidence goes, it would seem that in women, as in mares, bitches, and other animals, the uterus becomes shorter, broader, and softer during the orgasm, at the same time descending lower into the pelvis, with its mouth open intermittently, so that, as one writer remarks, spontaneously recurring to the simile which commended itself to the Greeks, "the uterus might be likened to an animal gasping for breath."[2] This sensitive, responsive mobility of the uterus is, indeed, not confined to the moment of detumescence, but may occur at other times under the influence of sexual emotion.

It would seem probable that in this erection, contraction, and descent of the uterus, and its simultaneous expulsion of mucus, we have the decisive moment in the completion of detumescence in woman, and it is probable that the thick mucus, unlike the earlier more limpid secretion, which women are sometimes aware of after orgasm, is emitted from the womb at this time. This is, however, not absolutely certain. Some authorities regard detumescence in women as accomplished in the pouring out of secretions, others in the rhythmic genital contractions; the sexual parts may, however, be copiously bathed in mucus for an indefinitely long period before the final stage of detumescence is achieved, and the rhythmic contractions are also taking place at a somewhat early period; in neither respect is there any obvious increase at the final moment of orgasm. In women this would seem to be more conspicuously a nervous manifestation than in men. On the subjective side it is very

---

[1] *Cf.* the discussion of hysteria in "Auto-Erotism," vol. i of these *Studies*.

[2] Hirst, *Text-Book of Obstetrics*, 1899, p. 67.

pronounced, with its feeling of relieved tension and agreeable repose—a moment when, as one woman expresses it, together with intense pleasure, there is, as it were, a floating up into a higher sphere, like the beginning of chloroform narcosis—but on the objective side this culminating moment is less easy to define.

Various observations and remarks made during the past two or three centuries by Bond, Valisneri, Dionis, Haller, Günther, and Bischoff, tending to show a sucking action of the uterus in both women and other female animals, have been brought together by Litzmann in R. Wagner's *Handwörterbuch der Physiologie* (1846, vol. iii, p. 53). Litzmann added an experience of his own: "I had an opportunity lately, while examining a young and very erethic woman, to observe how suddenly the uterus assumed a more erect position, and descended deeper in the pelvis; the lips of the womb became equal in length, the cervix rounded, softer, and more easily reached by the finger, and at the same time a high state of sexual excitement was revealed by the respiration and voice."

The general belief still remained, however, that the woman's part in conjugation is passive, and that it is entirely by the energy of the male organ and of the male sexual elements, the spermatozoa, that conjunction with the germ cell is attained. According to this theory, it was believed that the spermatozoa were, as Wilkinson expresses it, in a history of opinion on this question, "endowed with some sort of intuition or instinct; that they would turn in the direction of the os uteri, wading through the acid mucus of the vagina; travel patiently upward and around the vaginal portion of the uterus; enter the uterus and proceed onward in search of the waiting ovum." (A. D. Wilkinson, "Sterility in the Female," *Transactions of the Lincoln Medical Society*, Nebraska, 1896.)

About the year 1859 Fichstedt seems to have done something to overthrow this theory by declaring his belief that the uterus was not, as commonly supposed, a passive organ in coitus, but was capable of sucking in the semen during the brief period of detumescence. Various authorities then began to bring forward arguments and observations in the same sense. Wernich, especially, directed attention to this point in 1872 in a paper on the erectile properties of the lower segment of the uterus ("Die Erectionsfahigkeit des untern Uterus-Abschnitts," *Beiträge zur Geburtshülfe und Gynækologie*, vol. i, p. 296). He made precise observations and came to the conclusion that owing to erectile properties in the neck of the uterus, this part of the womb elongates during congress and reaches down into the pelvis with an aspiratory movement, as if to meet the glans of the male. A little later, in a case of partial prolapse, Beck, in ignorance of Wernich's theory, was enabled to make

a very precise observation of the action of the uterus during excitement In this case the woman was sexually very excitable even under ordinary examination, and Beck carefully noted the phenomena that took place during the orgasm. "The os and cervix uteri," he states, "had been about as firm as usual, moderately hard and, generally speaking, in a natural and normal condition, with the external os closed to such an extent as to admit of the uterine probe with difficulty; but the instant that the height of excitement was at hand, the os opened itself to the extent of fully an inch, as nearly as my eye can judge, made five or six successive gasps as if it were drawing the external os into the cervix, each time powerfully, and, it seemed to me, with a regular rhythmical action, at the same time losing its former density and hardness and becoming quite soft to the touch. Upon the cessation of the action, as related, the os suddenly closed, the cervix again hardened itself, and the intense congestion was dissipated." (J. R. Beck, "How do the Spermatozoa Enter the Uterus?" *American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1874.) It would appear that in the early part of this final process of detumescence the action of the uterus is mainly one of contraction and ejaculation of any mucus that may be contained; Dr. Paul Mundé has described "the gushing, almost in jets," of this mucus which he has observed in an erotic woman under a rather long digital and specular examination. (*American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1893.) It is during the latter part of detumescence, it would seem, and perhaps for a short time after the orgasm is over, that the action of the uterus is mainly aspiratory.

While the active part played by the womb in detumescence can no longer be questioned, it need not too hastily be assumed that the belief in the active movements of the spermatozoa must therefore be denied. The vigorous motility of the tadpole-like organisms is obvious to anyone who has ever seen fresh semen under the microscope; and if it is correct, as Clifton Edgar states, that the spermatozoa may retain their full activity in the female organs for at least seventeen days, they have ample time to exert their energies. The fact that impregnation sometimes occurs without rupture of the hymen is not decisive evidence that there has been no penetration, as the hymen may dilate without rupturing; but there seems no reason to doubt that conception has sometimes taken place when ejaculation has occurred without penetration; this is indicated in a fairly objective manner when, as has been occasionally observed, conception has occurred in

women whose vaginas were so narrow as scarcely to admit the entrance of a goose-quill; such was the condition in the case of a pregnant woman brought forward by Roubaud. The stories, repeated in various books, of women who have conceived after homosexual relations with partners who had just left their husbands' beds are not therefore inherently impossible.[1] Janke quotes numerous cases in which there has been impregnation in virgins who have merely allowed the penis to be placed in contact with the vulva, the hymen remaining unruptured until delivery.[2]

It must be added, however, that even if the semen is effused merely at the mouth of the vagina, without actual penetration, the spermatozoa are still not entirely without any resource save their own motility in the task of reaching the ovum. As we have seen, it is not only the uterus which takes an active part in detumescence; the vagina also is in active movement, and it seems highly probable that, at all events in some women and under some circumstances, such movement favoring aspiration toward the womb may be communicated to the external mouth of the vagina.

Riolan (*Anthropographia*, 1626, p. 294) referred to the constriction and dilation of the vulva under the influence of sexual excitement. It is said that in Abyssinia women can, when adopting the straddling posture of coitus, by the movements of their own vaginal muscles alone, grasp the male organ and cause ejaculation, although the man remains passive. According to Lorion the Annamites, adopting the normal posture of coitus, introduce the penis when flaccid or only half erect, the contraction of the vaginal walls completing the process; the penis is very small in this people. It is recognized by gynæcologists that the condition of vaginismus, in which there is spasmodic contraction of the vagina, making intercourse painful or impossible, is but a morbid exaggeration of the normal contraction which occurs in sexual excitement. Even in the absence of sexual excitement there is a vague affection, occurring in both married and unmarried women, and not, it would seem,

---

[1] The earliest story of the kind with which I am acquainted, that of a widow who was thus impregnated by a married friend, is quoted in Schurig's *Spermatologia* (p. 224) from Amatus Lusitanus, *Curationum Centuriæ Septem*, 1620.

[2] Janke. *Die Willkürliche Hervorbringen des Geschlechts*, p. 238.

necessarily hysterical, characterized by quivering or twitching of the vulva; I am told that this is popularly termed "flackering of the shape" in Yorkshire and "laittering of the lips" in Ireland. It may be added that quivering of the gluteal muscles also takes place during detumescence, and that in Indian medicine this is likewise regarded as a sign of sexual desire in women, apart from coitus.

A non-medical correspondent in Australia, W. J. Chidley, from whom I have received many communications on this subject, is strongly of opinion from his own observations that not only does the uterus take an active part in coitus, but that under natural conditions the vagina also plays an active part in the process. He was led to suspect such an action many years ago, as well by an experience of his own, as also by hearing from a young woman who met her lover after a long absence that by the excitement thus aroused a tape attached to the underclothes had been drawn into the vagina. Since then the confidences of various friends, together with observations of animals, have confirmed him in the view that the general belief that coitus must be effected by forcible entry of the male organ into a passive vagina is incorrect. He considers that under normal circumstances coitus should take place but rarely, and then only under the most favorable circumstances, perhaps exclusively in spring, and, most especially, only when the woman is ready for it. Then, when in the arms of the man she loves, the vagina, in sympathy with the active movements of the womb, becomes distended at the touch of the turgescent, but not fully erect, penis, "flashes open and draws in the male organ." "All animals," he adds, "have sexual intercourse by the male organ being *drawn*, not forced, into the female. I have been borne out in this by friends who have seen horses, camels, mules and other large animals in the coupling season. What is more absurd, for instance, than to say that an entire *penetrates* the mare? His penis is a sensitive, beautiful piece of mechanism, which brings its light head here and there till it touches the right spot, when the mare, *if ready*, takes it in. An entire's penis could not penetrate anything; it is a curve, a beautiful curve which would easily bend. A bull's, again, is turned down at the end and, more palpably still, would fold on itself if pressed with force. The womb and vagina of a beautiful and healthy woman constitute a living, vital, moving organ, sensitive to a look, a word, a thought, a hand on the waist."

A well-known American author thus writes in confirmation of the foregoing view: "In nature the woman wooes. When impassioned her vagina becomes erect and dilated, and so lubricated with abundant mucus to the lips that entrance is easy. This dilatation and erectile expansion of vagina withdraws the hymen so close to the walls that penetration need not tear it or cause pain. The more muscular, primitive and healthy the woman the tougher and less sensitive the hymen,

and the less likely to break or bleed. I think one great function of the foreskin also is to moisten the glans, so that it can be lubricated for entrance, and then to retract, moist side out, to make entrance still easier. I think that in nature the glans penetrates within the labia, is withstood a moment, vibrating, and then all resistance is withdrawn by a sudden 'flashing open' of the gates, permitting easy entrance, and that the sudden giving up of resistance, and substitution of welcome, with its instantaneous deep entrance, causes an almost immediate malo orgasm (the thrill being irresistibly exciting). Certainly this is the process as observed in horses, cattle, goats, etc., and it seems likely something analogous is natural in man."

While it is easily possible to carry to excess a view which would make the woman rather than the man the active agent in coitus (and it may be recalled that in the Cebidæ the penis, as also the clitoris, is furnished with a bone), there is probably an element of truth in the belief that the vagina shares in the active part which, there can now be little doubt, is played by the uterus in detumescence. Such a view certainly enables us to understand how it is that semen effused on the exterior sexual organs can be conveyed to the uterus.

It was indeed the failure to understand the vital activity of the semen and the feminine genital canal, co-operating together towards the junction of sperm cell and germ cell, which for so long stood in the way of the proper understanding of conception. Even the genius of Harvey, which had grappled successfully with the problem of the circulation, failed in the attempt to comprehend the problem of generation. Mainly on account of this difficulty, he was unable to see how the male element could possibly enter the uterus, although he devoted much observation and study to the question. Writing of the uterus of the doe after copulation, he says: "I began to doubt, to ask myself whether the semen of the male could by any possibility make its way by attraction or injection to the seat of conception, and repeated examination led me to the conclusion that none of the semen reached this seat." (*De Generatione Animalium*, Exercise lxvii.) "The woman," he finally concluded, "after contact with the spermatic fluid *in coitu*, seems to receive an influence and become fecundated without the co-operation of any sensible corporeal agent, in the same way as iron touched by the magnet is endowed with its powers."

Although the specifically sexual muscular process of detumescence in women—as distinguished from the general muscular phenomena of sexual excitement which may be fairly obvious—is thus seen to be somewhat complex and obscure, in women as well as in men detumescence is a convulsion which

discharges a slowly accumulated store of nervous force. In women also, as in men, the motor discharge is directed to a specific end—the intromission of the semen in the one sex, its reception in the other. In both sexes the sexual orgasm and the pleasure and satisfaction associated with it, involve, as their most essential element, the motor activity of the sexual sphere.[1]

The active co-operation of the female organs in detumescence is probably indicated by the difficulty which is experienced in achieving conception by the artificial injection of semen. Marion Sims stated in 1866, in *Clinical Notes on Uterine Surgery*, that in 55 injections in six women he had only once been successful; he believed that that was the only case at that time on record. Jacobi had, however, practiced artificial fecundation in animals (in 1700) and John Hunter in man. See Gould and Pyle, *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, p. 43; also Janke (*Die Willkurliche Hervorbringen des Geschlechts*, pp. 230 *et seq.*) who discusses the question of artificial fecundation and brings together a mass of data.

The facial expression when tumescence is completed is marked by a high degree of energy in men and of loveliness in women. At this moment, when the culminating act of life is about to be accomplished, the individual thus reaches his supreme state of radiant beauty. The color is heightened, the eyes are larger and brighter, the facial muscles are more tense, so that in mature individuals any wrinkles disappear and youthfulness returns.

At the beginning of detumescence the features are frequently more discomposed. There is a general expression of eager receptivity to sensory impressions. The dilatation of the pupils, the expansion of the nostrils, the tendency to salivation and to movements of the tongue, all go to make up a picture which indicates an approaching gratification of sensory desires; it is significant that in some animals there is at this moment erection of the ears.[2] There is sometimes a tendency to utter broken and meaningless words, and it is noted that sometimes

---

[1] *Cf.* Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, pp. 29-38.

[2] Féré, *Pathologie des Emotions*, p. 51.

women have called out on their mothers.[1] The dilatation of the pupils produces photophobia, and in the course of detumescence the eyes are frequently closed from this cause. At the beginning of sexual excitement, Vaschide and Vurpas have observed, tonicity of the eye-muscles seems to increase; the elevators of the upper lids contract, so that the eyes look larger and their mobility and brightness are heightened; with the increase of muscular tonicity strabismus occurs, owing to the greater strength of the muscles that carry the eyes inward.[2]

The facial expression which marks the culmination of tumescence, and the approach of detumescence is that which is generally expressive of joy. In an interesting psycho-physical study of the emotion of joy, Dearborn thus summarizes its characteristics: "The eyes are brighter and the upper eyelid elevated, as also are the brows, the skin over the glabella, the upper lip and the corners of the mouth, while the skin at the outer canthi of the eye is puckered. The nostrils are moderately dilated, the tongue slightly extended and the cheeks somewhat expanded, while in persons with largely developed pinnal muscles the ears tend somewhat to incline forwards. The whole arterial system is dilated, with consequent blushing from this effect on the dermal capillaries of the face, neck, scalp and hands, and sometimes more extensively even; from the same cause the eyes slightly bulge. The whole glandular system likewise is stimulated, causing the secretions,—gastric, salivary, lachrymal, sudoral, mammary, genital, etc.—to be increased, with the resulting rise of temperature and increase in the katobolism generally. Volubility is almost regularly increased, and is, indeed, one of the most sensitive and constant of the correlations in emotional delight. . . . Pleasantness is correlated in living organisms by vascular, muscular and glandular extension or expansion, both literal and figurative." (G. Dearborn, "The Emotion of Joy." *Psychological Review Monograph Supplements*, vol. ii, No. 5, p. 62.) All these signs of joy appear to occur at some stage of the process of sexual excitement.

In some monkeys it would seem that the muscular movement which in man has become the smile is the characteristic facial expression of sexual tumescence or courtship. Discussing the facial expression of pleasure in children, S. S. Buckman has the following remarks: "There

---

[1] This is an instinctive impulse under all strong emotion in primitive persons. "The Australian Dieri," says A. W. Howitt (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, August, 1890), "when in pain or grief cry out for their father or mother."

[2] Vaschide and Vurpas, *Archives de Neurologie*, May, 1904.

is one point in such expression which has not received due consideration, namely, the raising of lumps of flesh each side of the nose as an indication of pleasure. Accompanying this may be seen small furrows, both in children and adults, running from the eyes somewhat obliquely towards the nose. What these characters indicate may be learned from the male mandril, whose face, particularly in the breeding season, shows colored fleshy prominences each side of the nose, with conspicuous furrows and ridges. In the male mandril these characters have been developed because, being an unmistakable sign of sexual ardor, they gave the female particular evidence of sexual feelings. Thus such characters would come to be recognized as habitually symptomatic of pleasurable feelings. Finding similar features in human beings, and particularly in children, though not developed in the same degree, we may assume that in our monkey-like ancestors facial characters similar to those of the mandril were developed, though to a less extent, and that they were symptomatic of pleasure, because connected with the period of courtship. Then they became conventionalized as pleasurable symptoms." (S. S. Buckmann, "Human Babies: What They Teach," *Nature*, July 5, 1900.) If this view is accepted, it may be said that the smile, having in man become a generalized sign of amiability, has no longer any special sexual significance. It is true that a faint and involuntary smile is often associated with the later stages of tumescence, but this is usually lost during detumescence, and may even give place to an expression of ferocity.

When we have realized how profound is the organic convulsion involved by the process of detumescence, and how great the general motor excitement involved, we can understand how it is that very serious effects may follow coitus. Even in animals this is sometimes the case. Young bulls and stallions have fallen in a faint after the first congress; boars may be seriously affected in a similar way; mares have been known even to fall dead.[1] In the human species, and especially in men—probably, as Bryan Robinson remarks, because women are protected by the greater slowness with which detumescence occurs in them—not only death itself, but innumerable disorders and accidents have been known to follow immediately after coitus, these results being mainly due to the vascular and muscular excitement involved by the processes of detumescence. Fainting, vomiting,

[1] F. B. Robinson, *New York Medical Journal*, March 11, 1893.

urination, defæcation have been noted as occurring in young men after a first coitus. Epilepsy has been not infrequently recorded. Lesions of various organs, even rupture of the spleen, have sometimes taken place. In men of mature age the arteries have at times been unable to resist the high blood-pressure, and cerebral hæmorrhage with paralysis has occurred. In elderly men the excitement of intercourse with strange women has sometimes caused death, and various cases are known of eminent persons who have thus died in the arms of young wives or of prostitutes.[1]

These morbid results, are, however, very exceptional. They usually occur in persons who are abnormally sensitive, or who have imprudently transgressed the obvious rules of sexual hygiene. Detumscence is so profoundly natural a process; it is so deeply and intimately a function of the organism, that it is frequently harmless even when the bodily condition is far from absolutely sound. Its usual results, under favorable circumstances, are entirely beneficial. In men there normally supervenes, together with the relief from the prolonged tension of tumescence, with the muscular repose and falling blood-pressure,[2] a sense of profound satisfaction, a glow of diffused well-being,[3] perhaps an agreeable lassitude, occasionally also a sense of mental liberation from an overmastering obsession. Under reasonably

---

[1] Féré deals fully with the various morbid results which may follow coitus, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, Chapter X; *id. Pathologie des Émotions*, p. 99.

[2] With regard to the relationship of detumescence to the blood-pressure Haig remarks: "I think that as the sexual act produces low and falling blood-pressure, it will of necessity relieve conditions which are due to high and rising blood-pressure, such, for instance, as mental depression and bad temper; and, unless my observation deceives me, we have here a connection between conditions of high blood-pressure, with mental and bodily depression, and the act of masturbation, for this act will relieve those conditions, and will tend to be practiced for this purpose." (A. Haig, *Uric Acid*, sixth edition, p. 154.)

[3] A medical correspondent speaks of subjective feelings of temperature coming over the body from 20 to 24 hours after congress, and marked by sensations of cooling of body and glow of cheeks. In another case, though lassitude appears on the second day after congress, the first day after is marked by a notable increase in mental and physical activity.

happy circumstances there is no pain, or exhaustion, or sadness, or emotional revulsion. The happy lover's attitude toward his partner is not expressed by the well-known Sonnet (CXXIX) of Shakespeare:—

"Past reason hunted, and no sooner had
Past reason hated."

He feels rather with Boccaccio that the kissed mouth loses not its charm,

"Bocca baciata non perde ventura."

In women the results of detumescence are the same, except that the tendency to lassitude is not marked unless the act has been several times repeated; there is a sensation of repose and self-assurance, and often an accession of free and joyous energy. After completely satisfactory detumescence she may experience a feeling as of intoxication, lasting for several hours, an intoxication that is followed by no evil reaction.

Such, so far as our present vague and imperfect knowledge extends, are the main features in the process of detumescence. In the future, without doubt, we shall learn to know more precisely a process which has been so supremely important in the life of man and of his ancestors.

III.

The Constituents of Semen—Function of the Prostate—The Properties of Semen—Aphrodisiacs—Alcohol, Opium, etc.—Anaphrodisiacs—The Stimulant Influence of Semen in Coitus—The Internal Effects of Testicular Secretions—The Influence of Ovarian Secretion.

The germ cell never comes into the sphere of consciousness and cannot therefore concern us in the psychological study of the phenomena of the sexual instinct. But it is otherwise with the sperm cell, and the seminal fluid has a relationship, both direct and indirect, to psychic phenomena which it is now necessary to discuss.

While the spermatozoa are formed in the glandular tissue of the testes, the seminal fluid as finally emitted in detumescence is not a purely testicular product, but is formed by mixture with the fluids poured out at or before detumescence by various glands which open into the urethra, and notably the prostate.[1] This is a purely sexual gland, which in animals only becomes large and active during the breeding season, and may even be hardly distinguishable at other times; moreover, if the testes are removed in infancy, the prostate remains rudimentary, so that during recent years removal of the testes has been widely advocated and practiced for that hypertrophy of the prostate which is sometimes a distressing ailment of old age. It is the prostatic fluid, according to Fürbringer, which imparts its characteristic odor to semen. It appears, however, to be the main function of the prostatic fluid to arouse and maintain the motility of the spermatozoa; before meeting the prostatic fluid the spermatozoa are motionless; that fluid seems to fur-

[1] The composite character of the semen was recognized by various old authors, some of whom said, (*e.g.*, Wharton) that it had three constituents, which they usually considered to be: (1) The noblest and most essential part, from the testicles; (2) a watery element from the vesiculæ; (3) an oily element from the prostate. Schurig, *Spermatologia*, 1720, p. 17.

nish a thinner medium in which they for the first time gain their full vitality.[1]

When at length the semen is ejaculated, it contains various substances which may be separated from it,[2] and possesses various qualities, some of which have only lately been investigated, while others have evidently been known to mankind from a very early period. "When held for some time in the mouth," remarked John Hunter, "it produces a warmth similar to spices, which lasts some time."[3] Possibly this fact first suggested that semen might, when ingested, possess valuable stimulant qualities, a discovery which has been made by various savages, notably by the Australian aborigines, who, in many parts of Australia, administer a potion of semen to dying or feeble members of the tribe.[4] It is perhaps noteworthy that in Central Africa the testes of the goat are consumed as an aphrodisiac.[5] In eighteenth century Europe, Schurig, in his *Spermatologia,* still found it necessary to discuss at considerable length the possible medical properties of human semen, giving many prescriptions which contained it.[6] The stimulation produced by the ingestion of semen would appear to form in some cases a part of the attraction exerted by *fellatio;* De Sade emphasized this point; and in a case recorded by Howard semen appears to have acted as a stimulant for which the craving was as irresistible as is that for alcohol in dipsomania.[7]

It must be remembered that the early history of this subject is more or less inextricably commingled with folk-lore practices of magical

---

[1] See, *e.g.*, C. Mansell Moulin, "A Contribution to the Morphology of the Prostate," *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, January, 1895; G. Walker, "A Contribution to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Prostate Gland, and a Few Observations on Ejaculation," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, October, 1900.

[2] For a study of the semen and its constituents, see Florence, "Du Sperme," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1895.

[3] J. Hunter, *Essays and Observations*, vol. i, p. 189.

[4] As regards one part of Australia, Walter Roth, *Ethnological Studies Among the Queensland Aborigines*, p. 174.

[5] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 438.

[6] Cap. VII, pp. 327-357, "De Spermaticis virilis usu Medico."

[7] W. L. Howard, "Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1896.

origin, not necessarily founded on actual observation of the physiological effects of consuming the semen or testes. Thus, according to W. H. Pearse (*Scalpel*, December, 1897), it is the custom in Cornwall for country maids to eat the testicles of the young male lambs when they are castrated in the spring, the survival, probably, of a very ancient religious cult. (I have not myself been able to hear of this custom in Cornwall.) In Burchard's Penitential (Cap. CLIV, Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. 660) seven years' penance is assigned to the woman who swallows her husband's semen to make him love her more. In the seventeenth century (as shown in William Salmon's *London Dispensatory*, 1678) semen was still considered to be good against witchcraft and also valuable as a love-philter, in which latter capacity its use still survives. (Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, pp. 343, 355.) In an earlier age (Picart, quoted by Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 109) the Manichæans, it is said, sprinkled their eucharistic bread with human semen, a custom followed by the Albigenses.

The belief, perhaps founded in experience, that semen possesses medical and stimulant virtues was doubtless fortified by the ancient opinion that the spinal cord is the source of this fluid. This was not only held by the highest medical authorities in Greece, but also in India and Persia.

The semen is thus a natural stimulant, a physiological aphrodisiac, the type of a class of drugs which have been known and cultivated in all parts of the world from time immemorial. (Dufour has discussed the aphrodisiacs used in ancient Rome, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. II, ch. 21.) It would be vain to attempt to enumerate all the foods and medicaments to which has been ascribed an influence in heightening the sexual impulse. (Thus, in the sixteenth century, aphrodisiacal virtues were attributed to an immense variety of foods by Liébault in his *Thresor des Remèdes Secrets pour les Maladies des Femmes*, 1585, pp. 104, *et seq.*) A large number of them certainly have no such effect at all, but have obtained this credit either on some magical ground or from a mistaken association. Thus the potato, when first introduced from America, had the reputation of being a powerful aphrodisiac, and the Elizabethan dramatists contain many references to this supposed virtue. As we know, potatoes, even when taken in the largest doses, have not the slightest aphrodisiac effect, and the Irish peasantry, whose diet consists very largely of potatoes, are even regarded as possessing an unusually small measure of sexual feeling. It is probable that the mistake arose from the fact that potatoes were originally a luxury, and luxuries frequently tend to be regarded as aphrodisiacs, since they are consumed under circumstances which tend to arouse the sexual desires. It is possible also that, as has been plausibly suggested, the misunderstanding may have been due to sailors—the first to be familiar with the potato—

who attributed to this particular element of their diet ashore the generally stimulating qualities of their life in port. The eryngo (*Eryngium maritimum*), or sea holly, which also had an erotic reputation in Elizabethan times, may well have acquired it in the same way. Many other vegetables have a similar reputation, which they still retain. Thus onions are regarded as aphrodisiacal, and were so regarded by the Greeks, as we learn from Aristophanes. It is notewhorthy that Marro, a reliable observer, has found that in Italy, both in prisons and asylums, lascivious people are fond of onions (*La Pubertà*, p. 297), and it may perhaps be worth while to recall the observation of Sérieux that in a woman in whom the sexual instinct only awoke in middle age there was a horror of leeks. In some countries, and especially in Belgium, celery is popularly looked upon as a sexual stimulant. Various condiments, again, have the same reputation, perhaps because they are hot and because sexual desire is regarded, rightly enough, as a kind of heat. Fish—skate, for instance, and notably oysters and other shellfish—are very widely regarded as aphrodisiacs, and Kisch attributes this property to caviar. It is probable that all these and other foods which have obtained this reputation, in so far as they have any action whatever on the sexual appetite, only possess it by virtue of their generally nutritious and stimulating qualities, and not by the presence of any special principle having a selective action on the sexual sphere. A beefsteak is probably as powerful a sexual stimulant as any food; a nutritious food, however, which is at the same time easily digestible, and thus requiring less expenditure of energy for its absorption, may well exert a specially rapid and conspicuous stimulant effect. But it is not possible to draw a line, and, as Aquinas long since said, if we wish to maintain ourselves in a state of purity we shall fear even an immoderate use of bread and water.

More definitely aphrodisiacal effects are produced by drugs, and especially by drugs which in large doses are poisons. The aphrodisiac with the widest popular reputation is cantharides, but its sexually exciting effects are merely an accidental result of its action in causing inflammation of the genito-urinary passage, and it is both an uncertain and a dangerous result, except in skillful hands and when administered in small doses. Nux vomica (with its alkaloid strychnia), by virtue of its special action on the spinal cord, has a notably pronounced effect in heightening the irritability of the spinal ejaculatory center, though it by no means necessarily exerts any strengthening influence. Alcohol exerts a sexually exciting effect, but in a different manner; it produces little stimulation of the cord and, indeed, even paralyzes the lumbar sexual center in large doses, but it has an influence on the peripheral nerve-endings and on the skin, and also on the cerebral centers, tending to arouse desire and to diminish inhibition. In this latter way, as Adler remarks, it may, in small doses, under some circumstances, be

beneficial in men with an excessive nervousness or dread of coitus, and women, in whom orgasm has been difficult to reach, have frequently found this facilitated by some previous indulgence in alcohol. The aphrodisiac effect of alcohol seems specially marked on women. But against the use of alcohol as an aphrodisiac it must be remembered that it is far from being a tonic to detumescence, at all events in men, and that there is much evidence tending to show that not only chronic alcoholism, but even procreation during intoxication is perilous to the offspring (see, *e.g.*, Andriezen, *Journal of Mental Science*, January, 1905, and *cf.* W. C. Sullivan, "Alcoholism and Suicidal Impulses," *ib.*, April, 1898, p. 268); it may be added that Bunge has found a very high proportion of cases of immoderate use of alcohol in the fathers of women unable to suckle their infants (G. von Bunge, *Die Zunehmende Unfähigkeit der Frauen ihre Kinder zu Stillen*, 1903) while even an approximation to the drunken state is far from being a desirable prelude to the creation of a new human being. It is obvious that those who wish, for any reason, to cultivate a strict chastity of thought and feeling would do well to avoid alcohol altogether, or only in its lightest forms and in moderation. The aphrodisiacal effects of wine have long been known; Ovid refers to them (*e.g.*, *Ars Am.*, Bk. III, 765). Clement of Alexandria, who was something of a man of science as well as a Christian moralist, points out the influence of wine in producing lasciviousness and sexual precocity. (*Pædagogus*, Bk. II, Chapter II). Chaucer makes the Wife of Bath say in the Wife of Bath's Prologue:—

"And, after wyn, on Venus moste [needs] I thinke:
For al so siken as cold engendreth hayl,
A likerous mouth moste have a likerous tayl,
In womman vinolent is no defense,
This knowen lechours by experience."

Alcohol, as Chaucer pointed out, comes to the aid of the man, who is unscrupulous in his efforts to overcome a woman, and this not merely by virtue of its aphrodisiacal effects, and the apparently special influence which it seems to exert on women, but also because it lulls the mental and emotional characteristics which are the guardians of personality. A correspondent who has questioned on this point a number of prostitutes he has known, writes: "Their accounts of the first fall were nearly always the same. They got to know a 'gentleman,' and on one occasion they drank too much; before they quite realized what was happening they were no longer virgins." "In the mental areas, under the influence of alcohol," Schmiedeberg remarks (in his *Elements of Pharmacology*), "the finer degrees of observation, judgment, and reflection are the first to disappear, while the remaining mental functions remain in a normal condition. The soldier acts more boldly because he notices

dangers less and reflects over them less; the orator does not allow himself to be influenced by any disturbing side-considerations as to his audience, hence he speaks more freely and spiritedly; self-consciousness is lost to a very great extent, and many are astounded at the ease with which they can express their thoughts, and at the acuteness of their judgment in matters which, when they are perfectly sober, with difficulty reach their minds; and then afterwards they are ashamed at their mistakes."

The action of opium in small doses is also to some extent aphrodisiacal; it slightly stimulates both the brain and the spinal cord, and has sensory effects on the skin like alcohol; these effects are favored by the state of agreeable dreaminess it produces. In the seventeenth century Venette (*La Génération de l'Homme*, Part II, Chapter V) strongly recommended small doses of opium, then little known, for this purpose; he had himself, he says, in illness experienced its joys, "a shadow of those of heaven." In India opium (as well as cannabis indica) has long been a not uncommon aphrodisiac; it is specially used to diminish local sensibility, delaying the orgasm and thus prolonging the sexual act. (W. D. Sutherland, "De Impotentia," *Indian Medical Gazette*, January, 1900). Its more direct and stimulating influence on the sexual emotions seems indicated by the statement that prostitutes are found standing outside the opium-smoking dens of Bombay, but not outside the neighboring liquor shops. (G. C. Lucas, *Lancet*, February 2, 1884.) Like alcohol, opium seems to have a marked aphrodisiacal effect on women. The case is recorded of a mentally deranged girl, with no nymphomanie though she masturbated, who on taking small doses of opium at once showed signs of nymphomania, following men about, etc. (*American Journal Obstetrics*, May, 1901, p 74.) It may well be believed that opium acts beneficially in men when the ejaculatory centers are weak but irritable; but its actions are too widespread over the organism to make it in any degree a valuable aphrodisiac. Various other drugs have more or less reputation as aphrodisiacs; thus bromide of gold, a nervous and glandular stimulant, is said to have as one of its effects a heightening of sexual feeling. Yohimbin, an alkaloid derived from the West African Yohimbehe tree, has obtained considerable repute during recent years in the treatment of impotence; in some cases (see, *e.g*, Toff's results, summarized in *British Medical Journal*, February 18, 1905) it has produced good results, apparently by increasing the blood supply to the sexual organs, but has not been successful in all cases or in all hands. It must always be remembered that in cases of psychical impotence suggestion necessarily exerts a beneficial influence, and this may work through any drug or merely with the aid of bread pills. All exercise, often even walking, may be a sexual stimulant, and it is scarcely necessary to add that powerful stimulation of the skin in the sexual sphere,

and more especially of the nates, is often a more effective aphrodisiac than any drug, whether the irritation is purely mechanical, as by flogging, or mechanico-chemical, as by urtication or the application of nettles. Among the Malays (with whom both men and women often use a variety of plants as aphrodisiacs, according to Vaughan Stevens) Breitenstein states (*21 Jahre in India*, Theil I, p. 228) that both massage and gymnastics are used to increase sexual powers. The local application of electricity is one of the most powerful of aphrodisiacs, and McMordie found on applying one pole to a uterine sound in the uterus and the other to the abdominal wall that in the majority of healthy women the orgasm occurred.

Among anaphrodisiacs, or sexual sedatives, bromide of potassium, by virtue of its antidotal relationship to strychnia, is one of the drugs whose action is most definite, though, while it dulls sexual desire, it also dulls all the nervous and cerebral activities. Camphor has an ancient reputation as an anaphrodisiac, and its use in this respect was known to the Arabs (as may be seen by a reference to it in the *Perfumed Garden*); while, as Hyrtl mentions (*loc. cit.* ii, p 94), rue (*Ruta graveolens*) was considered a sexual sedative by the monks of old, who on this account assiduously cultivated it in their cloister gardens to make *vinum rutæ*. Recently heroin in large doses (see, *e.g*, Becker, *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift*, November 23, 1903) has been found to have a useful effect in this direction. It may be doubted, however, whether there is any satisfactory and reliable anaphrodisiac. Charcot, indeed, it is said, used to declare that the only anaphrodisiac in which he had any confidence was that used by the uncle of Heloïse in the case of Abelard. "*Cela* (he would add with a grim smile) *tranche la difficulte.*"

If semen is a stimulant when ingested, it is easy to suppose that it may exert a similar action on the woman who receives it into the vagina in normal sexual congress. It is by no means improbable that, as Mattei argued in 1878, this is actually the case. It is known that the vagina possesses considerable absorptive power. Thus Coen and Levi, among others, have shown that if a tampon soaked in a solution of iodine is introduced into the vagina, iodine will be found in the urine within an hour. And the same is true of various other substances.[1] If the vagina absorbs drugs it probably absorbs semen. Toff, of Braila (Roumania), who attaches much importance to such absorption, considers that it must be analogous to the ingestion of organic extractives. It is due to this influence, he believes,

[1] *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie*, 1894, No. 49.

that weak and anæmic girls so often become full-blooded and robust after marriage, and lose their nervous tendencies and shyness.[1]

It is, however, most certainly a mistake to suppose that the beneficial influence of coitus on women is exclusively, or even mainly, dependent upon the absorption of semen. This is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that such beneficial influence is exerted, and in full measure, even when all precautions have been taken to avoid any contact with the semen. In so far as *coitus reservatus* or *interruptus* may lead to haste or discomfort which prevents satisfactory orgasm on the part of the woman, it is without doubt a cause of defective detumescence and incomplete satisfaction. But if orgasm is complete the beneficial effects of coitus follow even if there has been no possibility of the absorption of semen. Even after *coitus interruptus,* if it can be prolonged for a period long enough for the woman to attain full and complete satisfaction, she is enabled to experience what she may describe as a feeling of intoxication, lasting for several hours. It is in the action of the orgasm itself, and the vascular, secretory, and metabolic activities set up by the psychic and nervous influence of coitus with a beloved person, that we must seek the chief key to the effects produced by coitus on women, however these effects may possibly be still further heightened by the actual absorption of semen.[1]

The positive action of semen, or rather of the testicular products, has been much investigated during recent years, and appears on the whole to be demonstrated. The notable dis-

---

[1] E. Toff, "Uber Imprägnierung," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie,* April, 1903. In a similar but somewhat more precise manner Dufougère has argued ("La Chlorose, ses rapports avec le marriage, son traitement par le liquide orchitique," Thèse de Bordeaux, 1902) that semen when absorbed by the vagina stimulates the secretion of the ovaries and thus exerts an influence over the blood in anæmia; in this way he seeks to explain why it is that coitus is the best treatment for chlorosis.

[1] In this connection I may refer to an interesting and suggestive paper by Harry Campbell on "The Craving for Stimulants" (*Lancet,* October 21, 1899). No reference is made to coitus, but the author discusses stimulants as normal and beneficial products of the organism, and deals with the nature of the "physiological intoxication" they produce.

covery by Brown-Séquard, a quarter of a century ago, that the ingestion of the testicular juices in states of debility and senility acted as a beneficial stimulant and tonic, opened the way to a new field of therapeutics. Many investigators in various countries have found that testicular extracts, and more especially the spermin as studied by Poehl,[1] and by him regarded as a positive katalysator or accelerator of metabolic processes, exert a real influence in giving tone to the heart and other muscles, and in improving the metabolism of the tissues even when all influences of mental suggestion have been excluded.[2]

As the ovaries are strictly analogous to the testes, it was surmised that ovarian extract might prove a drug equally valuable with testicular products. As a matter of fact, ovarian extract, in the form of ovarin, etc., would seem to have proved beneficial in various disorders, more especially in anæmia and in troubles due to the artificial menopause. In most conditions, however, in which it has been employed the results are doubtful or uncertain, and some authorities believe that the influence of suggestion plays a considerable part here.

There is, however, another use which is subserved by the testicular products, a use which may indeed be said to be implied in those uses to which reference has already been made, but is yet historically the latest to be realized and studied. It was not until 1869 that Brown-Séquard first suggested that an important secretion was elaborated by the ductless glands and received into the circulation, but that suggestion proved to be epoch-making. If these glandular secretions are so valuable when administered as drugs to other persons, must they not be of far greater value when naturally secreted and poured out into the circulation in the living body? It is now generally

---

[1] Spermin was first discovered in the sperm by Schreiner in 1878; it has also been found in the thyroid, ovaries and various other glands. "The spermin secreting and elaborating organs," Howard Kelly remarks (*British Medical Journal*, January 29, 1898), "may be called the 'apothecaries' of the body, secreting many important medicaments, much more active and more accurately representing its true wants than artificially administered drugs."

[2] See, *e.g.*, a summary of Buschan's comprehensive discussion of the subject of organotherapy (Eulenburg's *Real-Encyclopædie der Gesammten Heilkunde*) in *Journal of Mental Science*, April, 1899, p. 355.

believed, on the basis of a large and various body of evidence, that this is undoubtedly so. In a very crude form, indeed, this belief is by no means modern. In opposition to the old writers who were inclined to regard the semen as an excretion which it was beneficial to expel, there were other ancient authorities who argued that it was beneficial to retain it as being a vital fluid which, if reabsorbed, served to invigorate the body. The great physiologist, Haller, in the middle of the eighteenth century, came very near to the modern doctrine when he stated in his *Elements of Physiology* that the sperm accumulated in the seminical vesicles is pumped back into the blood, and thus produces the beard and the hair together with the other surprising changes of puberty which are absent in the eunuch. The reabsorption of semen can scarcely be said to be a part of the modern physiological doctrine, but it is at least now generally held that the testes secrete substances which pass into the circulation and are of immense importance in the development of the organism.

The experiments of Shattock and Seligmann indicate that the semen and its reabsorption in the seminal vesicles, or the nervous reactions produced by its presence, can have no part in the formation of secondary sexual characters. These investigators occluded the vas deferens in sheep by ligature, at an early age, rendering them later sterile though not impotent. The secondary sexual characters appeared as in ordinary sheep. Spermatogenesis, these inquirers conclude, may be the initial factor, but the results must be attributed to the elaboration by the testicles of an internal secretion and its absorption into the general circulation.[1]

When animals are castrated there is enlargement of the ductless glands in the body, notably the thyroid and the suprarenal capsules.[2] It is evident, therefore, that the secretions of

---

[1] "Observations Upon the Acquirement of Secondary Sexual Characters, Indicating the Formation of an Internal Secretion by the Testicles," *Proceedings Royal Society*, vol. lxxiii, p. 49.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the experiments of Cecca and Zappi, summarized in *British Medical Journal*, July 2, 1904.

these ductless glands are in some degree compensatory to those of the testes. But this compensatory action is inadequate to produce any sexual development in the absence of the testes.

We see, therefore, how extremely important is the function of the testis. Its significance is not alone for the race, it is not simply concerned with the formation of the spermatozoa which share equally with the ova the honor of making the mankind of the future. It also has a separate and distinct function which has reference to the individual. It elaborates those internal secretions which stimulate and maintain the physical and mental characters, constituting all that is most masculine in the male animal, all that makes the man in distinction from the eunuch. Among various primitive peoples, including those of the European race whence we ourselves spring, the most solemn form of oath was sworn by placing the hand on the testes, dimly recognized as the most sacred part of the body. A crude and passing phase of civilization has ignorantly cast ignominy upon the sexual organs; the more primitive belief is now justified by our advancing knowledge.

In these as in other respects the ovaries are precisely analogous to the testes. They not only form the ova, but they elaborate for internal use a secretion which develops and maintains the special physical and mental qualities of womanhood, as the testicular secretion those of manhood. Moreover, as Cecca and Zappi found, removal of the ovaries has exactly the same effect on the abnormal development of the other ductless glands as has removal of the testes. It is of interest to point out that the internal secretion of the ovaries and its important functions seem to have been suggested before any other secretion than the sperm was attributed to the testes. Early in the nineteenth century Cabanis argued ("De l'Influence des Sexes sur le Caractère des Idées et des Affections Morales," *Rapport du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*, 1824, vol. ii, p. 18) that the ovaries are secreting glands, forming a "particular humor" which is reabsorbed into the blood and imparts excitations which are felt by the whole system and all its organs.

IV.

The Aptitude for Detumescence—Is There an Erotic Temperament? —The Available Standards of Comparison—Characteristics of the Castrated—Characteristics of Puberty—Characteristics of the State of Detumescence—Shortness of Stature—Development of the Secondary Sexual Characters—Deep Voice—Bright Eyes—Glandular Activity—Everted Lips—Pigmentation—Profuse Hair—Dubious Significance of Many of These Characters.

WHAT, if any, are the indications which the body generally may furnish as to the individual's aptitude and vigor for the orgasm of detumescence? Is there an erotic temperament outwardly and visibly displayed? That is a question which has often occupied those who have sought to penetrate the more intimate mysteries of human nature, and since we are here concerned with human beings in their relationship to the process of detumescence, we cannot altogether pass over this question, difficult as it is to discuss it with precision.

The old physiognomists showed much confidence in dealing with the matter. Possibly they had more opportunities for observation than we have, since they often wrote in days when life was lived more nakedly than among ourselves, but their descriptions, while sometimes showing much insight, are inextricably mixed up with false science and superstition.

In the *De Secretis Mulierum*, wrongly attributed to Albertus Magnus, we find a chapter entitled "Signa mulieris calidæ naturæ et quæ coit libenter," which may be summarized here. "The signs," we are told, "of a woman of warm temperament, and one who willingly cohabits are these: youth, an age of over 12, or younger, if she has been seduced, small, high breasts, full and hard, hair in the usual positions; she is bold of speech, with a delicate and high voice, haughty and even cruel of disposition, of good complexion, lean rather than stout, inclined to like drinking. Such a woman always desires coitus, and receives satisfaction in the act. The menstrual flow is not abundant nor always regular. If she becomes pregnant the milk is not abundant. Her perspiration is less odorous than that of the woman of opposite

temperament; she is fond of singing, and of moving about, and delights in adornments if she has any."

Polemon, in his *Sulla Physionomia*, has given among the signs of libidinous impulse: knees turned inwards, abundance of hairs on the legs, squint, bright eyes, a high and strident voice, and in women length of leg below the knee. Aristotle had mentioned among the signs of wantonness: paleness, abundance of hair on the body, thick and black hair, hairs covering the temples, and thick eyelids.

In the seventeenth century Bouchet, in his *Serées* (Troisième Serée), gave as the signs of virility which indicated that a man could have children: a great voice, a thick rough black beard, a large thick nose.

G. Tourdes (Art. "Aphrodisie," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*) thus summarized the ancient beliefs on this subject: "The erotic temperament has been described as marked by a lean figure, white and well-ranged teeth, a developed hairy system, a characteristic voice, air, and expression, and even a special odor."

In approaching the question of the general physical indications of a special aptitude to the manifestation of vigorous detumescence, the most obvious preliminary would seem to be a study of the castrated. If we know the special peculiarities of those who by removal of the sexual glands at a very early age have been deprived of all ability to present the manifestations of detumescence, we shall probably be in possession of a type which is the reverse of that which we may expect in persons of a vigorously erotic temperament.

The most general characteristics of eunuchs would appear to be an unusual tendency to put on fat, a notably greater length of the legs, absence of hair in the sexual and secondary sexual regions, a less degree of pigmentation, as noted both in the castrated negro and the white man, a puerile larynx and puerile voice. In character they are usually described as gentle, conciliatory, and charitable.

There can be little doubt that castration in man tends to lead to lengthening of the legs (tibia and fibula) at puberty, from delayed ossification of the epiphyses. The hands and feet are also frequently longer and sometimes the forearms. At the same time the bones are more slender. The pelvis also is narrower. The eunuchs of Cairo are said to be easily seen in a crowd from their tall stature. (Collineau, quoting Lartet, *Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie*, May, 1896.) The

castrated Skoptzy show increased stature, and, it seems, large ears, with decreased chest and head (L. Pittard, *Revue Scientifique*, June 20, 1903.) Féré shows that in most of these respects the eunuch resembles beardless and infantile subjects. ("Les Proportions des Membres et les Caractères Sexuels," *Journal de l'Anatomie et de la Physiologie*, November-December, 1897.) Similar phenomena are found in animals generally. Sellheim, carefully investigating castrated horses, swine, oxen and fowls, found retardation of ossification, long and slender extremities, long, broad, but low skull, relatively smaller pelvis and small thorax. ("Zur Lehre von den Sekundären Geschlechtscharakteren," *Beiträge zur Geburtshulfe und Gynäcologie*, 1898, summarized in *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, 1900, Heft IV.)

As regards the mental qualities and moral character of the castrated, Griffiths considers that there is an undue prejudice against eunuchs, and refers to Narses, who was not only one of the first generals of the Roman Empire, but a man of highly estimable character. (*Lancet*, March 30, 1895.) Matignon, who has carefully studied Chinese eunuchs, points out that they occupy positions of much responsibility, and, though regarded in many respects as social outcasts, possess very excellent and amiable moral qualities (*Archives Cliniques de Bordeaux*, May, 1896.) In America Everett Flood finds that epileptics and feeble-minded boys are mentally and morally benefited by castration. ("Notes on the Castration of Idiot Children," *American Journal of Psychology*, January, 1899.) It is often forgotten that the physical and psychic qualities associated with and largely dependent on the ability to experience the impulse of detumescence, while essential to the perfect man, involve many egoistic, aggressive and acquisitive characteristics which are of little intellectual value, and at the same time inimical to many moral virtues.

We have a further standard—positive this time rather than negative—to aid us in determining the erotic temperament: the phenomena of puberty. The efflorescence of puberty is essentially the manifestation of the ability to experience detumescence. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the individuals in whom the special phenomena of puberty develop most markedly are those in whom detumescence is likely to be most vigorous. If such is the case we should expect to find the erotic temperament marked by developed larynx and deep voice, a considerable degree of pigmentary development in hair and skin,

and a marked tendency to hairiness; while in women there should be a pronounced growth of the breasts and pelvis.[1]

There is yet another standard by which we may measure the individual's aptitude for detumescence: the presence of those activities which are most prominently brought into play during the process of detumescence. The individual, that is to say, who is organically most apt to manifest the physiological activities which mainly make up the process of detumescence, is most likely to be of pronounced erotic temperament.

"Erotic persons are of motor type," remark Vaschide and Vurpas, "and we may say generally that nearly all persons of motor type are erotic." The state of detumescence is one of motor and muscular energy and of great vascular activity, so that habitual energy of motor response and an active circulation may reasonably be taken to indicate an aptitude for the manifestation of detumescence.

These three types may be said, therefore, to furnish us valuable though somewhat general indications. The individual who is farthest removed from the castrated type, who presents in fullest degree the characters which begin to emerge at the period of puberty, and who reveals a physiological aptitude for the vigorous manifestation of those activities which are called into action during detumescence, is most likely to be of erotic temperament. The most cautious description of the characteristics of this temperament given by modern scientific writers, unlike the more detailed and hazardous descriptions of the early physiognomists, will be found to be fairly true to the standards thus presented to us.

The man of sexual type, according to Biérent (*La Puberté*, p. 148), is hairy, dark and deep-voiced.

"The men most liable to satyriasis," Bouchereau states (art "Satyriasis," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciénces Médicales*), "are those with vigorous nervous system, developed muscles, abundant hair on body, dark complexion, and white teeth."

---

[1] See Biérent, *La Puberté;* Marro, *La Puberlà* (and enlarged French translation, *La Puberté*), and portions of G. S. Hall's *Adolescence;* also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman* (fourth edition, revised and enlarged).

Mantegazza, in his *Fisiologia del Piacere*, thus describes the sexual temperament: "Individuals of nervous temperament, those with fine and brown skins, rounded forms, large lips and very prominent larynx enjoy in general much more than those with opposite characteristics. A universal tradition," he adds, "describes as lascivious humpbacks, dwarfs, and in general persons of short stature and with long noses."

In a case of nymphomania in a young woman, described by Alibert (and quoted by Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 28) the hips, thighs and legs were remarkably plump, while the chest and arms were completely emaciated. In a somewhat similar case described by Marc in his *De la Folie* a peasant woman, who from an early age had experienced sexual hyperæsthesia, so that she felt spasmodic voluptuous feelings at the sight of a man, and was thus the victim of solitary excesses and of spasmodic movements which she could not repress, the upper part of the body was very thin, the hips, legs and thighs highly developed.

In his work on *Uterine and Ovarian Inflammation* (1862, p. 37) Tilt observes: "The restless, bashful eye, and changing complexion, in presence of a person of the opposite sex, and a nervous restlessness of body, ever on the move, turning and twisting on sofa or chair, are the best indications of sexual temperament."

An extremely sensual little girl of 8, who was constantly masturbating when not watched, although brought up by nuns, was described by Busdraghi (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, fas. i, 1888, p. 53) as having chestnut hair, bright black eyes, an elevated nose, small mouth, pleasant round face, full colored cheeks, and plump and healthy aspect.

A highly intelligent young Italian woman with strong and somewhat perverted sexual impulses is described as of attractive appearance, with olive complexion, small black almond-shaped eyes, dilated pupils, oblique thin eyebrows, very thick black hair, rather prominent cheek-bones, largely developed jaw, and with abundant down on lower part of cheeks and on upper lip. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1899, fasc. v-vi.)

As the type of the sensual woman in word and act, led by her passions to commit various sexual offenses, Ottolenghi describes (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xii, fasc. v-vi, p. 496) a woman of 32 who attempted to kill her lover. The daughter of parents who were neurotic and themselves very erotic, she was a highly intelligent and vivacious woman, with a pleasing and open face, very thick dark chestnut hair, large cheek-bones, adipose buttocks almost resembling those of a Hottentot, and very thick pubic hair. She was very fond of salt things. Sexual inclination began at the age of 7.

Adler and Moll remark, very truly, that, so far at least as women are concerned, sexual anæsthesia or sexual proclivity

cannot be unfailingly read on the features. Every woman desires to please, and coquetry is the sign of a cold, rather than of an erotic temperament.[1] It may be added that a considerable degree of congenital sexual anæsthesia by no means prevents a woman from being beautiful and attractive, though it must probably still always be said that, as Roubaud points out,[2] the woman of cold and intellectual temperament, the "femme de tête," however beautiful and skillful she may be, cannot compete in the struggle for love with the woman whose qualities are of the heart and of the emotions. But it seems sufficiently clear that the practical observations of skilled and experienced observers agree in attributing to persons of erotic type certain general characteristics which accord with those negative and positive standards we may frame on the basis of castration, of puberty, and of detumescence. It may be worth while to note a few of these characteristics briefly.

The abnormal lengthening of the long bones at the age of puberty in the castrated is, as we have seen, very pronounced. There is little tendency to associate length of limb with an erotic temperament, and a certain amount of data as well as of more vague opinion points in the opposite direction. The Arabs would appear to believe that it is short rather than tall people in whom the sexual instinct is strongly developed, and we read in the *Perfumed Garden:* "Under all circumstances little women love coitus more and evince a stronger affection for the virile member than women of a large size." In his elaborate investigation of criminals Marro found that prostitutes and women guilty of sexual offenses, as also male sexual offenders, tend to be short and thick set.[3] In European folk-lore the thick, bull neck is regarded as a sign of strong sexuality.[4] Mantegazza refers to a strong sexual temperament as being associated with arrest or disorder of bony development, and Marro suggests that

---

[1] Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, p. 174; Moll, "Perverse Sexualempfindung, Psychische Impotenz und Ehe" (Section II), in Senator and Kaminer, *Krankheiten und Ehe.*

[2] Roubaud, *Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 024.

[3] Marro, *Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, p. 374.

[4] Κουπιάδια, vol. ii, p. 258.

the proverbial salacity of rachitic individuals may be due to an increased activity of the sexual organs.[1] It may be added that acromegaly, with its excessive bony growths, tends to be associated with premature sexual involution.

A further point which is frequently mentioned in the case of women is the development of the chief secondary sexual regions: the pelvis and the breasts. It is, indeed, almost inevitable that there should be some degree of correlation between the aptitude for bearing children and the aptitude for experiencing detumescence. The reality of such a connection is not only evidenced by medical observations, but receives further testimony in popular beliefs. In Italy women with large buttocks are considered wanton, and among the South Slavs they are regarded as especially fruitful.[2] Blumenbach asserted that precocious venery will enlarge the breasts, and believed that he had found evidence of this among young London prostitutes.[3]

The association of the aptitude for detumescence with a tendency to a deep rather than to a high voice, both in men and women, has frequently been noted and has seldom been denied. The onset of puberty always affects the voice; in general, Biérent states, the more bass the voice is the more marked is the development of the sexual apparatus; "a very robust man, with very developed sexual organs, and very dark and abundant hairy system, a man of strong puberty in a word, is nearly always a bass."[4] The influence of sexual excitement in deepening the voice is shown by the rules of sexual hygiene prescribed to tenors, while a bass has less need to observe similar precautions. In women every phase of sexual life—puberty, menstruation, coitus, pregnancy—tends to affect the voice and always by giving it a deeper character. The deepening of the voice by sexual intercourse was an ancient Greek observation, and Martial refers to a woman's good or bad singing as an index to her recent

---

[1] Marro, *La Pubertà*, p. 196. In Italy, the sensuality of the lame is the subject of proverbs.

[2] *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, p. 515; Κυπριάδια, vol. vi, p. 212.

[3] Blumenbach, *Anthropological Treatises*, p. 248.

[4] Biérent, *La Puberté*, p. 148.

sexual habits. Prostitutes tend to have a deep voice. Venturi points out that married women preserve a fresh voice to a more advanced age than spinsters, this being due to the precocious senility in the latter of an unused function. Such a phenomenon indicates that the relationship of detumescence to the deepening of the voice is not quite simple. This is further indicated by the fact that in robust men abstinence still further deepens the voice (the monk of melodrama always has a bass voice), while excessive or precocious sexual indulgence tends to be associated with the same kind of puerile voice as is found in those persons in whom pubertal development has not been carried very far, or who are of what Griffiths terms eunuchoid type. Idiot boys, who are often sexually undeveloped, tend to have a high voice, while idiot girls (who often manifest marked sexual proclivities) not infrequently have a deep voice.[1]

Bright dilated eyes are among the phenomena of detumescence, and are very frequently noted in persons of a pronounced erotic temperament. This is, indeed, an ancient observation, and Burton says of people with a black, lively, and sparkling eye, "without question they are most amorous," drawing his illustrations mostly from classic literature.[2] Tardieu described the erotic woman as having bright eyes, and Heywood Smith states that the eyes of lascivious women resemble, though in a less degree, those of the insane.[3] Sexual excitement is one among many causes—intellectual excitement, pain, a loud noise, even any sensory irritation—which produce dilatation of the pupils and enlargement of the palpebral fissure, with some protrusion of the eyeball. The influence of the sexual system upon the eye appears to be far less potent in men than in women.[4] Sexual desire is, however, by no means the only irritant within the sexual sphere which may thus influence the eye; morbid irritations may produce the same effect. Milner Fothergill, in his book on *Indigestion*, vividly describes the appearance of the

---

[1] Venturi, *Degenerazioni Psico-sessuali*, pp. 408-410.
[2] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. II, Sub. II.
[3] *British Gynæcological Journal*, Febuary, 1887, p. 505.
[4] Power, *Lancet*, November 26, 1887.

eyes sometimes seen in ovarian disorder: "The glittering flash which glances out from some female irides is the external indication of ovarian irritation, and 'the ovarian gleam' has features quite its own. The most marked instance which ever came under my notice was due to irritation in the ovaries, which had been forced down in front of the uterus and been fixed there by adhesions. Here there was little sexual proclivity, but the eyes were very remarkable. They flashed and glittered unceasingly, and at times perfect lightning bolts shot from them. Usually there is a bright glittering sheen in them which contrasts with the dead look in the irides of sexual excess or profuse uterine discharges."

The activity of the glandular secretions, and especially those of the skin, during detumescence, would lead us to expect that such secretory activity is an index to an aptitude for detumescence. As a matter of fact it is occasionally, though not frequently, noted by medical observers. It is stated that the erotic temperament is characterized by a special odor.[1] The activity of the sweat-glands is seldom referred to by medical observers in describing persons of erotic temperament, although the descriptions of novelists not infrequently contain allusions to this point, and the literature of an earlier age shows that the tendency to perspiration, especially the moist hand, was regarded as a sure sign of a sensual temperament. "The moist-handed Madonna Imperia, a most rare and divine creature," remarks Lazarillo in Middleton's comedy *Blurt, Master-Constable,* to quote one of many allusions to this point in the Elizabethan drama.

The lips are sometimes noted as red and everted, perhaps thick[1]; Tardieu remarked that the typically erotic woman has thick red lips. This corresponds with the characteristic type of the satyr in classic statues as in later paintings; his lips are

---

[1] With regard to the sexual relationships of personal odor, see the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," section on Smell.

[1] In European folk-lore thick lips in a woman are sometimes regarded as a sign of sensuality, Κυπριάδια, vol. ii, p. 258.

always thick and everted. Fullness, redness, and eversion of the lips are correlated with good breathing, the absence of anæmia, laughter, a well-fleshed face.

This kind of mouth indicates, perhaps, not so much a congenitally erotic temperament, as an abandonment to impulse. The opposite type of mouth—with inverted, thin, and retracted lips—would appear to be found with especial frequency in persons who habitually repress their impulses on moral grounds. Any kind of effort to restrain involuntary muscular action may lead to retraction of the lips: the effort to overcome anger or fear, or even the resistance to a strong desire to urinate or defecate. In religious young men, however, it becomes habitual and fixed. I recall a small band of medical students, gathered together from a large medical school, who were accustomed to meet together for prayer and Bible-reading; the majority showed this type of mouth to a very marked degree: pale faces, with drawn, retracted lips. It may be termed the Christian or pious *facies*. It is much less frequently seen in religious women (unless of masculine type), doubtless because religion for women is in a much less degree than for men a moral discipline.

It may be added that an interesting form of this contraction of the lips, and one that is not purely repressive, is that which indicates the state of muscular tension associated with the impulse to guard and protect. In this form the contracted mouth is the index of tenderness, and is characteristic of the mother who is watching over the infant she is suckling at her breast. I have observed precisely the same expression in the face of a boy of 14 with a large congenital scrotal hernia: when the tumor was being examined his lower lip became retracted, well marked lines appearing from the angles downwards, though the upper lip retained its normal expression It was precisely the tender look we may see in the faces of mothers who are watching anxiously over their offspring, and the emotion is evidently the same in both cases: solicitude for a sensitive and tenderly guarded object.

The degree of pigmentation is clearly correlated with sexual vigor. "In general," Heusinger laid down, in 1823, "the quantity of pigment is proportional to the functional effectiveness of the genital organs." This connection is so profound that it may be traced very widely throughout the organic world.

The connection between pigmentation and sexual activity is very ancient. Even leaving out of account the wedding apparel of animals, nearly always gorgeous in scales and plumage and hair, the sexual orifice shows a more or less marked ten-

dency to pigmentation during the breeding season from fishes upward, while in mammals the darker pigmentation of this region is a constant phenomenon in sexually mature individuals.[1]

In the human species both the negative standard of castration and the positive standard of puberty alike indicate a correlation of this kind. Those individuals in whom puberty never fully develops and who are consequently said to be affected by infantilism, reveal a relative absence of pigment in the sexual centers which are normally pigmented to a high degree.[2] Among those Asiatic races who extirpate the ovaries in young girls the skin remains white in the perineum, round the anus, and in the armpits.[3] Even in mature women who undergo ovariotomy, as Kepler found, the pigmentation of the nipples and areola disappears, as well as of the perineum and anus, the skin taking on a remarkable whiteness.

Normally the sexual centers, and in a high degree the genital orifice, represent the maximum of pigmentation, and under some circumstances this is clearly visible even in infancy. Thus babies of mixed black and white blood may show no traces of negro ancestry at birth, but there will always be increased pigmentation about the external genitalia.[4] The linea fusca, which reaches from the pubes to the navel and occasionally to the ensiform cartilage, is a line of sexual pigmentation sometimes regarded as characteristic of pregnancy, but as Andersen, of Copenhagen, has found by the examination of several hundred children of both sexes, it exists in a slight form in about 75 per cent. of young girls, and in almost as large a proportion of boys. But there is no doubt that it tends to increase with age as well as to become marked at pregnancy. At puberty there is a general tendency to changes in pigmentation; thus Godin found

---

[1] The direct dependence of sexual pigmentation on the primary sexual glands is well illustrated by a true hermaphroditic adult finch exhibited at the Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam (May 31, 1890); this bird had a testis on the right side and an ovary on the left, and on the right side its plumage was of the male's colors, on the left of the female's color.

[2] See. *e.g.*, Papillault, *Bulletin Société d'Anthropologie*, 1899, p. 446.

[3] Guinard, Art. "Castration," Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie.*

[4] J. Whitridge Williams, *Obstetrics*, 1903, p. 132.

that in 28 per cent. adolescent changes occurred in the eyes and hair at this period, the hair becoming darker, though the eyes sometimes become lighter. Ammon, in his investigation of conscripts at the age of 20 (*post*, p. 196), discovered the significant fact that the eyes and hair darken *pari passu* with sexual development. In women, during menstruation, there is a general tendency to pigmentation; this is especially obvious around the eyes, and in some cases black rings of true pigment form in this position. Even the skin of the negro women of Loango sometimes becomes a few shades darker during menstruation.[1] During pregnancy this tendency to pigmentation reaches its climax. Pregnancy constantly gives rise to pigmentation of the face, the neck, the nipples, the abdomen, and this is especially marked in brunettes.

This association of pigmentation and sexual aptitudes has been recognized in the popular lore of some peoples. Thus the Sicilians, who admire brown skin and have no liking either for a fair skin or light hair, believe that a white woman is incapable of responding to love. It is the brown woman who feels love; as it is said in Sicilian dialect: "Fimmina scura, fimmina amurusa."[2]

The dependence of pigmentation upon the sexual system is shown by the fact that irritation of the genital organs by disease will frequently suffice to produce a high degree of pigmentation. This may appear on the face, the neck, the trunk, the hands. Simpson long since noted that uterine irritation apart from pregnancy may produce pigmentation of the areolæ of the nipples (*Obstetric Works*, vol. i, p. 345). Engelmann discussed the subject and gave cases, "The Hystero-Neuroses," pp. 124-139, in *Gynecological Transactions*, vol. xii, 1887; and a summary of a memoir by Fouquet on this subject in *La Gynécologie*, February, 1903, will be found in *British Medical Journal*, March 28, 1903,

---

[1] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 19.

[2] C. Pitre, *Medicina Populare Siciliana*, p. 47. In England, from notes sent to me by one correspondent, it would appear that the proportion of dark and sexually apt women to fair and sexually apt women is as 3 to 1. The experience of others would doubtless give varying results, and in any case the fallacies are numerous. See, in the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," Section IV.

Of all physical traits vigor of the hairy system has most frequently perhaps been regarded as the index of vigorous sexuality. In this matter modern medical observations are at one with popular belief and ancient physiognomical assertions.[1] The negative test of castration and the positive test of puberty point in the same direction.

It is at puberty that all the hair on the body, except that on the head, begins to develop; indeed, the very word "puberty" has reference to this growth as the most obvious sign of the whole process. When castration takes place at an early age all this development of pubescent hair is arrested. When the primary sexual organs are undeveloped the sexual hair is also undeveloped, as in a case, recorded by Plant,[2] of a girl with rudimentary uterus and ovaries who had little or no axilliary and pubic hair, although the hair of the head was long and strong.[3]

The pseudo-Michael Scot among the *Signa mulieris calidæ naturæ et quæ coit libenter* stated that her hair, both on the head and body, is thick and coarse and crisp, and Della Porta, the greatest of the physiognomists, said that thickness of hair in women meant wantonness. Venette, in his *Génération de l'Homme*, remarked that men who have much hair on the body are most amorous. At a more recent period Roubaud has said that pubic hair in its quantity, color and curliness is an index of genital energy. A poor pilous system, on the other hand, Roubaud regarded as a probable though not an irrefragable proof of sexual frigidity in women. "In the cold woman the pilous system is remarkable for the languor of its vitality; the hairs are fair, delicate, scarce and smooth, while in ardent natures there are little curly tufts about the temples." (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, pp. 124, 523.) Martineau declared (*Leçons sur les Déformations Vulvaires*, p. 40) that "the more developed the genital organs the more abundant the hair covering them;

---

[1] In Japan the same belief would appear to be held. In a nude figure representing the typical voluptuous woman by the Japanese painter Marugama Okio (reproduced in Ploss's *Das Weib*) the pubic and axillary hair is profuse, though usually sparse in Japan.

[2] *Centralblatt für Gynäkologie*, No. 9, 1896.

[3] It is important to remember that there is little correlation in this matter between the hair of the head and the sexual hair, if not a certain opposition. (See *ante*, p. 127.) According to one of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, repeated by Buffon, eunuchs do not become bald, and Aristotle seems to have believed that sexual intercourse is a cause of baldness in men. (Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 23.)

abundance of hair appears to be in relation to the perfect development of the organs." Tardieu described the typically erotic woman as very hairy.

Bergh found that among 2200 young Danish prostitutes those who showed an unusual extension and amount of pubic hair included several women who were believed to be libidinous in a very high degree. (Bergh, "Symbolæ," etc., *Hospitalstidende*, August, 1894.) Moraglia, again, in Italy, in describing various women, mostly prostitutes, of unusually strong sexual proclivities, repeatedly notes very thick hair, with down on the face. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xvi, fasc. iv-v.)

Marro, also, in Italy found that abundance of hair and down is especially marked in women who are guilty of infanticide (as also Pasini has found), though criminal women generally, in his experience, tend to have abnormally abundant hair. (*Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, cap. XXII.) Lombroso finds that prostitutes generally tend to be hairy (*Donna Delinquente*, p. 320.)

A lad of 14, guilty of numerous crimes of violence having a sexual source, is described by Arthur Macdonald in America as having hair on the chest as well as all over the pubes. (A. Macdonald, *Archives de L'Anthropologie Criminelle*, January, 1893, p. 55.) The association of hairiness with abnormal sexuality in the weak-minded has been noted at Bicêtre (*Recherches Cliniques sur l'Epilepsie*, vol. xix, pp. 69, 77.)

Hypertrichosis universalis, a general hairiness of body, has been described by Cascella in a woman with very strong sexual desires, who eventually became insane. (*Revista Mensile di Psichiatria*, 1903, p. 408.) Bucknill and Tuke give the case of a religiously minded girl, with very strong and repressed sexual desires, who became insane; the only abnormal feature in her physical development was the marked growth of hair over the body.

Brantôme refers to a great lady known to him whose body was very hairy, and quotes a saying to the effect that hairy people are either rich or wanton; the lady in question, he adds, was both. (Brantôme, *Vie des Dames Galantes*, Discours II.)

De Sade, whose writings are now regarded as a treasure house of true observations in the domain of sexual psychology, makes the Rodin of *Justine* dark, with much hair and thick eyebrows, while his very sexual sister is described as dark, thin and very hairy. (Dühren, *Der Marquis de Sade*, third edition, p. 440.)

A correspondent who has always taken a special interest in the condition as regards hairiness of the women to whom he has been attracted, has sent me notes concerning a series of 12 women. It may be gathered from these notes that 5 women were neither markedly sexual nor markedly hairy (either as regards head or pubes), 6 ca both hairy and sexual, 1 was sexual and not hairy, none were hai

and not sexual. My correspondent remarks: "There may be women with scanty pubic hair possessing very strong sexual emotions. My own experience is quite the opposite." He has also independently reached the conclusion, arrived at by many medical observers and clearly suggested by some of the facts here brought together, that profuse hair frequently denotes a neurotic temperament.

It may be added that Mirabeau, as we learn from an anecdote told by an eye-witness and recorded by Legouvé, had a very hairy chest, while the same is recorded of Restif de la Bretonne.

It is a very ancient and popular belief that if a hairy man is not sensual he is strong: *vir pilosus aut libidinosus aut fortis.* The Greeks insisted on the hairy nates of Hercules, and Ninon de l'Enclos, when the great Condé shared her bed without touching her, remarked, on seeing his hairy body: "Ah, Monseigneur, que vous devez être fort!" It may be doubted whether there is any exact parallelism between muscular strength and hairiness, for strength is largely a matter of training, but there can be no doubt that hairiness really tends to be associated with a generally vigorous development of the body.

Although the observations concerning hairiness of body as an index of vigor, whether sexual or only generally physical, are so ancient, until recent years no attempts have been made to demonstrate on a large scale whether there is actually a correlation between hairiness and sexual or general development of the body. Some importance, therefore, attaches to Ammon's careful observations of many thousand conscripts in Baden. These observations fully justify this ancient belief, since they show that on the one hand the size of the testicles, and on the other hand girth of chest and stature, are correlated with hairiness of body.

Ammon's observations were made on nearly 4000 conscripts of the age of 20. From the point of view of the hairy system he divided them into four classes:—

I. To which 6.1 per cent. of the men belonged, with smooth bodies.

II. Including 25.3 per cent., only slight hairiness.

III. 53.8 per cent., more developed hairy system, but belly, breast and back smooth.

IV. 14.7 per cent., hair all over body.

V. 0.1 per cent., extreme cases of hairiness.

The beardless were 12.1 per cent., those with no axillary hair 9 per cent., those with no hair on pubis 0.4 per cent. This corresponds with the fact that hair appears first on the pubis and last on the chin.

In the first class 69 per cent. were beardless, 54 per cent. without any axillary hair and 6 per cent. without pubic hair. In the second class 24 per cent. were beardless, 17 per cent. without axillary hair. In the third class 3 per cent. were beardless and 3 per cent without axillary hair.

Below puberty the diameter of testicles is below 14 millimeters. There were 13 conscripts having a testicular diameter of less than 14 millimeters. These infantile individuals all belonged to the first three classes and mostly to the first. The average testicular diameter in the first class was nearly 24 millimeters, and progressively rose in the succeeding classes to over 26 millimeters in the fourth.

While there was not much difference in height, the first class was the shortest, the fourth the tallest. The fourth class also showed the greatest chest perimeter. The cephalic index of all classes was 84 (O. Ammon, "L'Infantilisme et le Feminisme au Conseil de Révision," *L'Anthropologie*, May-June, 1896.)

We thus see that it is quite justifiable to admit a type of person who possesses a more than average aptitude for detumescence. Such persons are more likely to be short than tall; they will show a full development of the secondary sexual characters; the voice will tend to be deep and the eyes bright; the glandular activity of the skin will probably be marked, the lips everted; there is a tendency to a more than average degree of pigmentation, and there is frequently an abnormal prevalence of hair on some parts of the body. While none of these signs, taken separately, can be said to have any necessary connection with the sexual impulse, taken altogether they indicate an organism that responds to the instinct of detumescence with special aptitude or with marked energy. In these respects observation, both scientific and popular, concords with the probabilities suggested by the three standards in this matter which have already been set forth.

No generalization, however, can here be set down in an absolute and unqualified manner. There are definite reasons why this should be so. There is, for instance, the highly important consideration that the sexual impulse of the individual

may be conspicuous in two quite distinct ways. It may assume prominence because the individual possesses a highly vigorous and well-nourished organism, or its prominence may be due to mental irritation in a very morbid individual. In the latter case—although occasionally the two sets of conditions are combined—most of the signs we might expect in the former case may be absent. Indeed, the sexual impulses which proceed from a morbid psychic irritability do not in most cases indicate any special aptitude for detumescence at all; in that largely lies their morbid character.

Again, just in the same way that the exaggerated impulse itself may either be healthy or morbid, so the various characters which we have found to possess some value as signs of the impulse may themselves either be healthy or morbid. This is notably the case as regards an abnormal growth of hair on the body, more especially when it appears on regions where normally there is little or no hair. Such hypertrichosis is frequently degenerative in character, though still often associated with the sexual system. When, however, it is thus a degenerative character of sexual nature, having its origin in some abnormal fœtal condition or later atrophy of the ovaries, it is no necessary indication of any aptitude for detumescence.

Idiots, more especially it would seem idiot girls, tend to show a highly developed hairy system. Thus Voisin, when investigating 150 idiot and imbecile girls, found the hair long and thick and tending to occupy a large surface; one girl had hair on the areolæ of the mamma. (J. Voisin, "Conformation des organes génitaux chez les Idiots," *Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, June, 1894.) It should be said that in idiot boys puberty is late, and the sexual organs as well as the sexual instinct frequently undeveloped, while in idiot girls there is no delay in puberty, and the sexual organs and instinct are frequently fully and even abnormally developed.

Hegar has described an interesting case showing an association, of fœtal origin, between sexual anomaly and abnormal hairness. In this case a girl of 16 had a uterus duplex, an infantile pelvis, very slight menstruation and undeveloped breasts. She was very hairy on the face, the anterior aspects of the chest and abdomen, the sexual regions, and the thighs, but not specially so on the rest of the body. The hairs were of lanugo-like character, but dark in color. (A. Hegar, *Beiträge zur*

Geburtshülfe und Gynäkologie, vol. 1, p. 111, 1898.) Sometimes hirsuties of the face and abdomen begin to appear during pregnancy, apparently from disease or degeneration of the ovaries. (A case is noted in *British Medical Journal*, August 2 and 16, pp. 375 and 436, 1902.) Laycock many years ago referred to the popular belief that women who have hair on the upper lip seldom bear children, and regarded this opinion as "questionless founded on fact." (Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 22.) When this is so, we may suppose that the abnormal hairy growth is associated with degeneration of the ovaries.

There is another factor which enters into this question and renders the definition of a physical sexual type less precise than it would otherwise be. The sexual instinct is common to all persons, and while it seems probable that there is a type of person in whom sexual energies are predominant, it would also appear that the people who otherwise show a very high level of energy in life usually exhibit a more than average degree of energy in matters of love. The predominantly sexual type, as we have seen, tends to be associated with a high degree of pigmentation; the person specially apt for detumescence inclines to belong to the dark rather than to the purely fair group of the population. On the other hand, the active, energetic, practical man, the man who is most apt for the achievement of success in life, tends to belong to the fair rather than to the dark type.[1] Thus we have a certain conflict of tendencies, and it becomes possible to assert that while persons with pronounced aptitude for sexual detumescene tend to be dark, persons whose pronounced energy in sexual matters tends to ensure success are most likely to be fair.

The tendency of the fair energetic type, the type of the northern European man, to sexuality may be connected with the fact that the violent and criminal man who commits sexual crimes tends to be fair even amid a dark population. Criminals on the whole would appear to tend to be dark rather than fair; but Marro found in Italy that the group of sexual offenders differed from all other groups of criminals in that their hair was predominantly fair. (*Caratteri dei Delinquenti*,

---

[1] For some of the evidence on this point, see Havelock Ellis, "The Comparative Abilities of the Fair and the Dark," *Monthly Review*, August, 1901; *cf. id. A Study of British Genius*, Chapter X.

p. 374.) Ottolenghi, in the same way, in examining 100 sexual offenders, found that they showed 17 per cent. of fair hair, though criminals generally (on a basis of nearly 2000) showed only 6 per cent., and normal persons (nearly 1000) 9 per cent. Similarly while the normal persons showed only 20 per cent. of blue eyes and criminals generally 36 per cent., the sexual offenders showed 50 per cent. of blue eyes. (Ottolenghi, *Archivio di Psichiatria*, fasc. vi, 1888, p. 573.) Burton remarked (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. II, Subs. II) that in all ages most amorous young men have been yellow-haired, adding, "Synesius holds every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair-haired." In folk-lore, it has been noted (Κρυπτάδια, vol. ii, p. 258), red or yellow hair is sometimes regarded as a mark of sexuality.

In harmony with this fairness, sexual offenders would appear to be more dolichocephalic than other criminals. In Italy Marro found the foreheads of sexual offenders to be narrow, and in California Drähms found that while murderers had an average cephalic index of 83.5, and thieves of 80.5, that of sexual offenders was 79.

On the other hand, high cheek-bones and broad faces—a condition most usually found associated with brachycephaly—have sometimes been noted as associated with undue or violent sexuality. Marro noted the excess of prominent cheek-bones in sexual offenders, and in America it has been found that unchaste girls tend to have broad faces. (*Pedagogical Seminary*, December, 1896, pp. 231, 235.)

It will be seen that, when we take a comprehensive view of the facts and considerations involved, it is possible to obtain a more definite and coherent picture of the physical signs of a marked aptitude for detumescence than has hitherto been usually supposed possible. But we also see that while the *ensemble* of these signs is probably fairly reliable as an index of marked sexuality, the separate signs have no such definite significance, and under some circumstances their significance may even be reversed.

THE PSYCHIC STATE IN PREGNANCY.

The Relationship of Maternal and Sexual Emotion—Conception and Loss of Virginity—The Anciently Accepted Signs of This Condition—The Pervading Effects of Pregnancy on the Organism—Pigmentation—The Blood and Circulation—The Thyroid—Changes in the Nervous System—The Vomiting of Pregnancy—The Longings of Pregnant Women—Maternal Impressions—Evidence for and Against Their Validity—The Question Still Open—Imperfection of Our Knowledge—The Significance of Pregnancy.

In analyzing the sexual impulse I have so far deliberately kept out of view the maternal instinct. This is necessary, for the maternal instinct is specific and distinct; it is directed to an aim which, however intimately associated it may be with that of the sexual impulse proper, can by no means be confounded with it. Yet the emotion of love, as it has finally developed in the world, is not purely of sexual origin; it is partly sexual, but it is also partly parental.[1]

[1] See, *e.g.*, Groos, *Æsthetische Genuss*, p. 249. "We have to admit," Groos observes, "the entrance of another instinct, the impulse to tend and foster, so closely connected with the sexual life. It is seemingly due to the co-operation of this impulse that the little female bird during courtship is so often fed by the male like a young fledgling. In man 'love' from the biological standpoint is also an amalgamation of two needs; when the tender need to protect and foster and serve is lacking the emotion is not quite perfect. Heine's expression, 'With my mantle I protect you from the storm,' has always seemed to me very characteristic." Sometimes the sexual impulse may undergo a complete transformation in this direction. "I believe there is really a tendency in women," a lady writes in a letter, "to allow maternal feeling to take the place of sexual feeling. Very often a woman's feeling for her husband becomes this (though he may be twenty years older than herself); sometimes it does not, remaining purely sex feeling. Sometimes it is for some other man she has this curious self-obliterating maternal feeling. It is not necessarily connected with sex intercourse. A prostitute, who has relations with dozens of men, may have it for some feeble drunken fool, who perhaps goes after other women. I once saw the change from sex feeling to mother feeling, as I call it, come almost suddenly over a woman after she had lived about four years

In so far as it is parental it is certainly mainly maternal. There is a drawing by Bronzino in the Louvre of a woman's head gazing tenderly down at some invisible object; is it her child or her lover? Doubtless her child, yet the expression is equally adequate to the emotion evoked by a lover. If we were here specifically dealing with the emotion of love as a complex whole, and not with the psychology of the sexual impulse, it would certainly be necessary to discuss the maternal instinct and its associated emotions. In any case it seems desirable to touch on the psychic state of pregnancy, for we are here concerned not only with emotions very closely connected with the sexual emotions in the narrower sense, but we here at last approach that state which it is the object of the whole sexual process to achieve.

In civilized life a period of weeks, months, even years, may elapse between the establishment of sexual relations and the oc-

---

with a man who was unfaithful to her. Then, when all real sex feeling, the hatred of the woman he followed, the desire he should give her love and tenderness, had all gone, came the other feeling, and she said to me, 'You don't understand at all; he's only my little baby; nothing he does can make any difference to me now.' As I grow older and understand women's natures better, I can see almost at once which relation it is a woman has to her husband, or any given man. It is this feeling, and not sex passion, that keeps woman from being free." Not only is there a sexual association in the impulse to foster and protect, there would appear to be a similar element also in the response to that impulse. Freud has especially insisted on the partly sexual character of the child's feelings for those who care for it and tend it and satisfy its needs. It is begun in earliest infancy; "whoever has seen the sated infant sink back from the breast, to fall asleep with flushed cheeks and happy smile, must say that the picture is adequate to the expression of the sexual satisfaction of later life." The lips, moreover, are the earliest erogenous zone. "There will, perhaps, be some opposition," Freud remarks (*Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, pp. 36, 64), "to the identification of the child's feelings of tenderness and appreciation for those who tend it with sexual love, but I believe that exact psychological analysis will place the identity beyond doubt. The relationship of the child with the person who tends it is for it a continual source of sexual excitement and satisfaction flowing from the erogenous zones, especially since the fostering person—as a rule the mother—regards the child with emotions which proceed from her sexual life; strokes it, kisses it, rocks it, and very plainly treats it as a compensation for a fully valid sexual object." Freud remarks that girls who retain the childish character of their love for their parents to adult age are apt to make cold wives and to be sexually anæsthetic.

currence of conception. Under primitive conditions the loss of the virginal condition practically involves the pregnant condition, so that under primitive conditions very little allowance is made for the state, so common among civilized peoples, of the woman who is no longer a virgin, yet not about to become a mother.

There is some interest in noting the signs of loss of virginity chiefly relied upon by ancient authors. In doing this it is convenient to follow mainly the full summary of authorities given by Schurig in his *Barthenologia* early in the eighteenth century. The ancient custom, known in classic times, of measuring the neck the day after marriage was frequently practiced to ascertain if a girl was or was not a virgin. There were various ways of doing this. One was to measure with a thread the circumference of the bride's neck before she went to bed on the bridal night. If in the morning the same thread would not go around her neck it was a sure sign that she had lost her virginity during the night; if not, she was still a virgin or had been deflowered at an earlier period. Catullus alluded to this custom, which still exists, or existed until lately, in the south of France. It is perfectly sound, for it rests on the intimate response by congestion of the thyroid gland to sexual excitement. (*Parthenologia*, p. 283; Bićrent, *La Puberté*, p. 150; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 267.)

Some say, Schurig tells us, that the voice, which in the virgin is shrill, becomes rougher and deeper after the first coitus. He quotes Riolan's statement that it is certain that the voice of those who indulge in venery is changed. On that account the ancients bound down the penis of their singers, and Martial said that those who wish to preserve their voices should avoid coitus. Democritus who one day had greeted a girl as "maiden" on the following day addressed her as "woman," while in the same way it is said that Albertus Magnus, observing from his study a girl going for wine for her master, knew that she had had sexual intercourse by the way because on her return her voice had become deeper. Here, again, the ancient belief has a solid basis, for the voice and the larynx are really affected by sexual conditions. (*Parthenologia*, p. 286; Marro, *La Puberté*, p. 303; Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 289.)

Others, again, Schurig proceeds, have judged that the goaty smell given out in the armpits during the venereal act is also no uncertain sign of defloration, such odor being perceptible in those who use much venery, and not seldom in harlots and the newly married, while, as Hippocrates said, it is not perceived in boys and girls. (*Parthenologia*, p. 286; *cf.* the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," p. 64.)

In virgins, Schurig remarks, the pubic hair is said to be long and not twisted, while in women accustomed to coitus it is crisper. But it is only after long and repeated coitus, some authors add, that the pubic hairs become crisp. Some recent observers, it may be remarked, have noted a connection between sexual excitation and the condition of the pubic hair in women. (*Cf.* the present volume, *ante* p. 127.)

A sign to which the old authors often attached much importance was furnished by the urinary stream. In the *De Secretis Mulierum*, wrongly attributed to Albertus Magnus, it is laid down that "the virgin urinates higher than the woman." Riolan, in his *Anthropographia*, discussing the ability of virgins to ejaculate urine to a height, states that Scaliger had observed women who were virgins emit urine in a high jet against a wall, but that married women could seldom do this. Bonnaciolus also stated that the urine of virgins is emitted in a small stream to a distance with an acute hissing sound. (*Parthenologia*, p. 281.) A folk-lore belief in the reality of this influence is evidenced by the Picardy *conte* referred to already (*ante*, p. 53), "La Princesse qui pisse au deasus les Meules." There is no doubt a tendency for the various stresses of sexual life to produce an influence in this direction, though they act far too slowly and uncertainly to be a reliable index to the presence or the absence of virginity.

Another common ancient test of virginity by urination rests on a psychic basis, and appears in a variety of forms which are really all reducible to the same principle. Thus we are told in *De Secretis Mulierum* that to ascertain if a girl is seduced she should be given to eat of powdered crocus flowers, and if she has been seduced she immediately urinates. We are here concerned with auto-suggestion, and it may well be believed that with nervous and credulous girls this test often revealed the truth.

A further test of virginity discussed by Schurig is the presence of modesty of countenance. If a woman blushes her virtue is safe. In this way girls who have themselves had experience of the marriage bed are said to detect the virgin. The virgin's eyes are cast down and almost motionless, while she who has known a man has eyes that are bright and quick. But this sign is equivocal, says Schurig, for girls are different, and can simulate the modesty they do not feel. Yet this indication also rests on a fundamentally sound psychological basis. (See "The Evolution of Modesty," in the first volume of these *Studies*.)

In his *Syllepsilogia* (Section V, cap. I-II), published in 1731, Schurig discusses further the anciently recognized signs of pregnancy. The real or imaginary signs of pregnancy sought by various primitive peoples of the past and present are brought together by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, bd. i, Chapter XXVII.

Both physically and psychically the occurrence of pregnancy is, however, a distinct event. It marks the beginning of a continuous physical process, which cannot fail to manifest psychic reactions. A great center of vital activity—practically a new center, for only the germinal form of it in menstruation had previously existed—has appeared and affects the whole organism. "From the moment that the embryo takes possession of the woman," Robert Barnes puts it, "every drop of blood, every fiber, every organ, is affected."[1]

A woman artist once observed to Dr. Stratz, that as the final aim of a woman is to become a mother and pregnancy is thus her blossoming time, a beautiful woman ought to be most beautiful when she is pregnant. That is so, Stratz replied, if her moment of greatest physical perfection corresponds with the early months of pregnancy, for with the beginning of pregnancy metabolism is increased, the color of the skin becomes more lively and delicate, the breasts firmer.[2] Pregnancy may, indeed, often become visible soon after conception by the brighter eye, the livelier glance, resulting from greater vascular activity, though later, with the increase of strain, the face may tend to become somewhat thin and distorted. The hair, Barnes states, assumes a new vigor, even though it may have been falling out before. The temperature rises; the weight increases, even apart from the growth of the fœtus. The efflorescence of pregnancy shows itself, as in the blossoming and fecundated flower, by increased pigmentation.[3] The nipples with their areolæ, and the mid-line of the belly, become darker; brown flecks (lentigo) tend to appear on the forehead, neck, arms, and body; while striæ—at first blue-red. then a brilliant white—appear on the belly and thighs,

---

[1] Esbach (in his *Thèse de Paris*, published in 1876) showed that even the finger nails are affected in pregnancy and become measurably thinner.

[2] C. H. Stratz, *Die Schönheit des Weiblichen Körpers*, Chapter VI.

[3] Iron appears to be liberated in the maternal organism during pregnancy, and Wychgel has shown (*Zeitschrift fur Geburtshülfe und Gynäkologie*, bd. xlvii, Heft II) that the pigment of pregnant women contains iron, and that the amount of iron in the urine is increased.

though these are scarcely normal, for they are not seen in women with very elastic skins and are rare among peasants and savages.[1] The whole carriage of the woman tends to become changed with the development of the mighty seed of man planted within her; it simulates the carriage of pride with the arched back and protruded abdomen.[2] The pregnant woman has been lifted above the level of ordinary humanity to become the casket of an inestimable jewel.

It is in the blood and the circulation that the earliest of the most prominent symptoms of pregnancy are to be found. The ever increasing development of this new focus of vascular activity involves an increased vascular activity in the whole organism. This activity is present almost from the first—a few days after the impregnation of the ovum—in the breasts, and quickly becomes obvious to inspection and palpation. Before a quite passive organ, the breast now rapidly increases in activity of circulation and in size, while certain characteristic changes begin to take place around the nipples.[3] As a result of the additional work imposed upon it the heart tends to become slightly hypertrophied in order to meet the additional strain; there may be some dilatation also.[4]

The recent investigations of Stengel and Stanton tend to show that the increase of the heart's work during pregnancy is less considerable that has generally been supposed, and that beyond some enlargement and dilatation of the right ventricle there is not usually any hypertrophy of the heart.

---

[1] Vinay, *Maladies de la Grossesse*, Chapter VIII; K. Hennig, "Exploratio Externa," *Comptes-rendus du XIIe. Congrès International de Médécine*, vol. vi, Section XIII, pp. 144-166. A bibliography of the literature concerning the physiology of pregnancy, extending to ten pages, is appended by Pinard to his article "Grossesse," *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des Sciences médicales.*

[2] Stratz, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII.

[3] W. S. A. Griffith, "The Diagnosis of Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, April 11, 1903.

[4] J. Mackenzie and H. O. Nicholson, "The Heart in Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, October 8, 1904; Stengel and Stanton, "The Condition of the Heart in Pregnancy," *Medical Record*, May 10, 1902 and *University Pennsylvania Medical Bulletin*, Sept., 1904 (summarized in *British Medical Journal*, August 16, 1902, and Sept. 23, 1905.)

The total quantity of blood is raised. While increased in quantity, the blood appears on the whole to be somewhat depreciated in quality, though on this point there are considerable differences of opinion. Thus, as regards hæmoglobin, some investigators have found that the old idea as to the poverty of hæmoglobin in pregnancy is quite unfounded; a few have even found that the hæmoglobin is increased. Most authorities have found the red cells diminished, though some only slightly, while the white cells, and also the fibrin, are increased. But toward the end of pregnancy there is a tendency, perhaps due to the establishment of compensation, for the blood to revert to the normal condition.[1]

It would appear probable, however, that the vascular phenomena of pregnancy are not altogether so simple as the above statement would imply. The activity of various glands at this time—well illustrated by the marked salivation which sometimes occurs—indicates that other modifying forces are at work, and it has been suggested that the changes in the maternal circulation during pregnancy may best be explained by the theory that there are two opposing kinds of secretion poured into the blood in unusual degree during pregnancy: one contracting the vessels, the other dilating them, one or the other sometimes gaining the upper hand. Suprarenal extract, when administered, has a vaso-constricting influence, and thyroid extract a vaso-dilating influence; it may be surmised that within the body these glands perform similar functions.[2]

The important part played by the thyroid gland is indicated by its marked activity at the very beginning of pregnancy. We may probably associate the general tendency to vaso-dilatation during early pregnancy with the tendency to goitre; Freund found an increase of the thyroid in 45 per cent. of 50 cases. The thyroid belongs to the same class of ductless glands as the

---

[1] J. Henderson, "Maternal Blood at Term," *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynæcology*, February, 1902; C. Douglas, "The Blood in Pregnant Women," *British Medical Journal*, March 26, 1904, W. L. Thompson, "The Blood in Pregnancy," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, June, 1904.

[2] H. O. Nicholson, "Some Remarks on the Maternal Circulation in Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*. October 3, 1903.

ovary, and, as Bland Sutton and others have insisted, the analogies between the thyroid and the ovary are very numerous and significant. It may be added that in recent years Armand Gautier has noted the importance of the thyroid in elaborating nucleo-proteids containing arsenic and iodine, which are poured into the circulation during menstruation and pregnancy. The whole metabolism of the body is indeed affected, and during the latter part of pregnancy study of the ingesta and egesta has shown that a storage of nitrogen and even of water is taking place.[1] The woman, as Pinard puts it, forms the child out of her own flesh, not merely out of her food; the individual is being sacrificed to the species.

The changes in the nervous system of the pregnant woman correspond to those in the vascular system. There is the same increase of activity, a heightening of tension. Bruno Wolff, from experiments on bitches, concluded that the central nervous system in women is probably more easily excited in the pregnant than in the non-pregnant state, though he was not prepared to call this cerebral excitability "specific."[2] Direct observations on pregnant women have shown, without doubt, a heightened nervous irritability. Reflex action generally is increased. Neumann investigated the knee-jerk in 500 women during pregnancy, labor, and the puerperium, and in a large number found that there was a progressive exaggeration with the advance of pregnancy, little or no change being observed in the early months; sometimes when no change was observed during pregnancy the knee-jerk still increased during labor, reaching its maximum at the moment of the expulsion of the fœtus; the return to the normal condition took place gradually during the puerperium. Tridandani found in pregnant women that though the superficial reflexes, with the exception of the abdominal, were diminished, the deep and tendon reflexes were markedly increased, especially that of the knee, these changes being more marked in primiparæ than in multiparæ, and more pronounced as pregnancy advanced, the normal condition returning with

[1] J. Morris Slemans, "Metabolism During Pregnancy," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports*, vol. xii, 1904.

[2] B. Wolff, *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie*, 1904, No. 26.

ten days after labor. Electrical excitability was sensibly diminished.[1]

One of the first signs of high nervous tension is vomiting. As is well known, this phenomenon commonly appears early in pregnancy, and it is by many considered entirely physiological. Barnes regards it as a kind of safety valve, a regulating function, letting off excessive tension and maintaining equilibrium.[2] Vomiting is, however, a convulsion, and is thus the simplest form of a kind of manifestation—to which the heightened nervous tension of pregnancy easily lends itself—that finds its extreme pathological form in eclampsia. In this connection it is of interest to point out that the pregnant woman here manifests in the highest degree a tendency which is marked in women generally, for the female sex, apart altogether from pregnancy, is specially liable to convulsive phenomena.[3]

There is some slight difference of opinion among authorities as to the precise nature and causation of the sickness of pregnancy. Barnes, Horrocks and others regard it as physiological; but many consider it pathological; this is, for instance, the opinion of Giles. Grailly Hewitt attributed it to flexion of the gravid uterus, Kaltenbach to hysteria, and Zaborsky terms it a neurosis. Whitridge Williams considers that it may be (1) reflex, or (2) neurotic (when it is allied to hysteria and amenable to suggestion), or (3) toxæmic. It really appears to lie on the borderland between healthy and diseased manifestations. It is said to be unknown to farmers and veterinary surgeons. It appears to be little known among savages; it is comparatively infrequent among women of the lower social classes, and, as Giles has found, women who habitually menstruate in a painless and normal manner suffer comparatively little from the sickness of pregnancy.

We owe a valuable study of the sickness of pregnancy to Giles, who analyzed the records of 300 cases. He concluded that about one-third of the pregnant women were free from sickness throughout pregnancy, 45 per cent. were free during the first three months. When sickness occurred it began in 70 per cent. of cases in the first month, and was most frequent during the second month. The duration varied from

---

[1] Tridandani, *Annali di Ostetrica*, March, 1900.

[2] R. Barnes, "The Induction of Labor," *British Medical Journal*, December 22, 1894.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, pp. 344, *et seq.*

a few days to all through. Between the ages of 20 and 25 sickness was least frequent, and there was less sickness in the third than in any other pregnancy. (This corresponds with the conclusion of Matthews Duncan that 25 is the most favorable age for pregnancy.) To some extent in agreement with Guéniot, Giles believes that the vomiting of pregnancy is "one form of manifestation of the high nervous irritability of pregnancy." This high nervous tension may overflow into other channels, into the vascular and excretory system, causing eclampsia; into the muscular system, causing chorea, or, expending itself in the brain, give rise to hysteria when mild or insanity when severe. But the vagi form a very ready channel for such overflow, and hence the frequency of sickness in pregnancy. There are thus three main factors in the causation of this phenomenon: (1) An increased nervous irritability; (2) a local source of irritation; (3) a ready efferent channel for nervous energy. (Arthur Giles, "Observations on the Etiology of the Sickness of Pregnancy," *Transactions Obstetrical Society of London*, vol. xxv, 1804.)

Martin, who regards the phenomenon as normal, points out that when nausea and vomiting are absent or suddenly cease there is often reason to suspect something wrong, especially the death of the embryo. He also remarks that women who suffer from large varicose veins are seldom troubled by the nausea of pregnancy. (J. M. H. Martin, "The Vomiting of Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, December 10, 1904.) These observations may be connected with those of Evans (*American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal*, January, 1900), who attributes primary importance to the undoubtedly active factor of the irritation set up by the uterus, more especially the rhythmic uterine contractions; stimulation of the breasts produces active uterine contractions, and Evans found that examination of the breasts sufficed to bring on a severe attack of vomiting, while on another occasion this was produced by a vaginal examination. Evans believes that the purpose of these contractions is to facilitate the circulation of the blood through the large venous sinuses, the surcharging of the relatively stagnant pools with effete blood producing the irritation which leads to rhythmic contractions.

It is on the basis of the increased vascular and glandular activity and the heightened nervous tension that the special psychic phenomena of pregnancy develop. The best known, and perhaps the most characteristic of these manifestations, is that known as "longings." By this term is meant more or less irresistible desires for some special food or drink, which may be digestible or indigestible, sometimes a substance which the

woman ordinarily likes, such as fruit, and occasionally one which, under ordinary circumstances, she dislikes, as in one case known to me of a young country woman who, when bearing her child, was always longing for tobacco and never happy except when she could get a pipe to smoke, although under ordinary circumstances, like other young women of her class, she was without any desire to smoke. Occasionally the longings lead to actions which are more unscrupulous than is common in the case of the same person at other times; thus in one case known to me a young woman, pregnant with her first child, insisted to her sister's horror on entering a strawberry field and eating a quantity of fruit. These "longings" in their extreme form may properly be considered as neurasthenic obsessions, but in their simple and less pronounced forms they may well be normal and healthy.

The old medical authors abound in narratives describing the longings of pregnant women for natural and unnatural foods. This affection was commonly called *pica*, sometimes *citra* or *malatia*. Schurig, whose works are a comprehensive treasure house of ancient medical lore, devotes a long chapter (cap. II) of his *Chylologia*, published in 1725, to pica as manifested mainly, though not exclusively, in pregnant women. Some women, he tells us, have been compelled to eat all sorts of earthy substances, of which sand seems the most common, and one Italian woman when pregnant ate several pounds of sand with much satisfaction, following it up with a draught of her own urine. Lime, mud, chalk, charcoal, cinders, pitch are also the desired substances in other cases detailed. One pregnant woman must eat bread fresh from the oven in very large quantities, and a certain noble matron ate 140 sweet cakes in one day and night. Wheat and various kinds of corn as well as of vegetables were the foods desired by many longing women. One woman was responsible for 20 pounds of pepper, another ate ginger in large quantities, a third kept mace under her pillow; cinnamon, salt, emulsion of almonds, treacle, mushrooms were desired by others. Cherries were longed for by one, and another ate 30 or 40 lemons in one night. Various kinds of fish—mullet, oysters, crabs, live eels, etc.—are mentioned, while other women have found delectation in lizards, frogs, spiders and flies, even scorpions, lice and fleas. A pregnant woman, aged 33, of sanguine temperament, ate a live fowl completely with intense satisfaction. Skin, wool, cotton, thread, linen, blotting paper have been desired, as well as more repulsive substances, such as nasal mucus and feces (eaten with bread). Vinegar, ice, and snow occur in

other cases. One woman stilled a desire for human flesh by biting the nates of children or the arms of men. Metals are also swallowed, such as iron, silver, etc. One pregnant woman wished to throw eggs in her husband's face, and another to have her husband throw eggs in her face.

In the next chapter of the same work Schurig describes cases of acute antipathy which may arise under the same circumstances (cap. III, "De Nausea seu Antipathia certorum ciborum"). The list includes bread, meat, fowls, fish, eels (a very common repulsion), crabs, milk, butter (very often), cheese (often), honey, sugar, salt, eggs, caviar, sulphur, apples (especially their odor), strawberries, mulberries, cinnamon, mace, capers, pepper, onions, mustard, beetroot, rice, mint, absinthe, roses (many pages are devoted to this antipathy), lilies, elder flowers, musk (which sometimes caused vomiting), amber, coffee, opiates, olive oil, vinegar, cats, frogs, spiders, wasps, swords.

More recently Gould and Pyle (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, p. 80) have briefly summarized some of the ancient and modern records concerning the longings of pregnant women.

Various theories are put forward concerning the causation of the longings of pregnant women, but none of these seems to furnish by itself a complete and adequate explanation of all cases. Thus it is said that the craving is the expression of a natural instinct, the system of the pregnant woman really requiring the food she longs for. It is quite probable that this is so in many cases, but it is obviously not so in the majority of cases, even when we confine ourselves to the longings for fairly natural foods, while we know so little of the special needs of the organism during pregnancy that the theory in any case is insusceptible of clear demonstration.

Allied to this theory is the explanation that the longings are for things that counteract the tendency to nausea and sickness. Giles, however, in his valuable statistical study of the longings of a series of 300 pregnant women, has shown that the percentage of women with longings is exactly the same (33 per cent.) among women who had suffered at some time during pregnancy from sickness as among the women who had not so suffered. Moreover, Giles found that the period of sickness frequently bore no relation to the time when there were cravings, and the patient often had cravings after the sickness had ceased.

According to another theory these longings are mainly a

matter of auto-suggestion. The pregnant woman has received the tradition of such longings, persuades herself that she has such a longing, and then becomes convinced that, according to a popular belief, it will be bad for the child if the longing is not gratified. Giles considers that this process of auto-suggestion takes place "in a certain number, perhaps even in the majority of cases."[1]

The Duchess d'Abrantès, the wife of Marshal Junot, in her *Mémoires* gives an amusing account of how in her first pregnancy a longing was apparently imposed upon her by the anxious solicitude of her own and her husband's relations. Though suffering from constant nausea and sickness, she had no longings. One day at dinner after the pregnancy had gone on for some months her mother suddenly put down her fork, exclaiming: "I have never asked you what longing you have!" She replied with truth that she had none, her days and her nights being occupied with suffering. "No *envie!*" said the mother, "such a thing was never heard of. I must speak to your mother-in-law." The two old ladies consulted anxiously and explained to the young mother how an unsatisfied longing might produce a monstrous child, and the husband also now began to ask her every day what she longed for. Her sister-in-law, moreover, brought her all sorts of stories of children born with appalling mother's marks due to this cause. She became frightened and began to wonder what she most wanted, but could think of nothing. At last, when eating a pastille flavored with pineapple, it occurred to her that pineapple is an excellent fruit, and one, moreover, which she had never seen, for at that time it was extremely rare. Thereupon she began to long for pineapple, and all the more when she was told that at that season they could not be obtained. She now began to feel that she must have pineapple or die, and her husband ran all over Paris, vainly offering twenty louis for a pineapple. At last he succeeded in obtaining one through the kindness of Mme. Bonaparte, and drove home furiously just as his wife, always talking of pineapples, had gone to bed. He entered the room with the pineapple, to the great satisfaction of the Duchess's mother. (In one of her own pregnancies, it appears, she longed in vain for cherries in January, and the child was born with a mark on her body resembling a cherry—in scientific terminology, a *nævus*.) The Duchess effusively thanked her husband and wished to eat of the fruit immediately, but her husband stopped her and said that Corvisart, the famous physician, had told him that she must on no

[1] Arthur Giles, "The Longings of Pregnant Women," *Transactions Obstetrical Society of London*, vol. xxxv, 1893.

account touch it at night, as it was extremely indigestible. She promised not to do so, and spent the night in caressing the pineapple. In the morning the husband came and cut up the fruit, presenting it to her in a porcelain bowl. Suddenly, however, there was a revulsion of feeling; she felt that she could not possibly eat pineapple; persuasion was useless; the fruit had to be taken away and the windows opened, for the very smell of it had become odious. The Duchess adds that henceforth, throughout her life, though still liking the flavor, she was only able to eat pineapple by doing a sort of violence to herself. (*Mémories de la Duchesse d'Abrantès*, vol. iii, Chapter VIII.) It should be added that, in old age, the Duchess d'Abrantès appears to have become insane.

The influence of suggestion must certainly be accepted as, at all events, increasing and emphasizing the tendency to longings. It can scarcely, however, be regarded as a radical and adequate explanation of the phenomenon generally. If it is a matter of auto-suggestion due to a tradition, then we should expect to find longings most frequent and most pronounced in multiparous women, who are best acquainted with the tradition and best able to experience all that is expected of a pregnant woman. But, as a matter of fact, the women who have borne most children are precisely those who are least likely to be affected by the longings which tradition demands they should manifest. Giles has shown that longings occur much more frequently in the first than in any subsequent pregnancy; there is a regular decrease with the increase in number of pregnancies until in women with ten or more children the longings scarcely occur at all.

We must probably regard longings as based on a physiological and psychic tendency which is of universal extension and almost or quite normal. They are known throughout Europe and were known to the medical writers of antiquity. Old Indian as well as old Jewish physicians recognized them. They have been noted among many savage races to-day: among the Indians of North and South America, among the peoples of the Nile and the Soudan, in the Malay archipelago.[1] In Europe they are most

---

[1] Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, Chapter XXX.

common among the women of the people, living simple and natural lives.[1]

The true normal relationship of the longings of pregnancy is with the impulsive and often irresistible longings for food delicacies which are apt to overcome children, and in girls often persist or revive through adolescence and even beyond. Such sudden fits of greediness belong to those kind of normal psychic manifestations which are on the verge of the abnormal into which they occasionally pass. They may occur, however, in healthy, well-bred, and well-behaved children who, under the stress of the sudden craving, will, without compunction and apparently without reflection, steal the food they long for or even steal from their parents the money to buy it. The food thus seized by a well-nigh irresistible craving is nearly always a fruit. Fruit is usually doled out to children in small quantities as a luxury, but we are descended from primitive human peoples and still more remote ape-like ancestors, by whom fruit was in its season eaten copiously, and it is not surprising that when that season comes round the child, more sensitive than the adult to primitive influences, should sometimes experience the impulse of its ancestors with overwhelming intensity, all the more so if, as is probable, the craving is to some extent the expression of a physiological need.

Sanford Bell, who has investigated the food impulses of children in America, finds that girls have a greater number of likes and dislikes in foods than boys of the same age, though at the same time they have less dislikes to some foods than boys. The proclivity for sweets and fruits shows itself as soon as a child begins to eat solids. The chief fruits liked are oranges, bananas, apples, peaches, and pears. This strong preference for fruits lasts till the age of 13 or 14, though relatively weaker from 10 to 13. In girls, however, Bell notes the significant fact from our present point of view that at mid-adolescence there is a revived taste for sweets and fruits. He believes that the growth of children in taste in foods recapitulates the experience of the race. (S. Bell, "An Introductory Study of the Psychology of Foods." *Pedagogical Seminary*, March, 1904.)

---

[1] Thus, in Cornwall, "to be in the longing way" is a popular symonym for pregnancy.

The heightened nervous impressionability of pregnancy would appear to arouse into activity those primitive impulses which are liable to occur in childhood and in the unmarried girl continue to the nubile age. It is a significant fact that the longings of pregnant women are mainly for fruit, and notably for so wholesome a fruit as the apple, which may very well have a beneficial effect on the system of the pregnant woman. Giles, in his tabulation of the foods longed for by 300 pregnant women, found that the fruit group was by far the largest, furnishing 79 cases; apples were far away at the head, occurring in 34 cases out of the 99 who had longings, while oranges followed at a distance (with 13 cases), and in the vegetable group tomatoes came first (with 6 cases). Several women declared "I could have lived on apples," "I was eating apples all day," "I used to sit up in bed eating apples."[1] Pregnant women appear seldom to long for the possession of objects outside the edible class, and it seems doubtful whether they have any special tendency to kleptomania. Pinard has pointed out that neither Lasègue nor Lunier, in their studies of kleptomania, have mentioned a single shop robbery committed by a pregnant woman.[2] Brouardel has indeed found such cases, but the object stolen was usually a food.

A further significant fact connecting the longings of pregnant women with the longings of children is to be found in the fact that they occur mainly in young women. We have, indeed, no tabulation of the ages of pregnant women who have manifested longings, but Giles has clearly shown that these chiefly

---

[1] The apple, wherever it is known, has nearly always been a sacred or magic fruit (as J. F. Campbell shows, *Popular Tales of West Highlands*, vol. I, p. lxxv. *et seq.*), and the fruit of the forbidden tree which tempted Eve is always popularly imagined to be an apple. One may perhaps refer in this connection to the fact that at Rome and elsewhere the testicles have been called apples. I may add that we find a curious proof of the recognition of the feminine love of apples in an old Portuguese ballad, "Donna Guimar," in which a damsel puts on armour and goes to the wars; her sex is suspected and as a test, she is taken into an orchard, but Donna Guimar is too wary to fall into the trap, and turning away from the apples plucks a citron.

[2] A. Pinard, Art. "Grossesse," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, p. 138. On the subject of violent, criminal and abnormal impulses during pregnancy, see Cumston, "Pregnancy and Crime," *American Journal Obstetrics*, December, 1903.

occur in primiparæ, and steadily and rapidly decrease in each successive pregnancy. This fact, otherwise somewhat difficult of explanation, is natural if we look upon the longings of pregnancy as a revival of those of childhood. It certainly indicates also that we can by no means regard these longings as exclusively the expression of a physiological craving, for in that case they would be liable to occur in any pregnancy unless, indeed, it is argued that with each successive pregnancy the woman becomes less sensitive to her own physiological state.

There has been a frequent tendency, more especially among primitive peoples, to regard a pregnant woman's longings as something sacred and to be indulged, all the more, no doubt, as they are usually of a simple and harmless character. In the Black Forest, according to Ploss and Bartels, a pregnant woman may go freely into other people's gardens and take fruit, provided she eats it on the spot, and very similar privileges are accorded to her elsewhere. Old English opinion, as reflected, for instance, in Ben Jonson's plays (as Dr. Harriet C. B. Alexander has pointed out), regards the pregnant woman as not responsible for her longings, and Kiernan remarks ("Kleptomania and Collectivism," *Alienist and Neurologist*, November, 1902) that this is in "a most natural and just view." In France at the Revolution a law of the 28th Germinal, in the year III, to some extent admitted the irresponsibility of the pregnant woman generally,—following the classic precedent, by which a woman could not be brought before a court of justice so long as she was pregnant,—but the Napoleonic code, never tender to women, abrogated this. Pinard does not consider that the longings of pregnant women are irresistible, and, consequently, regards the pregnant woman as responsible. This is probably the view most widely held. In any case these longings seldom come up for medico-legal consideration.

The phenomena of the longings of pregnancy are linked to the much more obscure and dubious phenomena of the influence of maternal impressions on the child within the womb. It is true, indeed, that there is no real connection whatever between these two groups of manifestations, but they have been so widely and for so long closely associated in the popular mind that it is convenient to pass directly from one to the other. The same name is sometimes given to the two manifestations; thus in France a pregnant longing is an *envie*, while a mother's mark on the child is also called an *envie*, because it is supposed to be due to the mother's unsatisfied longing.

The conception of a "maternal impression" (the German *Versehen*) rests on the belief that a powerful mental influence working on the mother's mind may produce an impression, either general or definite, on the child she is carrying. It makes a great deal of difference whether the effect of the impression on the child is general, or definite and circumscribed. It is not difficult to believe that a general effect—even, as Sir Arthur Mitcheli first gave good reason for believing, idiocy—may be produced on the child by strong and prolonged emotional influence working on the mother, because such general influence may be transmitted through a deteriorated blood-stream. But it is impossible at present to understand how a definite and limited influence working on the mother could produce a definite and limited effect on the child, for there are no channels of nervous communications for the passage of such influences. Our difficulty in conceiving of the process must, however, be put aside if the fact itself can be demonstrated by convincing evidence.

In order to illustrate the nature of maternal impressions, I will summarize a few cases which I have collected from the best medical periodical literature during the past fifteen years. I have exercised no selection and in no way guarantee the authenticity of the alleged facts or the alleged explanation. They are merely examples to illustrate a class of cases published from time to time by medical observers in medical journals of high repute.

Early in pregnancy a woman found her pet rabbit killed by a cat which had gnawed off the two forepaws, leaving ragged stumps; she was for a long time constantly thinking of this. Her child was born with deformed feet, one foot with only two toes, the other three, the os calcis in both feet being either absent or little developed. (G. B. Beale. Tottenham, *Lancet*, May 4, 1889).

Three months and a half before birth of the child the father, a glazier, fell through the roof of a hothouse, severely cutting his right arm, so that he was lying in the infirmary for a long time, and it was doubtful whether the hand could be saved. The child was healthy, but on the flexor surface of the radial side of the right forearm just above the wrist—the same spot as the father's injury—there was a nævus the size of a sixpence. (W. Russell, Paisley, *Lancet*, May 11, 1889.)

At the beginning of pregnancy a woman was greatly scared by being kicked over by a frightened cow she was milking; she hung on to the animal's teats, but thought she would be trampled to death, and

was ill and nervous for weeks afterwards. The child was a monster, with a fleshy substance—seeming to be prolonged from the spinal cord and to represent the brain—projecting from the floor of the skull. Both doctor and nurse were struck by the resemblance to a cow's teats before they knew the woman's story, and this was told by the woman immediately after delivery and before she knew to what she had given birth. (A. Ross Paterson, Reversby, Lincolnshire, *Lancet*, September 29, 1889.)

During the second month of pregnancy the mother was terrified by a bullock as she was returning from market. The child reached full term and was a well-developed male, stillborn. Its head "exactly resembled a miniature cow's head;" the occipital bone was absent, the parietals only slightly developed, the eyes were placed at the top of the frontal bone, which was quite flat, with each of its superior angles twisted into a rudimentary horn. (J. T. Hislop, Tavistock, Devon, *Lancet*, November 1, 1890.)

When four months pregnant the mother, a multipara of 30, was startled by a black and white collie dog suddenly pushing against her and rushing out when she opened the door. This preyed on her mind, and she felt sure her child would be marked. The whole of the child's right thigh was encircled by a shining black mole, studded with white hairs; there was another mole on the spine of the left scapula. (C. F. Williamson, Horley, Surrey, *Lancet*, October 11, 1890.)

A lady in comfortable circumstances, aged 24, not markedly emotional, with one child, in all respects healthy, early in her pregnancy saw a man begging whose arms and legs were "all doubled up." This gave her a shock, but she hoped no ill effects would follow. The child was an encephalous monster, with the extremities rigidly flexed and the fingers clenched, the feet almost sole to sole. In the next pregnancy she frequently passed a man who was a partial cripple, but she was not unduly depressed; the child was a counterpart of the last, except that the head was normal. The next child was strong and well formed. (C. W. Chapman, London, *Lancet*, October 18, 1890.)

When the pregnant mother was working in a hayfield her husband threw at her a young hare he had found in the hay; it struck her on the cheek and neck. Her daughter has on the left cheek an oblong patch of soft dark hair, in color and character clearly resembling the fur of a very young hare. (A. Mackay, Port Appin, N. B., *Lancet*, December 19, 1891. The writer records also four other cases which have happened in his experience.)

When the mother was pregnant her husband had to attend to a sow who could not give birth to her pigs; he bled her freely, cutting a notch out of both ears. His wife insisted on seeing the sow. The helix of each ear of her child at birth was gone, for nearly or quite half an inch, as if cut purposely. (R. P. Roons, *Medical World*, 1894.)

A lady when pregnant was much interested in a story in which one of the characters had a supernumerary digit, and this often recurred to her mind. Her baby had a supernumerary digit on one hand. (J. Jenkyns, Aberdeen, *British Medical Journal*, March 2, 1895. The writer also records another case.)

When pregnant the mother saw in the forest a new-born fawn which was a double monstrosity. Her child was a similar double monstrosity (*cephalothora copagus*). (Hartmann, *Münchener Medicinlsches Wochenschrift*, No. 9, 1895.)

A well developed woman of 30, who had ten children in twelve years, in the third month of her tenth pregnancy saw a child run over by a street car, which crushed the upper and back part of its head. Her own child was anencephalic and acranial, with entire absence of vault of skull. (F. A. Stahl, *American Journal of Obstetrics*, April, 1896.)

A healthy woman with no skin blemish had during her third pregnancy a violent appetite for sunfish. During or after the fourth month her husband, as a surprise, brought her some sunfish alive, placing them in a pail of water in the porch. She stumbled against the pail and the shock caused the fish to flap over the pail and come in violent contact with her leg. The cold wriggling fish produced a nervous shock, but she attached no importance to this. The child (a girl) had at birth a mark of bronze pigment resembling a fish with the head uppermost (photograph given) on the corresponding part of the same leg. Daughter's health good; throughout life she has had a strong craving for sunfish, which she has sometimes eaten till she has vomited from repletion. (C. F. Gardiner, Colorado Springs, *American Journal Obstetrics*, February, 1898.)

The next case occurred in a bitch. A thoroughbred fox terrier bitch strayed and was discovered a day or two later with her right foreleg broken. The limb was set under chloroform with the help of Röntgen rays, and the dog made a good recovery. Several weeks later she gave birth to a puppy with a right foreleg that was ill-developed and minus the paw. (J. Booth, Cork, *British Medical Journal*, September 16, 1899.)

Four months before the birth of her child a woman with four healthy children and no history of deformity in the family fell and cut her left wrist severely against a broken bowl; she had a great fright and shock. Her child, otherwise perfect, was born without left hand and wrist, the stump of arm terminating at lower end of radius and ulna. (G. Ainslie Johnston, Ambleside, *British Medical Journal*, April 18, 1903.)

The belief in the reality of the transference of strong mental or physical impressions on the mother into phy-

sical changes in the child she is bearing is very ancient and widespread. Most writers on the subject begin with the book of Genesis and the astute device of Jacob in influencing the color of his lambs by mental impressions on his ewes. But the belief exists among even more primitive people than the early Hebrews, and in all parts of the world.[1] Among the Greeks there is a trace of the belief in Hippocrates, the first of the world's great physicians, while Soranus, the most famous of ancient gynæcologists, states the matter in the most precise manner, with instances in proof. The belief continued to persist unquestioned throughout the Middle Ages. The first author who denied the influence of maternal impressions altogether appears to have been the famous anatomist, Realdus Columbus, who was a professor at Padua, Pisa, and Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the same century, however, another and not less famous Neapolitan, Della Porta, for the first time formulated a definite theory of maternal impressions. A little later, early in the seventeenth century, a philosophic physician at Padua, Fortunatus Licetus, took up an intermediate position which still finds, perhaps reasonably, a great many adherents. He recognized that a very frequent cause of malformation in the child is to be found in morbid antenatal conditions, but at the same time was not prepared to deny absolutely and in every case the influence of maternal impression on such conditions. Malebranche, the Platonic philosopher, allowed the greatest extension to the power of the maternal imagination. In the eighteenth century, however, the new spirit of free inquiry, of radical criticism, and unfettered logic, led to a sceptical attitude toward this ancient belief then flourishing vigorously.[2] In 1727, a few years after Malebranche's death, James Blondel, a physician of extreme acuteness, who had

---

[1] See especially Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XXXI. Ballantyne in his work on the pathology of the fœtus adds Loango negroes, the Eskimo and the ancient Japanese.

[2] In 1731 Schurig, in his *Syllepsilogia*, devoted more than a hundred pages (cap. IX) to summarizing a vast number of curious cases of maternal impressions leading to birth-marks of all kinds.

been born in Paris, was educated at Leyden, and practiced in London, published the first methodical and thorough attack on the doctrine of maternal impressions, *The Strength of Imagination of Pregnant Women Examined,* and exercised his great ability in ridiculing it. Haller, Roederer, and Sömmering followed in the steps of Blondel, and were either sceptical or hostile to the ancient belief. Blumenbach, however, admitted the influence of maternal impressions. Erasmus Darwin, as well as Goethe in his *Wahlverwandtshaften,* even accepted the influence of paternal impressions on the child. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of physicians were inclined to relegate maternal impressions to the region of superstition. Yet the exceptions were of notable importance. Burdach, when all deductions were made, still found it necessary to retain the belief in maternal impressions, and Von Baer, the founder of embryology, also accepted it, supported by a case, occurring in his own sister, which he was able to investigate before the child's birth. L. W. T. Bischoff, also, while submitting the doctrine to acute criticism, found it impossible to reject maternal impressions absolutely, and he remarked that the number of adherents to the doctrine was showing a tendency to increase rather than diminish. Johannes Müller, the founder of modern physiology in Germany, declared himself against it, and his influence long prevailed; Valentin, Rudolf Wagner, and Emil du Bois-Reymond were on the same side. On the other hand various eminent gynæcologists—Litzmann, Roth, Hennig, etc.—have argued in favor of the reality of maternal impressions.[1]

The long conflict of opinion which has taken place over this opinion has still left the matter unsettled. The acutest critics

---

[1] J. W. Ballantyne has written an excellent history of the doctrine of maternal impressions, reprinted in his *Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Embryo,* 1904, Chapter IX; he gives a bibliography of 381 items. In Germany the history of the question has been written by Dr. Iwan Bloch (under the pseudonym of Gerhard von Welsenburg), *Das Versehen der Frauen,* 1899. *Cf.,* in French, G. Variot, "Origine des Préjugés Populaires sur les Envies," *Bulletin Société d'Anthropologie,* Paris, June 18, 1891. Variot rejects the doctrine absolutely, Bloch accepts it, Ballantyne speaks cautiously.

of the ancient belief constantly conclude the discussion with an expression of doubt and uncertainty. Even if the majority of authorities are inclined to reject maternal impressions, the scientific eminence of those who accept them makes a decisive opinion difficult. The arguments against such influence are perfectly sound: (1) it is a primitive belief of unscientific origin; (2) it is impossible to conceive how such influence can operate since there is no nervous connection between mother and child; (3) comparatively few cases have been submitted to severe critical investigation; (4) it is absurd to ascribe developmental defects to influences which arise long after the fœtus had assumed its definite shape[1]; (5) in any case the phenomenon must be rare, for William Hunter could not find a coincidence between maternal impressions and fœtal marks through a period of several years, and Bischoff found no case in 11,000 deliveries. These statements embody the whole of the argument against maternal impressions, yet it is clear that they do not settle the matter. Edgar, in a manual of obstetrics which is widely regarded as a standard work, states that this is "yet a mooted question."[2] Ballantyne, again, in a discussion of this influence at the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society, summarizing the result of a year's inquiry, concluded that it is still *"sub judice."* In a subsequent discussion of the question he has somewhat modified his opinion, and is inclined to deny that definite impressions on the pregnant woman's mind can cause similar defects in the fœtus; they are "accidental coincidences," but he adds that a few of the

---

[1] J. G. Kiernan has shown how many of the alleged cases are negatived by the failure to take this fact into consideration. (*Journal of American Medical Association*, December 9, 1899.)

[2] J. Clifton Edgar, *The Practice of Obstetrics*, second edition, 1904, p. 296. In an important discussion of the question at the American Gynæcological Society in 1886, introduced by Fordyce Barker, various eminent gynæcologists declared in favor of the doctrine, more or less cautiously. *Transactions of the American Gynæcological Society*, vol. xi, 1886, pp. 152-196.) Gould and Pyle, bringing forward some of the data on the question (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, pp. 81, *et seq.*) state that the reality of the influence of maternal impressions seems fully established. On the other side, see G. W. Cook, *American Journal of Obstetrics*, September, 1889, and H. F. Lewis, *ib.*, July, 1899.

[3] *Transactions Edinburgh Obstetrical Society*, vol. xvii, 1892.

cases are difficult to explain away. At the same time he fully believes that prolonged and strongly marked mental states of the mother may affect the development of the fœtus in her uterus, causing vascular and nutritive disturbances, irregularities of development, and idiocy.[1]

Whether and in how far mental impressions on the mother can produce definite mental and emotional disposition in the child is a special aspect of the question to which scarcely any inquiry has been devoted. So distinguished a biologist as Mr. A. W. Wallace has, however, called attention to this point, bringing forward evidence on the question and emphasizing the need of further investigation. "Such transmission of mental influence," he remarks, "will hardly be held to be impossible or even very improbable." (A. W. Wallace, "Prenatal Influences on Character," *Nature*, August 24, 1893.)

It has already been pointed out that a large number of cases of fœtal deformities, supposed to be due to maternal impressions, cannot possibly be so caused because the impression took place at a period when the development of the fœtus must already have been decided. In this connection, however, it must be noted that Dabney has observed a relationship between the time of supposed mental impressions and the nature of the actual defect which is of considerable significance as an argument in favor of the influence of mental impressions. He tabulated 90 carefully reported cases from recent medical literature, and found that 21 of them were concerned with defects of structure of the lips and palate. In all but 2 of these 21 the defect was referred to an impression occurring within the first three months of pregnancy. This is an important point as showing that the assigned cause really falls within a period when a defect of development actually could produce the observed result, although the person reporting the cases was in many instances manifestly ignorant of the details of embryology and teratology. There was no such preponderance of early impressions among the defects of skin and hair which might well, so far as development is concerned, have been caused at a later period; here, in 7 out

---

[1] J. W. Ballantyne, *Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Embryo*, p. 45.

of 15 cases, it was distinctly stated that the impression was made later than the fourth month.[1]

It would seem, on the whole, that while the influence of maternal impressions in producing definite effects on the child within the womb has by no means been positively demonstrated, we are not entitled to reject it with any positive assurance. Even if we accept it, however, it must remain, for the present, an inexplicable fact; the *modus operandi* we can scarcely even guess at. General influences from the mother on the child we can easily conceive of as conveyed by the mother's blood; we can even suppose that the modified blood might act specifically on one particular kind of tissue. We can, again, as suggested by Féré, very well believe that the maternal emotions act upon the womb and produce various kinds and degrees of pressure on the child within, so that the apparently active movements of the fœtus may be really consecutive on unconscious maternal excitations.[2] We may also believe that, as suggested by John Thomson, there are slight incoördinations *in utero,* a kind of developmental neurosis, produced by some slight lack of harmony of whatever origin, and leading to the production of malformations.[3] We know, finally, that, as Féré and others have repeatedly demonstrated during recent years by experiments on chickens, etc., very subtle agents, even odors, may profoundly affect embryonic development and produce deformity. But how the mother's psychic disposition can, apart from heredity, affect specifically the physical conformation or even the psychic disposition of the child within her womb must remain for the present an insoluble mystery, even if we feel disposed to conclude that in some cases such action seems to be indicated.

In comprehending such a connection, however at present undemonstrated, it may well be borne in mind that the relationship of the mother to the child within her womb is of a uniquely intimate character. It is

[1] W. C. Dabney, "Maternal Impressions," Keating's *Cyclopædia of Diseases of Children,* vol. i. 1889, pp. 191-216.

[2] Féré, *Sensation et Mouvement,* Chapter XIV, "Sur la Psychologie du Fœtus."

[3] J. Thomson, "Defective Co-ordination in Utero," *British Medical Journal,* September 6, 1902.

of interest in this connection to quote some remarks by an able psychologist, Dr. Henry Rutgers Marshall; the remarks are not less interesting for being brought forward without any connection with the question of maternal impressions: "It is true that, so far as we know, the nervous system of the embryo never has a direct connection with the nervous system of the mother: nevertheless, as there is a reciprocity of reaction between the physical body of the mother and its embryonic parasite, the relation of the embryonic nervous system to the nervous system of the mother is not very far removed from the relation of the pre-eminent part of the nervous system of a man to some minor nervous system within his body which is to a marked extent dissociated from the whole neural mass.

"Correspondingly, then, and within the consciousness of the mother, there develops a new little minor consciousness which, although but lightly integrated with the mass of her consciousness, nevertheless has its part in her consciousness taken as a whole, much as the psychic correspondents of the action of the nerve which govern the secretions of the glands of the body have their part in her consciousness taken as a whole.

"It is very much as if the optic ganglia developed fully in themselves, without any closer connection with the rest of the brain than existed at their first appearance. They would form a little complex nervous system almost but not quite apart from the brain system; and it would be difficult to deny them a consciousness of their own; which would indeed form part of the whole consciousness of the individual, but which would be in a manner self-dependent." It must, if this is so, be said that before birth, on the psychic side, the embryo's activities "form part of a complex consciousness which is that of the mother and embryo together." "Without subscribing to the strange stories of telepathy, of the solemn apparition of a person somewhere at the moment of his death a thousand miles away, of the unquiet ghost haunting the scenes of its bygone hopes and endeavors, one may ask" (with the author of the address in medicine at the Leicester gathering of the British Medical Association, *British Medical Journal*, July 29, 1905) "whether two brains cannot be so tuned in sympathy as to transmit and receive a subtile transfusion of mind without mediation of sense. Considering what is implied by the human brain with its countless millions of cells, its complexities of minute structure, its innumerable chemical compositions, and the condensed forces in its microscopic and ultramicroscopic elements—the whole a sort of microcosm of cosmic forces to which no conceivable compound of electric batteries is comparable; considering, again, that from an electric station waves of energy radiate through the viewless air to be caught up by a fit receiver a thousand miles distant, it is not inconceivable that the human brain may send off still more sub-

tile waves to be accepted and interpreted by the fitly tuned receiving brain. Is it, after all, mere fancy that a mental atmosphere or effluence emanates from one person to affect another, either soothing sympathetically or irritating antipathically?" These remarks (like Dr. Marshall's) were made without reference to maternal impressions, but it may be pointed out that under no conceivable circumstance could we find a brain in so virginal and receptive a state as is the child's in the womb.

On the whole we see that pregnancy induces a psychic state which is at once, in healthy persons, one of full development and vigor, and at the same time one which, especially in individuals who are slightly abnormal, is apt to involve a state of strained or overstrained nervous tension and to evoke various manifestations which are in many respects still imperfectly understood. Even the specifically sexual emotions tend to be heightened, more especially during the earlier period of pregnancy. In 24 cases of pregnancy in which the point was investigated by Harry Campbell, sexual feeling was decidedly increased in 8, in one case (of a woman aged 31 who had had four children) being indeed only present during pregnancy, when it was considerable; in only 7 cases was there diminution or disappearance of sexual feeling.[1] Pregnancy may produce mental depression;[2] but on the other hand it frequently leads to a change of the most favorable character in the mental and general well-being. Some women indeed are only well during pregnancy. It is remarkable that some women who habitually suffer from various nervous troubles—neuralgias, gastralgia, headache, insomnia—are only free from them at this moment. This "paradox of gestation," as Vinay has termed it, is specially marked in the hysterical and those suffering from slight nervous disorders, but it is by no means universal, so that although it is possible, Vinay states, to confirm the opinion of the ancients as

---

[1] H. Campbell, *Nervous Organization of Man and Woman*, p. 206; *cf.* Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 264. Many authorities, from Soranus of Ephesus onward, consider, however, that sexual relations should cease during pregnancy, and certainly during the later months. *Cf.* Brenot, *De l'influence de la copulation pendant la grossesse*, 1903.

[2] Bianchi terms this fairly common condition the neurasthenia of pregnancy.

to the beneficial action of marriage on hysteria, that is only true of slight cases and scarcely enables us to counsel marriage in hysteria.[1] Even a woman's intelligence is sometimes heightened by pregnancy, and Tarnier, as quoted by Vinay, knew many women whose intelligence, habitually somewhat obtuse, has only risen to the normal level during pregnancy.[2] The pregnant woman has reached the climax of womanhood; she has attained to that state toward which the periodically recurring menstrual wave has been drifting her at regular intervals throughout her sexual life[3]; she has achieved that function for which her body has been constructed, and her mental and emotional disposition adapted, through countless ages.

And yet, as we have seen, our ignorance of the changes effected by the occurrence of this supremely important event—even on the physical side—still remains profound. Pregnancy, even for us, the critical and unprejudiced children of a civilized age, still remains, as for the children of more primitive ages, a mystery. Conception itself is a mystery for the primitive man, and may be produced by all sorts of subtle ways apart from sexual connection, even by smelling a flower.[4] The pregnant woman

---

[1] Vinay, *Traité des Maladies de la Grossesse*, 1894, pp. 51, 577; Mongeri, "Nervenkrankungen und Schwangerschaft," *Allegemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, bd. LVIII, Heft 5. Haig remarks (*Uric Acid*, sixth edition, p. 151) that during normal pregnancy diseases with excess of uric acid in the blood (headaches, fits, mental depression, dyspepsia, asthma) are absent, and considers that the common idea that women do not easily take colds, fevers, etc., at this time is well founded.

[2] Founding his remarks on certain anatomical changes and on a suggestion of Engel's, Donaldson observes: "It is impossible to escape the conclusion that in women natural education is complete only with maternity, which we know to effect some slight changes in the sympathetic system and possibly the spinal cord, and which may be fairly laid under suspicion of causing more structural modifications than are at present recognized." H. H. Donaldson, *The Growth of the Brain*, p. 352.

[3] The state of menstruation is in many respects an approximation to that of pregnancy; see, *e.g.*, Edgar's *Practice of Obstetrics*, plates 6 and 7, showing the resemblance of the menstrual changes in the breasts and the external sexual parts to the changes of pregnancy; *cf.* Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, Chapter XI, "The Functional Periodicity of Woman."

[4] Thus the gypsies say of an unmarried woman who becomes pregnant, "She has smelt the moon-flower"—a flower believed to grow on the so-called moon-mountain and to possess the property of impregnating by its smell. Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, bd. I, Chapter XXVII.

was surrounded by ceremonies, by reverence and fear, often shut up in a place apart.[1] Her presence, her exhalations, were of extreme potency; even in some parts of Europe to-day, as in the Walloon districts of Belgium, a pregnant woman must not kiss a child for her breath is dangerous, or urinate on plants for she will kill them.[2] The mystery has somewhat changed its form; it still remains. The future of the race is bound up with our efforts to fathom the mystery of pregnancy. "The early days of human life," it has been truly said, "are entirely one with the mother. On her manner of life—eating, drinking, sleeping, and thinking—what greatness may not hang?"[3] Schopenhauer observed, with misapplied horror, that there is nothing a woman is less modest about than the state of pregnancy, while Weininger exclaims: "Never yet has a pregnant woman given expression in any form—poem, memoirs, or gynæcological monograph—to her sensations or feelings."[4] Yet when we contemplate the mystery of pregnancy and all that it involves, how trivial all such considerations become! We are here lifted into a region where our highest intelligence can only lead us to adoration, for we are gazing at a process in which the operations of Nature become one with the divine task of Creation.

---

[1] This was a sound instinct, for it is now recognized as an extremely important part of puericulture that a woman should rest at all events during the latter part of pregnancy; see, *e.g.*, Pinard, *Gazette des Hôpitaux*, November 28, 1895, and *Annales de Gynécologie*, August, 1898.

[2] Ploss and Bartels, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIX; Κρυπτάδια, vol. viii, p. 143.

[3] Griffith Wilkin, *British Medical Journal*, April 8, 1905.

[4] Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter*, p. 107. I may remark that a recent book, Ellis Meredith's *Heart of My Heart*, is devoted to a seemingly autobiographical account of a pregnant woman's emotions and ideas. The relations of maternity to intellectual work have been carefully and impartially investigated by Adèle Gerhard and Helena Simon, who seem to conclude that the conflict between the inevitable claims of maternity and the scarcely less inevitable claims of the intellectual life cannot be avoided.

APPENDIX.

HISTORIES OF SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT.

HISTORY I.—The following narrative has been written by a university man trained in psychology:—

So far as I have been able to learn, none of my ancestors for at least three generations have suffered from any nervous or mental disease; and of those more remote I can learn nothing at all. It appears probable, then, that any peculiarities of my own sexual development must be explained by reference to the somewhat peculiar environment.

I was the first child and was, naturally, somewhat spoiled—a process which tended to increase my natural tendency to sentimentality. On the other hand, I was shy and undemonstrative with all except my nearest relatives, and with them as well after my seventh or eighth year. And here it may be well to describe my "mental type," as this is probably the most important factor in determining the direction of one's mental development. Of mental types the "visual" is, of course, by far the most common, but in my own case visual imagery was never strong or vivid, and has constantly grown weaker. The dominant part has been played by tactual, muscular and organic sensations, placing me as one of the "tactual motor" type, with strong "verbal motor" and "organic" tendencies. In reading a novel I seldom have a mental picture of the character or situation, but easily imagine the sensations (except the visual) and feel something of the emotions described. When telling of any event I have a strong impulse to make the movements described and to gesticulate. I remember events in terms of movements and the words to be used in giving an account of them; and in thinking of any subject I can feel the movements of the larynx and, in a less degree, of the lips and tongue that would be involved in putting my thoughts into words. I am easily moved to emotion, even to sentimentality, but am seldom if ever deeply affected and am so averse to any display of my feelings that I have the reputation among my acquaintances of being cold, unfeeling and unemotional. I am naturally quiet and bashful to a degree, which has rendered all forms of social intercourse painful through much of my life, and this in spite of a real longing to associate with people on terms of intimacy. As a child I was sensitive and solitary; later I became morbid as well. In a character so constituted the feelings and impulses

of the moment are likely to rule, and such has been my constant experience, though a large element of obstinacy in my character has kept me from appearing impulsive, and slight influences will bring about reactions which seem out of all proportion to their cause. For instance, I cannot, even now, read the more erotic of Boccaccio's stories without a good deal of sexual excitement and restlessness, which can be relieved only by vigorous exercise or masturbation.

The first ten years of my life were passed on a farm, most of the time without playmates or companions of my own age.

As far back as I can remember I indulged in elaborate day-dreams in which I figured as the chief character along with a few others who were chiefly creatures of my imagination, but at times borrowed from reality. These others were always boys until I learned the proper function of the sexual organs, when girls usurped the whole stage in numbers beyond the limits of a Turkish harem. Even at school my day-dreams were scarcely interrupted, for my shyness and timidity made me very unpopular among my schoolmates, who tormented me after the fashion of small boys or neglected me, as the spirit moved them. To make matters worse, I was brought up under the "sheltered life system," kept carefully away from the "bad boys," which category included nearly all the youngsters of the community, and deluged with moral homilies and tirades on things religious until I was thoroughly convinced that goodness and discomfort, the right and the unpleasant, were strictly synonymous; and I was kept through much of the time facing the prospect of an early death, to be followed by the good old orthodox hell or the equal miseries of its gorgeous alternative. I may say in all seriousness that this is a conservative and unexaggerated account of one phase of my early life—the one, I think, that tended most strongly to make me introspective and morbid. Later on, when I was trying to abandon the habit of masturbation, this early training greatly increased the despair I felt at each successive failure.

The first traces of sexual excitement that I can now recall occurred when I was about 4 years old. I had erections quite frequently and found a mild pleasure in fondling my genitals when these occurred, especially just after waking in the morning. I had no notion of an orgasm, and never succeeded in producing one until I was 13 years of age. In the summer of my sixth year I experienced pleasurable sensations in daubing my genitals with oil and then fondling or rubbing them, but I abandoned this amusement after getting some irritating substance into the meatus. A year later my mother warned me that playing with my penis would "make me very sick," but since experience had taught me that this was not true, my conviction that what was forbidden must necessarily be pleasant, sent me directly to my favorite retreat in the barn loft to experiment. Since, however, I failed, in spite of persistent

effort, to produce any such pleasant results as I had expected, I soon gave up my attempts for other kinds of amusement.

A few months after this, in midsummer, a very sensual servant girl began a series of attempts to satisfy herself sexually with my help. She came nearly every day into the loft where I was playing and did her best to initiate me into the mysteries of sexual relationships, but I proved a sorry pupil. She would rub my penis until it became erect and then, placing me upon her, would insert the penis in her vulva and make movements of her thighs and hips calculated to cause friction. At times she varied the program by lying upon me and embracing me passionately. I can remember distinctly her quick, gasping breath and convulsive movements. She generally ended the seance by persuading me to perform cunnilingus upon her. None of these performances were intelligible to me and I invariably protested against being compelled to leave my play to amuse her. Even her fondling of my genitals annoyed me; and, stranger still, I preferred satisfying her by cunnilingus to the attempts at coitus.

It was nearly a year later that I experienced the first unmistakable manifestations of the sexual impulse—erections accompanied by lustful feeling and vague desires of whose proper satisfaction I had no notion whatever. It never occurred to me to associate my experiences with the servant girl with these new sensations. The peculiar fact about them was that they were generally occasioned by the infliction of pain upon animals. I do not remember how I first discovered that they could be evoked in this way, but I can clearly recollect many of my efforts to arouse this pleasurable excitement by abusing the dog or the cats, or by prodding the calves with a nail set in the end of a broom handle. I seldom manipulated my genitals at this time, and when I did it was for the purpose of causing sexual excitement rather than allaying it.

During this same year I got my first idea of sexual intercourse by watching animals copulate; but my powers of observation must have been limited, for I supposed that the penis of the male entered the anus of the female. In watching the coitus of animals I experienced lively sexual excitement and lustful sensations, located not only in the genitals, but apparently in the anus as well. I often excited myself by imagining myself playing the part of the female animal—a peculiar combination of passive pederasty and bestiality. A servant girl put me to right on the error of observation just mentioned, but neglected to apply the principle to human animals, and I remained for another year in complete ignorance of the structure of woman's sexual organs and of the intercourse between man and woman. In the meantime I cultivated my fancies of intercourse with animals, often still perversely imagining myself taking the part of the female; and the notion of such

relationships gradually became so familiar as to seem possible and desirable. This is especially significant in view of later developments.

Up to my eleventh or twelfth year the erotic element in my day-dreaming varied with the seasons. In the summer it played a dominant part, while in the winter it was almost entirely absent, owing, it may be, to the fact that most of my time was spent indoors or on long, tiresome tramps to and from school, and the further fact that during the winter I saw but little of the animals which had acted as a stimulus to sexual excitement. So little was I troubled in winter and so ignorant was I of normal intercourse that sleeping with a cousin, a girl of about my own age (7 or 8 years), resulted in no addition to my knowledge of things sexual.

It was early in my ninth year that I first learned something of the anatomical difference between man and woman and of the functions of the sexual organs in coitus. These were explained to me by a young male servant, who, however, told me nothing of conception or pregnancy. At first I was very little interested, as it did not immediately occur to me to associate my own erotic experiences with the matter of these revelations; but under the faithful tuition of my new instructor I soon began to desire normal coitus, and my interest in the sexual affairs of animals weakened accordingly. His teachings went still further, for he masturbated before me, then persuaded me to masturbate him, and finally practiced coitus inter femora upon me. He also tried to masturbate me, but was unable to produce an orgasm, though I found the experiment mildly pleasurable.

Early in my eleventh year we left the farm and lived in the city for several months. In the meantime there had been no developments in my sexual life beyond what has already been indicated. In the city I found so much to interest and amuse me that I almost entirely forgot my erotic day-dreams and desires. Though my chief playmates were two girls of about my own age I never thought of attempting sexual intercourse with them, as I might easily have done, for they were much wiser and more experienced in these things than myself. Shortly before the end of our stay in town an older schoolmate explained to me as much of the process of reproduction as is usually known by a precocious youngster of 12 years, but I firmly refused to credit his statements. He adduced the fact of lactation in proof of the correctness of his views, but I had been too thoroughly steeped in supernaturalism to be very amenable to naturalistic evidence of this sort and remained obdurate. But the suggestion stayed with me and perplexed me not a little; when we returned to the farm I began to watch the reproductive process in animals.

The following two years were decidedly unpleasant. I was growing rapidly and was sluggish, awkward and stupid. At school I was more

unpopular than ever and seemed to have a positive genius for doing the wrong thing. On the rare occasions when my companions admitted me to their counsels I was a willing dupe and catspaw, with the result that I was much in trouble with my teachers. Being morbidly sensitive I suffered keenly under these circumstances and, as my health was not at all good, I often made of my frequent headaches excuses to stay at home, where I would lie abed brooding over my small troubles or, more often, dreaming erotic day-dreams and making repeated attempts to produce an orgasm. But though these efforts were accompanied by the most lustful thoughts and my imagination created situations of oriental extravaganee, I was 13 years old when they first met with success. I remember the occasion very distinctly, the more so because I thought of it much and bitterly when shortly afterwards I tried to abandon a habit which the family "doctor book" assured me must result in every variety of damnation. At the moment, however, I was greatly surprised and gratified and tried at once to repeat the delightful sensation, but was unable to do so until the following day. From that time to the present I think I have masturbated an average of ten times per week, and this is certainly a very conservative estimate; for though up to my sixteenth year I could seldom produce an orgasm more than once a day I have often, during the last four or five years, produced it from four to seven times per day without difficulty and this for days and even weeks in succession. During these periods of excessive masturbation very little liquid was ejaculated and the pleasurable sensations were slight or entirely lacking.

From the time when I began masturbating regularly practically my whole interest centered in things pertaining to sex. I read the chapters of the family "doctor book" which treated of sexual matters; my day-dreams were almost exclusively erotic; I sought opportunities to talk about sex-relationships with my schoolmates, with whom I was now slowly getting on better terms; I collected pictures of nude women, learned a great number of obscene stories, read such obscene books as I could obtain and even searched the dictionary for words having a sexual connotation. Up to my fifteenth year, when ejaculation of semen began, there was a strong sadistic coloring to my day-dreams. Through this period, too, my bashfulness in the presence of the opposite sex increased until it reached the point of absurdity.

When fifteen years old I began to practice coitus inter femora on my brother and continued it intermittently for about two years. The experience was disappointing, for I had confidently expected a great increase of pleasure over masturbation in this act; and in casting about for some stronger stimulus I recurred to the forgotten idea of intercourse with animals. I promptly tried to put the idea to a test, but failed several times, and finally succeeded, only to find that the result

fell far short of my expectations. Nevertheless I continued the practice irregularly for about three years—or rather through that part of the three years that I spent at home, for while I was at school opportunity for such indulgence was lacking. Long familiarity with the idea of intercourse with animals had made it impossible for me to feel the disgust with the practice which it inspires in most people; and even the perusal of Exodus xxii: 19 failed to make me abandon it. Firmly as I believed in the Mosaic law the supremacy of the sexual impulse was complete.

As early as my sixteenth year I tried to abandon "self-abuse" in all its forms and have repeatedly made the same effort since that time but never with more than very partial success. On two or three occasions I have stopped for periods of several weeks, but only to begin again and indulge more recklessly than before. The deep depression which followed each failure, and often each act of masturbation, I attributed solely to the loss of semen, leaving out of account the fact that I expected to feel depressed and the utter discouragement and self contempt which accompanied the sense of failure and weakness when, in the face of my resolution, I repeatedly gave way and yielded to the temptation to an act whose consequences I firmly believed must be ruinous. I am now convinced that by far the greater part of this depression was due to suggestion and the humiliating sense of defeat. And this feeling of moral impotence, this seeming helplessness against an overpowering impulse which, on the other hand, seemed so trivial when viewed without passion, eventually weakened my self-control to a degree guessed by no one but myself and sapped the foundations of my moral life in a way which I have constant occasion to deplore.

The foregoing paragraphs give, I think, a fair idea of my condition when I left home for a boarding school at the beginning of my seventeenth year. From this time my experiences may be said to have run on in two distinct cycles—that of the summer months when I was at home, and that of the remainder of the year when I was at school. This fact will make some confusion and apparent inconsistency in the rest of this "history" unavoidable. When I left home I was shy, retiring, totally ignorant of social usage, without self-confidence, unambitious, dreamy, and subject to fits of melancholy. I masturbated at least once a day, though I was in almost constant rebellion against the habit. In my more idle moments I elaborated erotic day dreams in which there was a peculiar mixture of the purely sensual and the purely ideal element; which never fused in my experience, but held the field alternately or mingled somewhat in the manner of air and water. One person usually served as the object of my ideal attachment, another as the center round which I grouped my sensual dreams and desires.

At school I found more congenial companions than I had fallen in with

elsewhere, and the necessary contact with people of both sexes gradually wore off some of the rougher corners and brought a measure of self-confidence. I had two or three incipient love affairs which my backwardness kept from growing serious. Out of this change of environment came a sense of expansion, of escape from self, which was distinctly pleasant. I still masturbated regularly, but no longer experienced the former depression except when at home during vacation. Relatively to the past, life was now so varied and interesting that I had less and less time for melancholy; and the discovery that I could lead my classes and hold my own in athletic sports seemed to indicate that my past fears had been exaggerated. Nevertheless I was never reconciled to the habit and often rebelled at the weakness that kept me its slave.

When I entered the university the effects of my useless struggle with the practice of masturbation were pretty well developed. I could no longer fix my attention steadily upon my work and found that only by "cribbing" and "bluffing" could I keep my place at the head of my classes. I was troubled not a little by the shoddiness of my work, and tried again and again during the course of the two years spent at this college to shake off the habit. At the university I was introduced gradually to a wider social circle and so far outgrew my bashfulness that I began to seek the society of the opposite sex assiduously. As I gained self-confidence I became reckless, getting at one time into serious trouble with the authorities which came near resulting in my expulsion. I became one of the more popular members of the clique to which I belonged—much to my surprise and even more to that of my acquaintances. The physical culture craze attacked me at this time and my pet ambition was the attainment of strength and agility. My bump of vanity also grew apace, but an unmeasured hatred of all kinds of foppishness kept me on the safe side of moderation in my dress and behavior.

During my second year of university life I had two love affairs in the course of which I found that my interest in any particular member of the fair sex disappeared as soon as it was returned. The pursuit was fascinating enough, but I cared nothing at all for the prize when once it was within reach. I may add that the interest I had in the girls was purely ideal. While at this school I do not think I masturbated half as often as while at the preparatory school.

When I left this college for ——— University I took with me a formidable catalogue of good resolutions, first among which was the determination to abandon all kinds of "self-abuse." I think I kept this one about a month. As I had gone from a comparatively small school to one of the largest of American universities the change was great and the revelations it brought me frequently humiliating. I was lonesome, home-sick, and my bump of self-esteem was woefully bruised; and not

unnaturally I soon began to seek a partial solace in day-dreams and masturbation. After I had become somewhat adapted to my new environment I indulged less frequently in either, and from that time to the present I have masturbated very irregularly, sometimes but little and again to excess.

Not long after I came to this place I met a young lady with whom I soon became quite intimate. For over a year our friendship was strictly platonic and then swung suddenly around to a sexual basis. We were ardent lovers for a few weeks, after which I tired of the game as I had before in other cases, and broke off all relations with her as abruptly as was possible. Since then I have almost wholly withdrawn from the society and companionship of women and have almost entirely lost whatever tact and assurance I once possessed in their company. Things pertaining to sexual life have interested me rather more than less, but have occupied my attention much less exclusively than before this episode. Though I have never intended to marry, my breaking off relations with this girl affected me much. At any rate it marked an abrupt change in the character of my sexual experiences. The sexual impulse seems to have lost its power to rouse me to action. Hitherto I had practiced masturbation always under protest, as it were—as the only available form of sexual satisfaction; while now I resigned myself to it as all that there was to hope for in that field. Of course I knew that a little effort or a little money would procure natural satisfaction of my sexual needs, but I also knew that I would never, under any ordinary circumstances, put forth the necessary effort, and fear of venereal disease has been more than enough to keep me away from houses of prostitution.

Some months ago I refrained from masturbation for a period of about six weeks and watched carefully for any change in my health or spirits, but noticed none at all. The only impulse to masturbate was occasioned by fits of restlessness accompanied by erections and a mildly pleasurable feeling of fullness in the penis and scrotum. I think that over 75 per cent. of my acts of masturbation are provoked by these fits of restlessness and are unaccompanied by fancy images, erotic thoughts, lustful desires, or marked pleasure. At other times the act is occasioned by erotic thoughts and images, and is accompanied by a considerable degree of lustful pleasure which, however, is never so intense as in my earlier experiences and has steadily decreased from the first. Usually the orgasm is accompanied by a strong contraction of all the voluntary muscles, particularly the extensors, followed by a slight giddiness and slight feeling of exhaustion. If repeated several times in the course of a single day the acts are followed by dullness and lassitude; otherwise the feeling of exhaustion passes away quickly and a sense of relief and quiet takes its place. So natural or rather habitual has this resort

to masturbation as a means of relief from nervousness and restlessness become that the act is almost instinctive in its unconsciousness.

I am extremely sensitive to all kinds of sexual influences, and have an insatiable curiosity regarding everything that pertains to the sexual life of men or women. I am not, however, excited sexually by conversation about sexual facts and relationships, no matter what its nature, though in reading erotic literature my excitement is often intense.

The tendency to day dream has never left me, but there are no longer any elaborate scenes or long-continued "stories," these having been replaced by vaguely imagined incidents which are usually broken off before they reach a satisfactory climax. They are always interrupted by the intrusion of other matters, usually of more practical interest; and the long-continued habit of satisfying myself by masturbation has made erotic dreams rather tantalizing than pleasurable. I dream very seldom at night—at least I can scarcely ever remember any dreams upon waking—and practically never of sexual relations. I have not had a nocturnal emission for over three years, and probably not more than twenty-five in my life.

In my "love passages" with girls there has been no serious thought of coitus on my part, and I have never had intercourse with a woman—unless my early experiences with the servant girl be called such. Like all masturbators I always idealized "love" to the utter exclusion of all sensual cravings; and the notion that the physical act of coitus was something degrading and destructive of real love rather than its consummation was, of all prejudices I have ever formed, the most difficult to escape—a circumstance due, I suppose, to the fact that all I had ever been taught on the subject tended to the complete divorce of what was called "love" from what was stigmatized as a "base sensual desire." Judging from my own experience and observation I should say that "ideal love" is a mere surface feeling, bound to disappear as soon as it has gained its object by arousing a reciprocal interest on the part of the one to whom it is directed. So little did I "materialize" the objects of my "love" that I have never cared for kissing or the warm embraces in which lovers usually indulge. I have never kissed but one girl, and her with far too little enthusiasm to satisfy her. My last sweetheart was a very passionate girl, the warmth of whose embraces was somewhat torrid and, to me, both puzzling and annoying. The intensity of feeling which demanded such strenuous expression was beyond my knowledge of human nature. A somewhat peculiar circumstance in connection with these experiences is the fact that I often found myself trying to analyze my emotions with a purely psychological interest while playing the part of the intoxicated lover in his mistress's arms.

There is but little left to say on the subject of my sexual development. During the last two or three years my knowledge of the facts of

the sexual life has been very greatly increased, and I have become acquainted with phases of human nature which were wholly unknown to me before. The part played by things sexual in my life is still, I suppose, abnormally large; it is undoubtedly the largest single interest, though my outer life is determined almost wholly by other considerations.

Of course I know nothing of the effect which long-continued masturbation may have had on my ability to perform normal coitus. I do not think I am subject to any kind of sexual perversion, for all my indulgence has been *faute de mieux* and, at-least since I beagn masturbation, all my desires and erotic day-dreams have had to do only with normal coitus. The mystery which surrounds the sexual act seems at times to be regaining its former influence and power of fascination. I have no doubt, however, but that I should be greatly disillusioned should I ever perform coitus; and I greatly regret that I have not been able to test this conviction and so round out and complete this "history."

It may be worth while to say a word about my religious experiences, as, in many cases, they are closely bound up with the sexual impulse. I was never "converted," but on a dozen or more occasions approached the crisis more or less closely. The dominant emotion in these experiences was always fear, sometimes with anger and despair intermixed in varying proportions. A complete analysis of these experiences is, of course, impossible, but the various pleasurable feelings of which converts spoke in the revivals which I attended were a closed book to me. Following my revival-meeting experiences came a few days spent in a sort of moral exaltation during which I eschewed all my habits of which conventional morality disapproved, save masturbation, and felt no small satisfaction with my moral conditions. I became a first-rate Pharisee. Toward the women who had figured in my day dreams I suddenly conceived the chastest affection, resolutely smothering every sensual thought and fancy when thinking of them, and putting in place of these elements ideal love, self-sacrifice, knightly devotion—Sunday-school Garden-of-Eden pictures with a mediæval, romantic coloring. These day-dreams were always sexual, involving situations of extreme complexity and monumental silliness. Masturbation was always continued and usually with increased frequency. The end of these periods was always abrupt and much like awaking from a dream in which the dreamer has been behaving in a manner to arouse his own disgust. They were followed by feelings of sheepishness and self-contempt mingled with anger and a dislike of all things having to do with religion. My inability to pass the conversion crisis and a growing contempt for empty enthusiasm finally led me to a saner attitude toward religion. from which I passed easily into religious scepticism; and later the study of philosophy and science, and particularly of psychology, banished the last lingering rem-

nant of faith in a supernatural agency and led me to the passion for facts and indifference to values which have caused me to be often called "dead to all morality."

History II.—C. A., aged 25, unmarried; tutor, preparing to take Holy Orders:—

My paternal ancestry (which is largely Huguenot) is noteworthy for its patriotism and its large families. My father, who died when I was a year old, is remembered for the singular uprightness and purity of his life from his earliest childhood. The photograph which I have shows him as possessed of a rare classic beauty of features. He was an ideal husband and father. At the time of his death he was a Master of Arts and a school principal. My mother is an extraordinarily neurotic woman, yet famed among her friends for her great domesticity, attachment to her husbands, and an almost abnormal love of babies. She has nobly borne the ill-treatment of her second husband, who for several years has been in a state of melancholia. My mother has been "highly-wrought" all her life, and has suffered intensely from fears of all kinds. As a young girl she was somnambulistic, and once fell down a stair-head during sleep. In spite of her bodily sufferings with indigestion, eye-strain, and depression she retains her youthfulness. She has slight powers of reasoning. She has had times of unconsciousness and rigidity I have never heard any mention of epilepsy. She has a horror of showing prudishness in regard to the healthful manifestations of sex life, and is always praising examples of what she terms "a natural woman."

I have heard that during my first year my mother detected my nurse in the act of putting a morphine powder on my tongue for the purpose of keeping me quiet. I was subject to convulsions at this period, and narrowly escaped a permanent hernia. My family tell me that from the beginning I was a well-developed and boyish boy, full of mischief, impulsive, good to look upon, unusually affectionate, beloved by all.

In my third year I took pleasure in crawling under the bed with my boy-cousin, who was nine months my senior, and after we had taken down our drawers, in kissing each other's nates I do not remember which of us first thought of this pastime.

At the age of 4 I gave myself a treat by gazing upward through a cellar window at the nates of a woman who was defecating from several feet above into a cesspool that lay beneath. It was during this summer also that I frightened myself by pulling back my prepuce far enough to disclose the purple glans, which I had never seen before. But this act gave me no desire to masturbate.

When 5 years old, and living in a great city, I drew indecent pictures in company with a little girl and her younger brother. These pic-

tures represented men in the act of urinating. The penes were drawn large, and the streams of urine plainly indicated. One afternoon I induced the boy to go to the bath-room, lie on his back, and allow me to perform *fellatio* on him. I did not ask him to return the favor. I remember the curious tar-like smell of his clothing and the region about his genitals. It is possible that I gained my knowledge of *fellatio* from an unknown boy of 10, who had induced me, during the preceding summer to enter a sandy lot with him, watch him urinate, and then, kneeling before him, commit *fellatio*. A year later, as I was walking home in the rain to our summer cottage, with an open umbrella over my shoulder, a boy of 15, who was leaning against our fence, exhibited a large, erect penis, and when I had passed him urinated upon me and my umbrella. I never saw the boy again. I felt peculiarly insulted by his act. Back of the house there lived a 12-year-old boy who invited me to watch him defecate in the out-door privy, and during the act told me a number of indecent stories and words which I cannot remember.

About this time I fell in love with a little Jewish boy next door. Often I cried myself to sleep over the thought that perhaps he was lying on a sofa alone and crying with a stomach-ache. I longed to embrace him; and yet I saw little of him, and made little of him when I was with him.

Living in a Western city a few months later, some girls of 12 and 14 led me to their barn, where they dressed themselves in boys' clothing and made believe that they were cowboys. One of them told me to "shut my eyes, open my mouth, and get a surprise." When I opened my eyes once more a piece of hen-dung lay in my mouth. I have a vague remembrance of one of the girls asking me to enter a water-closet with her. She uttered some indelicate phrase, but I performed no act with her. In the house where I lived I once entered the bedroom of a half-grown girl while she was dressing. She knelt to kiss me innocently enough, and I, by a sudden impulse, ran my hand between her bare neck and her corset as far as I could reach. Apparently she took no notice of my movement. Although I did not masturbate, yet during this winter I experienced a tickling sensation about my genitals when I placed my hand beneath them as I lay on my stomach in bed. One evening I pulled up my night-dress and, holding my penis in my hand, I danced to and fro on the carpet. I imagined that I was one of a line of naked men and women who were advancing toward another similar line that faced them. I imagined myself as pleasurably coming in contact with my female partner who possessed male genitals.

The following summer I lived in the woods. My next-door playmate was a little girl of my own age—6 years. She sat down before me in the barn and exposed her genitals. This was the first time I had seen female organs, or had thought for a moment that they differed from

my own. In great perplexity I asked the little girl: "Has it been cut off?" She and I defecated in peach baskets that we found in the upper part of the barn.

When I was 7 years old and back in the Eastern city I lived in the house of a physician. Alone with his 3-year-old daughter one day, I showed her my erect organ, and felt a delicious gratification when she stroked it with the words: "Nice! Nice!" I confessed my fault to my guardian that night after I had said my prayers. I had complained to my mother a year before of the inconvenience I found in my penis being "so long sometimes." She said that she would "see about having the end taken off." But I was never circumcised. Her words gave me the doubly unpleasant impression that my *glans* was to be cut off.

There came occasionally to the kitchen of Dr. W.'s house a foul-mouthed Irish laundress who used coarse language to me concerning urination. I loathed the woman, and yet one night I dreamed that I was embracing her naked form and rolling over and over with her on the bed; and in spite of my sight of female genitals a few months before, I thought of her as having organs of my own kind and size. At my first school I watched a red-haired boy of 12 expose the penis of a 7 year-old boy as he lay on his back in the bath-room. I do not remember that the sight gave me sexual pleasure.

I spent the summer before I was 8 in a double house. The adopted daughter of our neighbor (a neurotic, retired physician) was a girl of 13 who had been taken from a poor laboring family. She got me to show her my parts, touched them, and asked whether I urinated from my scrotum. She also induced me to play with her genitals as we sat on a sofa in the twilight, and to spank her naked nates with the back of a hair-brush as she lay on a bed; but from none of these performances did I derive physical satisfaction. The girl E. and I took delight in "talking dirty secrets," as she expressed it. Her young cousin H. (nephew of her adopted mother) never heard me use the word "thing" without suggestively smiling. E. recalled the pleasant hours that she had spent with her cousin when they were in their night-gowns. She did not particularize these sexual relations. Under the board-walk the boy H. and I once defecated in bottles. Some little girls who lived opposite us pulled up their dresses one night and "dared" each other to dance out beyond the end of the house, in full view of the road. We boys merely looked on.

I now fell passionately in love with a remarkably handsome little boy of my own age. I longed to kiss and hug him, but I did not dare to do so, for he was haughty and intolerant of my attentions. I even allowed him to stand with one foot on me and remark in a loud tone: "I am Conqueror!" I endured no end of petty insults and much ill-treatment from this boy. I reached the height of my passion on the

night that he appeared at our cottage in a tight-fitting suit of pepper-and-salt. I gloried in his perfect legs and besought my guardian that she would buy me a similar suit of clothes.

For the summer after I was 8 years old I lived in a cottage in a country town. The servant maid M. was a young girl of 10 who listened eagerly to my accounts of the "secrets" and actions in which the girl E. and I had taken delight a year before. I think that M. arranged a meeting between a little black-haired girl and me in order that we might take a walk and play sexually with each other. Just as we were starting on our walk one of my relatives said that I must not leave the yard.

The little girl and I had see-sawed together and I had been interested in her legs as she rose in the air. (When I was 13 years old and see-sawing at a picnic with a stout girl, the motion of the board and the sight of her straddled form filled me with longing to embrace her sexually.) One afternoon M. took me to the house of an acquaintance of hers. M.'s brother was in the room and made a number of unremembered remarks which struck me as being rather "free," and M. told me later that she and the girl once dressed as ballet dancers and danced before M.'s brother. I felt that he was lascivious. I was always remarkably intuitive.

I fell in love with a handsome, stout, black-haired boy who lived on a farm; but he was not a "farmer's son" in the common sense of the word. I visited him for two or three days, and we slept with each other, to my boundless joy. For his freckled girl cousin I did not care the turn of my wrist, although she was a nice enough little thing. One night when we three lay on a bed in the dark, and neither of us boys had eyes or words for her, she silently left us. He and I never committed the slightest sexual fault. I left him with tears at the summer-end, and I often kissed his photograph during the following winter.

In the flat-house where I began to live when I was 8 years old, I once practiced mutual tickling of a very slight character with a boy of my own age. We sat on chairs placed opposite to each other and we inserted our fingers through the openings in our trousers. Just as we were beginning to enjoy the titillation we were interrupted by the approach of one of my family who, however, was not quick enough to discover us. Down cellar I often saw the genitals of the janitor's little girls—they were fond of lifting their skirts and they did not wear drawers—but I had no desire to attempt conjunction. I once caught an older friend of mine (he was 13) in the act of leaving one of the girls. The pair had been in a coal-compartment. The boy was buttoning his trousers and I guessed what he had been doing. When I began to sleep alone in my tenth year I had no desire to masturbate, and was loath to do so by reason of ample warnings given me by my guardian and by the family physician. One afternoon a stunted friend of mine sat down in

the back yard and astonished me by tying a piece of string to his penis. At a large private school which I now attended I made the acquaintance of the principal's son, and wondered why he had such a fancy for dressing his 5 year-old sister in boy's clothes. He closed the door on me while he was thus engaged. At my house we went to the bath-room together, and he showed me his circumcised and much-ridged penis. Neither of us made any mention of masturbating

At this period I fell slightly in love with a 5-year-old boy with intensely black eyes. I would kiss him whenever we were alone, but I had no wish to seduce him. I was always interested in watching the uriration of younger children. When I was 5 years old I went on my knees to a strange little boy in order to whisper in his ear an inquiry as to whether he wanted to urinate. I experienced a pleasurable thrill when I was 10 years old in leading a small girl cousin to the outdoor privy, in helping her on and off the open seat, in buttoning and unbuttoning her drawers, and in gazing at her vulva.

The summer before I was 10 I lived a wild life in the mountains. My companions were a negro girl, the two daughters of a clergyman, the two sons of a questionable woman hotelkeeper, and the daughter of the Irish scavenger. All of these children were extraordinarily sensual. Their leading pastime, from morning until night, was varying forms of indecency, with the supreme caress—which they termed "raising dickie—as the most frequent enjoyment. The 5-year-old daughter of the scavenger explained to us how she had seen her father approaching her stout mother with an erect penis, the pair standing up before the lamplight during the act. This curly-headed, rosy-cheeked child handled her genitals so much that they were inflamed. I once saw her sitting in the road and rubbing dust against her vulva. I saw little of the elder daughter of the minister (she was 12 years old). She persuaded me to expose myself before her in the cellar of a partially-built house. In return for my favor she allowed me to look at her genitals. She did not ask for *conjunctio*. The two younger daughters were my intimates. With the middle one I was forever performing a weak conjunction that consisted in the laying of my member against her vulva. Notwithstanding all the entreaties of my little friend, I could not be persuaded to protrude my penis against her vagina; and not on one occasion can I remember obtaining an erection or extreme pleasure Up in the garret she straddled slanting beams with her genitals exposed, and I followed her example. The negro girl and my little friend both urinated on a tent floor at my request. I did not fancy the odor of a girl's genitals nor the appearance of the vulva when the labia were held apart.

The following summer, when I was almost 11, I took a long walk one day with my old friend, the girl E. We entered a patch of woods and ate our lunch, but no sense of sexual drawing toward the girl came

over me and she did not offer to entice me. I slept with her boy-cousin one night, and her neuropathic aunt, a retired lady physician, bothered us by repeatedly creeping into our room. I felt intuitively that she was watching to see whether we would commit mutual masturbation—which we had no thought of doing. Three years before I had opened the door of her bedroom suddenly and saw E.'s naked form. The physician had been examining her, E. told me later. My guardian also annoyed me by repeated warnings not to play with myself.

Just before I turned 11 I was sent to a small and so-called "home" boarding-school. Eight of us lived in the smaller dormitory. The matron roomed downstairs. There was no resident master—a serious error. We small boys were told to strip one evening. We were then tied neck-to-neck and made to dance a "slave-dance," which was marked by no sexuality. A boy of 15, R., one afternoon gave me the astonishing information that my father had taken a part in my procreation. Up to this moment I had known only of the maternal offices, information of which had been beautifully supplied to me by my guardian when I was 7 years old. At that time I talked freely about the coming of a baby brother in a distant city; I watched the construction of baby clothes; I named the newcomer, and I was momentarily disappointed when he proved to be a girl. This same R., a strong boy with a large penis, got into the custom of lying in bed with me just before lights were put out. He would read to himself and occasionally pause to pump his penis and make with his lips the sound of a laboring locomotive. I felt impelled to handle his organ, for I was fascinated by its size, and stiffness, and warmth. Rarely he would titillate my then small and unerect penis. R. never ejaculated when he was with me; hence not until my third year was I acquainted with the appearance of a flow of semen. Sometimes R. would stop during his dressing to manipulate his penis, but was such a picture of rosy health that I doubt whether he brought himself often to ejaculation. R. told me that he had been to a brothel where his genitals were examined to determine whether they were large enough and not diseased. He also related how he "played oow" with a girl of his own age, she consenting to perform *fellatio* upon him. A dark-skinned, unwashed, pimpled but fairly vigorous boy of 16, with an irritable domineering manner, told me the delights of coitus with a girl in a bath-house, and I overheard his conversation with another "old" boy concerning the purchase of a girl in a big city for the sum of five dollars. No details were given.

I will now pass to my third year, when I was 13 years old. A large, well-set-up boy of 16, A., became my idol. His toleration of my presence in his room filled me with endless love. When I lied about a matter in which he was concerned, his denunciation of me brought me to a state of shuddering and weeping unspeakable. When our relations

were established again A. allowed me to creep into his bed after the lights were out, and there I passionately embraced him, but without performing any definite act. When I turned over on my side with my back to him he drew my prepuce back and forth until I experienced orgasm, but not ejaculation. I would return his favor by pumping his erect penis, but with no ejaculation on his part. He did not propose *fellatio*, and I did not think of it. One night when he was in my bed I began to masturbate very slightly, whereupon he laughed, saying: "So that is the way you amuse yourself!" As a matter of fact the habit was not fastened upon me. He always laughed when the rubbing of his finger on my exposed glans caused me to shrink. Another boy, H., now began to show me his erect penis and we practiced mutual manipulations. A. laughingly told me how me had caught H. in the act of masturbating as he stood in the bath-tub. A. told me a number of sexual stories—how he enjoyed coitus in the bushes with a girl on the way home from entertainments; how half a dozen boys and girls stripped in the basement of a church and performed coitus on the velvet chairs which stood behind the pulpit; and how he and a younger boy, who camped out together, played with each other's genitals. F., a boy of 11, was highly nervous, subject to timidity and tears on the slightest provocation, often morose, and under treatment for kidney trouble. His penis was erect whenever I saw him undress. He told me that a partially idiotic man taught F. and his companion how to masturbate. The man invited the boys to his tent and there pumped his organ until "some white stuff came out of it." F. also told me that an Indian princess in his part of the country would permit coitus for fifty cents. A. sometimes slept with F., and I could imagine their embraces. S., a secretive, handsome boy of 13, wetted his bed with urine every night. The only sign that he gave of an interest in sexuality was his laughing remark concerning the coupling of rose-bugs. Of his chum, my beloved C., I will speak later. My small room-mate handled himself only slightly. I never had a desire to lie with him, since I disliked him, nor with my first room-mate, a "chunky," fiery boy of 10, whose penis interested me merely because it was circumcised and almost always erect. His masturbation was also so slight as not to attract any particular attention. A lusty German boy, B., showed no signs of sexuality until his third year, when he laughed about his newly-appearing pubic hair, and told several of us openly of how he enjoyed to play "a drum-beat" on his penis before going to sleep. "I don't do it too much, though," he explained. He showed a mild curiosity when I gave him the resumé of a book on cohabitation which contained illustrations of the erect penis and the female organs. I had found this book in the woods and I read it eagerly during my third year.

I came to the point of agreeing with A., who said: "Everyone is

smutty." Indeed I lived in a lustful world, and yet my mind was bent also on books, and writing, and the outdoor world. I was overgrown and splendidly developed, with a medium-sized penis and a scant growth of pubic hair. My face wore a somewhat infantile expression. My mouth was a perfect "Cupid's bow," my hair thin and light. I was troubled about my snub-nose, which gave the boys a great deal of amusement. As a matter of fact I exaggerated its upward tendency out of my morbid self-consciousness and cowardice. My imagination was extraordinarily intense, as it had always been. I was sensitive to smells and sounds and colors and personalities, and to the subtle influence of the night. I was timid and easily moved to tears, but not from any physical weakness until after. At the lower house there was the boy *Z.*, famed for his large penis; and the older G., a boy of 15, who was the leader in sexuality at his dormitory. Z. showed me his penis and exposed his glans often enough, but we did not manipulate each other. G. told us to notice how large a space his penis occupied in his trousers, and laughed over Z.'s custom of masturbating by means of a narrow vase. G.'s special lover was a nervous boy of ten. It is remarkable that none of us mentioned *fellatio* or *pædicatio*. These acts may have occurred at school, but not to my knowledge. We did not have much to say sexually about the girls. We heard rumors of a 16-year-old, V., who had been sent away from school for coitus; and my first room-mate was said to have obtained *conjunctio* with a girl under cover of the chapel shed. Once A. and I pointed a telescope at the open windows of the girls' domitory, but we saw nothing to interest us. A day-scholar, J., a pale, nervous, bright boy of 13, took me into the study of his uncle-physician and together we gloated over pictures of the sexual organs. A. was with us on one occasion. J. told me how he liked to roll over and over in bed with his hand placed under his scrotum. This act, he said, made him imagine that he was obtaining coitus. He advised me to slide my penis back and forth in the vagina whenever I should actually obtain coitus. In my room at school J. once drew an imaginary map of a bagnio, in which the water-closet was carefully displayed *en suite* with the bedrooms. J. and I never masturbated together. Indeed, I cannot remember seeing his organ. A hulking boy of 16, who lived opposite the school-grounds, became intimate with J., and we three went on a walk up the railroad track. The big boy, W., tried to inflame my passions by telling me how he and J. had had coitus with a handsome black-haired widow in town, but I remained cold.

During this year I fell in love with C., a popular, talkative, witty boy of my own age, or perhaps a year younger. He fancied me and we slept together one night under the most innocent circumstances. I never dreamed of having sexual relations with him, and yet I fairly burned with love for him. My stay at his beautiful home over Sunday while his

parents were away was one long delight. We slept in each other's arms, but there was no sexuality. En route to C.'s home he pointed with a glove to a little working-girl, saying he would like to have intercourse with her, but this was the only remark of the kind that ever passed his lips in my presence. When undressed save for his undershirt, he laughingly held his unerect organ in his hand and made the motions of obtaining conjunction with an imaginary partner. Once we spoke of masturbation (I could recite the information of my good physician with a marvelous show of virtue), and C. remarked: "Yes, doing that makes boys crazy." C. finally grew tired of my deceptive, babyish nature and ultra-interest in books and puzzles, but I cherished an undiminished affection for him, and when he was detained at home for a fortnight with a broken arm, I wrote him a passionate letter, which I sobbed over and actually wetted with my tears. But the fervor of my passion died at the close of the year. I consider this unsullied friendship to be the only redeeming feature of my sensual days at school.

Versed as I was in the warnings against masturbation, I found pleasure one afternoon when I was alone in slipping my penis through the open handle of a pair of scissors and in violently flapping my partially erect organ until a strange, sweet thrill crept over me from top to toe and a drop of clear liquid oozed from my member. But I gave up the manipulation with scissors, finding a greater satisfaction in masturbating while I was defecating or just after it. I either pumped my organ by slipping the prepuce back and forth, or I grasped the organ at its root and violently jerked it back and forth. I soon began to masturbate not only every time that I defecated, but also at night just before I went to sleep, and sometimes early in the morning. On the whole I preferred the jerking just described. I always brought about ejaculation after perhaps five minutes of violent exertion.

My penis became chafed at the root, but I did not especially care. I remember the afternoon that I masturbated for the first time while I was defecating in the school water-closet. I cannot recall that at first I thought of coitus while I masturbated. On one occasion I masturbated over the *vase de nuit* after a delightful afternoon of tobogganning exploration up and down the mountain.

During this first year of abuse, I felt no ill effects whatsoever, although I realized, in an unthinking way, that I was doing wrong. But sexuality had assumed the proportion of a regular feature of our school life. It was difficult for me to place a "universal" view in its true perspective. I used to smile at the glazed, dull morning eye of poor H., who was a stunted boy of 15, and thus could not endure his losses so well as I could endure them. The qualms of conscience which I suffered were lost in my delight in my dawning sexual life. Sometimes I lay on my stomach in bed, and by placing my hand under my scrotum, according to

the directions of J., brought up a pretty girl to mind. Just before Sunday school G., our chief reprobate, and the rest of us would hunt out what we considered to be nasty texts of Scripture. The chapter concerning the whoredoms of Aholah and Aholibah gave me an especial pleasure. T. mentioned the giggling that occurred at prayers in the lower dormitory when the details of Esau's birth were read out. A few days before G. was expelled—for exactly what cause I do not know—he told me of how greatly he enjoyed coitus on his grandmother's sofa with a girl of fifteen. When I went home on the boat for holidays I noted the large, black-haired penis of the strong boy of our school. He occupied a state-room with me, but made no sexual overtures.

Since my twelfth year I had been wrapped up all summer long in a boy who was six months my senior. We slept together constantly, but not once did we think of obtaining mutual gratification. On the contrary, we held up high ideals to each other and frowned on masturbation. I took delight in saying that I never had handled myself, and never would do so. Even at the height of my "auto-erotic" period, I skillfully concealed my habits from all my boy friends. A neurotic solo choir boy friend once spoke of obtaining ejaculation, whereupon I expressed utter ignorance of such an act, little hypocrite that I was. This boy told how the house servants joked with him about coitus and made laughing lunges at his organs.

But much as I loved my chum, my most passionate regard went out in my thirteenth year to N., a chubby, blue-eyed, choir-boy of 12. He was a pretty boy to any eye. He was not gifted, except in water-sports, and anything but popular either with girls or with boys; yet I grew warm at the mention of his name. He did not care a fig for me. From first to last I had no consciousness of the sexual nature of my passion, and the thought of doing more than embrace and kiss him in an innocent manner never crossed my mind. For two summers I had nights of tossing on my bed (although I almost never was sleepless for any cause) when I would see his dear face and form, in and out of the swimming pool, or engaged perhaps in singing or in showing his beautiful teeth. I seldom was smitten with little girls, and I found myself embarrassed in their company after my ninth year; yet I thought well enough of their looks and ways to enjoy their company at dances. The girls liked me in a platonic way, for I was accounted a good, big, kind, blundering boy with a helping hand for the smallest fry.

During the summer after I was 13, I imagined myself in the early morning, when I was half awake, as persuading my wife to have coitus with me. In the course of my spoken words I kept my hand under my scrotum.

A plump girl-cousin of my own age was visiting at my uncle's during the summer after I was 13. With her I greatly desired to

satisfy myself, but I could not be sure that my boy cousin (5 years old) might not find us out, even though she should consent. Once when we three were in the hay-loft a wave of lust rolled over me, but I made no proposal. Night and gaslight greatly increased my *libido*. On one occasion my aunt had gone to the village for ice-cream, and L. and I were left alone in the dining-room. I took her on my lap and had a powerful erection. I almost asked her to play sexually with me in the barn, but instead I spoke of an imaginary girl, the first letters of whose successive names spelled an indecent word for coitus—a word known to almost every Anglo-Saxon child, I fear. L. laughed, but gave no sign of assent. For a neighboring girl of 15 I felt such a drawing that early in the morning I would roll on the floor with my erect organ in my hand in riotous imagining of coitus with her. I walked with her in the woods and sat at her feet, but although I felt instinctively that she would satisfy me without much persuasion, yet I *could not* ask her. One night I started to church in order to walk home with her, and lead her (if possible) to a field where we might gratify ourselves (I picked out the exact grassy spot where we might lie); but when I was almost at the church door my "moral sense" (if that is what it was) rose and dragged me home again.

During the swimming hour I watched the genitals of the boys, comparing them carefully in the most minute details. Circumcised organs affected me as being disagreeable, and men's hairy, coarse genitals I abhorred.

When 13 I became acquainted with the new mail-boy at the inn. He was a city "street-boy," and got me into smoking cigarettes occasionally. I did not definitely take up smoking until I was 16. He told me that a mason once offered him ten cents if he would masturbate the man in a cellar. The boy said that he refused. I slept a few times with an ill-favored boy of fine parentage. He was of my own age, and I had played with him in a natural way for several years, but my increasing sexual desires led me to mutually masturbate with him, and even unsuccessfully to attempt with him mutual pædicatio. On the morning after our nights of sensuality I felt "gone" and miserable, but not repentant. By afternoon I was myself again. My relations with G. were purely animal, for I disliked his jealous disposition, his horse-laugh, his features, his form, his withdrawn scrotum and his under-sized penis. At home in the evening I often found myself inflamed with a mental picture of active *fellatio* with him, but I never performed this act, so far as I remember.

One of my great sexual desires was to walk along a fence on which a girl was seated. In order that I might feast my eyes on her pudenda she must not wear drawers.

When I turned 14 I had been, from my unusual size, in long trous

era for several months. I entered a private day-school and progressed brilliantly in my studies. I kept up masturbation almost daily, sometimes twice a day, both in the water closet and in bed. I can remember ejaculating before urination in the school *cabinet*. At night I often found myself longing for the return of my sister, seven years my junior, in order that I might embrace her in bed and fondle her genitals. I had done these things during my Christmas vacation of the year before. I mildly reproached myself for such incestuous desires, but they recurred continually. I dreamed little. And I cannot remember the character of my dreams. My waking *libido* spent itself mostly in longings to embrace (without lustful acts) the forms of little boys of exquisite blonde beauty and thick hair. Narcissism may have been present, for in my twelfth year I had been told that at the age of 5 and 6 I was an extraordinarily beautiful little creature with long, lint-white hair. The preferable age was from 6 to 9. My eye was alert on the streets for boys answering to this description, and a street boy with long, white hair so won my passion that I followed him to his home and asked his mother if he might call on me and "play some games." As I did not even know the boy's name and had never seen him before, I was wonderingly refused. I sought in vain to find the whereabouts of another long-haired street boy whom I burned to embrace and load with benefits. I had a boundless desire for such a boy as this to idolize me—to look into my face out of big eyes and lose himself in love for me—to call me by endearing pet names—of his own accord to throw his arms around my neck. This second actual boy disappeared from my horizon by presumably moving away from the vast city neighborhood. I took a fancy to a small boy at school, who possessed the requisite delicacy, timidity, and sweetness, if not the physical requisites, of my beau ideal. I walked with him in the park and planned to have him at the house; but the matter was not arranged. At boarding-school I had associated much with younger and weaker boys, and had been ridiculed much for my cowardice in sports, but at the city school I moved with my equals and won their recognition. Our gymnasium director was middle-aged and of an indolent disposition. He liked to recall his youthful erections and to answer my sexual queries too fully, and cheerfully volunteered information on brothels. Yet I doubt whether he had an evil purpose in conversing with me. I thought I should never dare or want to enter one. I always conjured up the picture of a row of naked women from whom I could take my pick, and the smell of the women I imagined to be identical with the smell of my big friend A. at boarding-school. When I was traveling down town on an elevated train one afternoon the brakeman asked me whether I had ever been in a brothel, and told me that disorderly houses abounded in my neighborhood. "I have had connection with women," said this red-haired young man, waving his hand

in greeting to a woman who nodded at him from a window, "since I was 16 years old. Not long ago a fine-looking, young woman in black offered to pay all my expenses if I would live with her and connect with her."

When a girl of perhaps 7, a distant cousin of mine, visited us for a few days, I gratified my lust by placing my hand under her genitals and swinging her to and fro. She giggled with pleasure. That summer I began to experience the evil effects of the masturbation which I had practiced daily for a year and a half. Pimples began to break out on my chin (my complexion up to this time had been white and delicate). The family ascribed my condition to digestive difficulties. In playing with the boys and girls I found myself seized with a terrible shyness and a tendency to look down and weep. I had lost all the courage I had—it had never been great—in the presence of a crowd of children. I was fairly at ease with a single companion. My self-consciousness was something more painful to me than I can convey in words. At home I wept in my room and cursed myself for a baby. I little realized the cause of my nervous collapse. Yet I had too robust a frame not to be able to sleep and to play hard. The sympathetic pleasure which I had found in swinging my girl-cousin to and fro I now doubled by letting a 7-year-old boy ride cock horse on my feet. I experienced an erection during the process, and I almost induced ejaculation when I tickled the boy with my feet in the region of his genitals. To see his shrinking, giggling joy gave me an exquisite sexual thrill. I longed to sleep with the boy but I was afraid of causing comment. At the new and large boarding school which I entered in the fall my most lustful dreams and ejaculations were concerned with standing this little boy on the footboard of a bed, taking down his knickerbockers, and performing *fellatio* on him. But I dreamed also of natural coitus. I fell in love with the handsome, 12-year-old son of the aged headmaster. The boy, O., sat next me at the table, and I never tired of gazing at him. It gave me a special sense of pleasure to look at him when he wore a certain flowing, scarlet, four-in-hand necktie. But O. was not attracted to me—for one thing I was in a disagreeably pimpled condition—and I could not induce him to linger in my room nor to sleep with me. My passion for O. did not diminish, and it rose to its supremacy on the evening when he appeared in our hallway (he roomed on the girls' side of the house and hinted at the sexual sights that he saw) in a costume of white satin, lace, and wings. He was ready for a costume party.

I now masturbated less frequently, for I was beginning to appreciate the horrible consequences of my indulgence. I had frequent pollutions, with dreams. My day was one long agony of fear. How I dreaded to go to sleep in the same bed with my older chum, who never made any advances beyond embracing me passively *cum erectione* while he was asleep. My day was one long agony of fear. At meal time my feet

constantly writhed in agony for fear that the headmaster's grown up young ladies should make fun of me, or that my lack of facial composure and my inability to look people in the eye might be commented upon. I tingled with apprehension, especially in the region of my stomach. Every nerve was taut in the effort I made to appear composed. I masturbated with erections over nothing. Greek recitations were for me an *auto da fe*. My heart beat like a trip-hammer at the thought of getting up to recite, and once on my feet my voice shook and my mind wandered. I hated the thought of people behind me looking at me. I rarely summoned the courage to turn my head either one way or the other. I vastly admired the "bravery" of the small, 15-year-old boy who recited so calmly and so well. I was too cowardly to play foot-ball and base-ball, and I dreaded even my favorite tennis because the spectators put me in a state of scared self-consciousness. Knowing my own condition, I was yet so blind to it most of the time, and such a Jekyll-and-Hyde, that I actually pitied a boy of 19 who was an eccentric and a scared victim of masturbation. But in spite of my neuropathic condition I developed intellectually. I do not touch upon this aspect of my life, however, because I am trying to limit myself strictly to sexual manifestations. At the present time I have not the courage to continue the narrative.

HISTORY III.—The following narrative is written by a clergyman, age 40, unmarried:—

My childhood and early boyhood were unmarked by sexual phenomena, beyond occasional erections, which commenced when about 5 years of age, without any exciting causes. These were accompanied by some degree of excitement, of the same nature as that which I experienced in later years. I was absolutely ignorant of sexual matters, but always had an idea that the essential difference between man and woman was to be found in the genital organs. This was sometimes a matter for thought and curiosity.

Being for many years an only child I saw little of other children, and formed the habit of amusing myself with making things—boats, houses, etc.—and acquired a taste for science. When I could read I preferred biography, history, and poetry to anything else.

When I was 13 years old and at a large school I heard for the first time of coitus, but very imperfectly. For a few days it filled my thoughts and mind, but feeling it was too engrossing a subject and one which took me off better things, I put it out of my mind. Later, another boy gave me a fuller description of the matter, and I began to have a great desire to know more and to be old enough to practice it. I also discovered that boys masturbated, and about a year after tried

the experiment for myself. This vice was largely indulged in by my school-fellows. It never occurred to me that it was sinful, until I was nearly 16, when I came across a passage in Kenns's *Manual of School-boys*, in which it was hinted such things were wrong morally and spiritually. Previously I had felt it was an indelicate and shameful thing, and bad for health. This last idea was held as a solemn fact by all my boy friends. Gradually religion began to exert an influence over my sexual nature, obtaining as years passed a greater and greater restraining power. It is simply impossible for me to write a history of my sexual development without also describing the action which Christianity has had in determining its growth. The two have been so intimately bound together that my life history would not be a faithful record of facts if I left religion out of it.

At school I took part, with great keenness, in cricket and foot-ball, and was very ambitious to excel in everything in which I took an interest, but I always had other tastes as well, which were more precious to me, for example, the love for science, history, and poetry. Until I was past 16 years my desire was simply for coitus, girls and women attracted me only as affording the means of gratifying this desire; but when I was nearly 17 I began to regard girls as beautiful objects, apart from this, and to desire their love and companionship. At the same time it dawned upon me that life held much of joy in the love of women and in domestic life—so henceforth I regarded them in a higher and purer light, and apart from sexual gratification. In fact, from this period till I was over 20, this idea so dominated my whole being that the lower side of my nature was entirely held in subjection and abeyance by it. It was rather repulsive to think of girls as objects of lust. This state of mind was not brought about by any romantic attachment or through any acquaintance or through circumstances. I was living in great seclusion and had no girl friends. After this period the lower side of my nature woke up as a giant refreshed with wine, and I underwent for many years a constant struggle with my nature, in which religion always triumphed in the end. I never fell into fornication, though sometimes into the vice of masturbation. These outbursts of desire were periodic, about ten or fourteen days apart, and would last several days. I must record also the fact that from the time this awakening took place my ideal views of woman no longer seemed incompatible with sexual relations. I noticed that at about 27 there was a lessening of the desire, but that may have been due to overwork and consequent nervous exhaustion. I had a good deal of worry and studied daily for about eight hours. In any case the impulse was strongest during the years above mentioned. A little later in life, for a time, I became attached to a girl, and eventually engaged. I then observed, greatly to my sorrow and annoyance, that whenever I met this lady, or even thought of her,

erections took place. This was particularly painful to me, as my thoughts were not of a lustful or impure character. Sometimes sitting by her at a religious service this would occur, when certainly my mind was far away from anything of the kind. That was the first woman ever kissed by me, except of course members of my immediate family circle. Later on my thoughts turned to marriage, and there was a great longing at times for this event to take place. However, as this attachment afterward became the great sorrow of my life for years, it needs no more comment. This closes one chapter of my history, and at present I do not propose to add another, as in a great measure it is only partly written. It may be well here to state that there has never been in me the slightest homosexual desire; in fact it has always appeared as a thing utterly inconceivable and disgustingly loathsome. I am fond of the society of both men and women, but on the whole prefer the latter. I have had several warm and intimate though platonic friendships, and get on exceedingly well with the other sex, although not a good-looking man. I have always been attracted to women by their spiritual or mental qualities, rather than by physical beauty, and feel strongly that the latter alone would never cause me to desire coitus. Unless there was an attraction other than that of the flesh, I should feel that I was following simply a brute instinct, and it would jar with my higher nature and cause revulsion. This was not the case in my earlier years to the same extent. I have often wondered whether the sexual impulse was strong in me or not, but if not, there is nothing in my physical state or family history to account for it. I am fairly cognizant with the lives of my ancestors, being descended from two old families. The sexual instinct was certainly not weak or abnormal in them. Personally, I am tall and healthy, well built, but sensitive and highly strung. Smell has never played any part in my life as a stimulant of sexual desire, and the mere thought of body odors would have a very decided effect in the opposite direction. Touch and sight appeal to me strongly, and of the two the former most.

I am convinced, after many years careful thought, that sexual vice and perversion could be greatly reduced if the young were instructed in the elements of physiology as they bear on this question. Personally, had I been thus enlightened much sin would have been avoided in my schoolboy days, and a perverted view of sexual matters would never have arisen in my mind. It took years to overcome the feeling that all such things were unclean and defiling. Eventually light came to me through reading a passage in a tractate on the Creed by Rufinus. He was defending the doctrine of the Incarnation against the pagan objection that it was an unclean and disgusting idea that God should enter the world through the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and he meets it by showing that God created the sexual organs, therefore the objec-

tion is invalid—otherwise God would not be clean or pure, having Himself designed them and their functions. This passage is slight in itself, but gave birth to a line of thought which has influenced me profoundly. I no longer regard sexual matters as disgusting and unholy, but as intensely sacred, being the outcome of the Divine Mind. Further, the Incarnation of the Saviour has not only sanctioned motherhood and all that is implied by it, but has eternally sanctified it as the means chosen for the manifestation of God to the world. I should not obtrude my theological conceptions, but for the fact that they have determined my life-history in that aspect.

HISTORY IV.—When I was 9 years old a boy at the preparatory school, which I attended, showed me the act of masturbation, which he said he had practiced for a long time, and which he urged me to imitate, if I wished to become a father when I grew up, and married! Boy-like I believed him and tried, but the sensation obtained was not a pleasant one (I suppose that I was too rough with myself) and I desisted.

When I was about 12 years old, a schoolfellow told me that he had seen his nurse copulating with the groom, and he and I used to haunt the woods in the hope that we might see an amorous couple so engaged, but without success. We often talked of the act, as to how it was done. Neither he nor I had any clear ideas on the subject, save as to the organs involved. I was about 15 when a maidservant of the house in which I was a boarder, came to my bedroom one night and taught me how to masturbate her. She said that this was a good thing for me to do, and warned me never to "play with myself" as it would kill me, or drive me mad. I told her that I had tried it, but could not bring on a pleasurable feeling, so she did it to me, and although I did not have an emission, I derived great pleasure from the act. She told me that it never did a boy any harm to let a girl play with his parts, and promised that if I would keep the secret, she would often do this for me. Naturally I promised to say nothing, and she often came up to my room. Later on she used to insert my penis into her vulva, while she was rubbing it, at the same time giving me a pigeon kiss. This *modus operandi* was much appreciated by me. One night, after we had been together thus, I dreamt of her and her maneuvers and had my first emission. I was very proud of this, as I considered that I had at last attained to man's estate and told her of it. She never allowed me to insert my penis into her vulva after that, alleging that she did not want to have a baby.

I was about 16½ years old when I had my first real coitus, my partner in the act being a girl some two years older than I, who lived near us. I enjoyed the act very much, as she permitted, nay insisted on, emission *intra vaginam*, and told her that this was much nicer than my

amours with the maidservant which of course I had confided to her. She laughed, and said: "Of course." We often copulated, as long as I was at home, and then I lost sight of her. Of all the women with whom I have had to do, save one, she had the most copious secretion of mucus, which in those days I believed was the woman's semen. Her thighs used to be wet with it.

At the University I had regular relations with women of all sorts, rarely missing a week. Two of them were married women, one the wife of a solicitor, the other of a doctor. How proud I felt of my first intrigue with a married woman! I felt that I was really a man of the world now!

But though my friends used to tell me all about their love affairs, and I longed to confide in them, I did not do so. This was because when I went up to the University, my uncle said that he would give me a word of advice and hoped that I would follow it—never to give away a woman, and never to refuse to respond to a woman's advances, whoever she were. To neglect this advice would, he said, be foolish, and to break the rules "damned ungentlemanly." I wish I had always followed advice proffered, as closely as I have followed this. One night, when I was somewhat disguised in liquor, as our grandfathers would have put it, I picked up a girl, who was a private prostitute, if the phrase be permissible. She declined copulation, and proposed other means of satisfaction. I insisted, being stubborn in my cups. Had I been sober I should have done as she suggested, for I have always made it a point to allow the woman to choose the method of gratification, and not to demand, or even suggest, anything myself. I like to please women, and I have always been curious as to their wants and desires, as revealed, without outside influence, by themselves. The result of my refusing all methods of gratification save the most ordinary was that the girl, who must have known that she was not all right, but shrank from saying so in so many words, gave me a gonorrhœa, which lasted nine weeks and much interfered with my amours, as I naturally declined to run the risk of infecting my partner, a risk which to my certain knowledge many a young fellow has run, with disastrous consequence to the confiding woman. As it was due to my tipsy obstinacy, I could not blame the girl, but resolved never to drink too much again, a resolve which I have kept, save once, unbroken. In those days we youngsters thought that it was manly to be able to carry one's liquor well, and did all in our power to attain to the seasoned head; but I considered that the risks entailed were too serious to be neglected.

I was well on in my 26th year when I met a widow with whom I fell in love, with the result that I married her. She is a most sensible woman, and it was her intellectual gifts which were the attraction to me. In my amours intellect has never played a part. She has all along been

cognizant of, and lenient to, my polygamous tendencies; for she recog nizes the fact that whatever *fredame* I may have on hand makes not the slightest difference in my love and respect for her. Were she a more sensual woman, perhaps things would be different.

In all I have had to do with 81 other women, of whose special characteristics I kept a careful note at the time. Twenty-six were normal women with whom my *liasons* have lasted long, so I know more about them than I do about the other fifty-five, who were prostitutes, and with some of whom my dealings were but for an afternoon.

The races represented have been these, for I have seen a bit of the world: English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Italian, Greek, Danish, Hungarian, Roumanian, Indian, and Japanese. Taking them all round, the only difference that I found between old and young women is that the older ones are less selfish, and more complaisant, and less inclined to resent one's being unable to attain to the height of their desire, for from time to time I have been unable to "come up to the scratch" after a heavy night's labor, or when I was afraid of being caught in the act of coition, a fear which, in my experience, acts as a stimulus to desire in women, unlike its action in men. Of all the women with whom I have had to do the nicest in every way have been the French women. The English women of the town drink too much, and are far too keen on getting as much money as they can for as little as they can, to please me. Were the London girls to recognize that men do not like a tipsy woman, and that where there is so much competition the person who is most skillful and most polite gets the most custom, the alien invasion in Regent street would soon come to an end.

Of the fifty-five prostitutes: eighteen informed me that they were in the habit of masturbating; eight of their own free will, without asking for reward, did *fellatio*; six asked me to do *cunnilingus*, which I naturally declined to do; three proposed anal coitus. Of those who did *fellatio*, two (one French and one German) told me that they had taken to it because they had heard that human semen was an excellent remedy against consumption, which disease had carried off some of their relatives, and that they had gradually come to like doing it. All who told me that they masturbated, asked me whether I did so too, and two desired me to show them the act, one alleging that she liked to see a man do it; she had been married late in life, after a "stormy youth" and had had, she said, a large experience of the male sex. They all seemed to think that however much the practice of self-excitement might hurt a man, and all thought that it would hurt him, a woman might masturbate as often as she liked, failing better means of satisfaction, as she had no such loss of substance as a man.

Of the twenty-six normal women, whom I knew more intimately than I did the fifty-five prostitutes, thirteen, without being questioned

be me, blurted out the fact that they were habitual masturbators, apparently all required to think of the loved person to obtain full satisfaction. *Fellatio* was proposed, and fully performed, by nine, of whom three experienced the orgasm as soon as they perceived that I had attained to it. All were more or less excited while doing it. One proposed anal coitus, "just to see what it was like," and three proposed *cunnilingus*, one having been initiated by a girl friend, and one by her husband. The third had, I believe, evolved the act out of her own inner consciousness in her desire to experience pleasure with me. My relations with one of the twenty-six were confined to my masturbation of her, the while she did *fellatio*, as she said that she "had no feeling inside down there."

With two exceptions my partings from these normal women have not been tragic and all whom I have met in after life (seven) have been very ready to resume relations with me, four of them having made the proposal themselves.

One thing has struck me, and that is the, often great, difference that exists between what a woman's looks lead one to think she is, and what she is when one becomes her lover; the most sensual woman that I have met might have sat for her portrait as the Madonna, and she was the only one who took pleasure in hearing and relating "smoking-room stories," a form of amusement which, perhaps from their want of appreciation of humor and wit, women do not indulge in—at least in my experience.

HISTORY V.—(A continuation of History III in Appendix I' to the previous volume.)

As I became better I commenced to dream of true love. I wondered, too, if my horrible past really could be lived down and a young woman come to love *me*. I took pleasure in reading love poems, especially Browning's, and illustrated some with little water-colors. . . .

I was sitting in the stalls one night seeing a performance by a company of English actors when one of them played so badly that I thought to myself: "Why, hang it, I could play it better myself!" The next minute another thought followed: "Why not try?" I came out of the stalls the proverbial stage-struck youth. I was sitting in the same place another night when the young man next to me entered into conversation. By a strange coincidence he knew a few young men, amateurs, who were going to form a company, give up their situations and travel, if they could induce a few more to join them and put a little money in. I made an appointment for the following evening. . . .

There were lots of meetings in bedrooms and rehearsals between the beds, but ultimately I was told a school-room had been engaged and

a professional actress, A. F. I went to the school room and found all the boys there, and a young woman with a pale, rice-powder complexion. On introduction she gazed at me as if struck dumb. If she had been better-looking (I thought her vulgar and puffy) I would have been flattered. I was disappointed, but rather frightened (she had a stage presence) of her professional ability, especially when we commenced to rehearse. I had to make love to her, too, which embarrassed me. She had a good profile, I noticed, and would have been better looking, I thought, if she were in better condition, for she was young, about my own age, twenty-three or four. We were all young—enjoyed our rehearsals, and had lots of fun—but I did not respond to the advances A. was evidently making to me. Finally we started on our tour. As the weeks went on A. F., like the others, improved wonderfully in health and appearance. If we had had anything like houses it would have been a pleasant trip. My strangeness did not escape the notice of the boys altogether, for I was still a bit strange in mind and nerves—and deeply religious, bowing my head before each meal and reading my little Bible and prayer-book at odd times. I drank no alcohol. I spent a good deal of time by myself or with my faithful companion A., who was nearly always at my side, she and her appealing eyes. I was surprised to see how quickly she had improved; she looked quite attractive and ladylike some evenings at meals, but I only tolerated her. I was selfish and conceited.

Things had been going on like this for a week—always playing to empty houses and our money lower and lower—when A. said to our other lady, Mrs. T., on a train in my presence: "I shall have to give him up, I suppose; he will have nothing to do with me." Mrs. T. said: "You give him up, do you?" and looked at me as if she were going to try her hand. A. said "Yes," and looked at me, smiling sadly. I don't know what motive prompted me—whether my vanity was alarmed at her threatened desertion or that she had really made some impression on me by her love, probably a little of both—but I said: "No, don't; come and sit down here," making way for her, and she joyfully came and nestled against me. From that time I ceased to treat her with ridicule, and kissed her at other times than when on the stage. I was subject still to black moods, and would not speak to her for hours sometimes, but she seemed content to walk with me and was infinitely patient. I had heard she was living with—if not married to—an actor. I asked her about him once, and she said she did not love him; she loved me and had never loved before. Her face had a touching sadness; her life had been unhappy and stormy, with no love and little rest in it. Her face, when she had lost her dissipated look and unhealthy pallor, was exquisite, delicate as a cameo. Love had improved her manners, too; she was more gentle and refined. I let things drift without think-

ing of the future, when one night after the performance—I was lying on the sofa and A. was sitting at my side, as usual—I suddenly thought, with the brutality that characterized me in these matters—"I will ask her to let me sleep with her." I still fought against any premonitory thought of self-abuse, but here, I thought to myself, is a chance of something better that will do me no harm and perhaps good. When she understood me she turned very red and walked away, shaking her head. But I let her understand that was the only way of retaining me, and finally, when they had all gone to bed, she gave herself to me, reluctantly and sadly; for she, too, had been drifting on without thinking of anything of this sort (she hated it at this time), but just living for her love of me, her first true love.

Before this occurred, I must tell you, I had been so much better that I sometimes felt capable of doing anything, a sense of power and grasp of intellect which was combined with delicacy of feeling and sensitiveness to beauty, to skies and clouds and flowers. I seemed to be awakening to true manhood, to my true self. And at meals, it is worth recording, I commenced to have a distaste for meat.

These glimpses of a better state of things left me on cohabiting with A., and for a time my gloom and black religious mania came on me once more. I now thought of my promise at confirmation, and it seemed to me I had offended beyond pardon. When we came to the next town, however, I openly slept with A. all night, leaving my own bed untouched. When we returned to Adelaide one of our party remarked: "The only man who had any success with the women on the tour was a Bible-reading, praying, and good, pious, confirmed Christian."

A.'s nascent beauty and delicacy and improvement were gradually impaired, too. My own conduct became so morose at times that, besides increasing her misery, I offended the others, and bickerings ensued. I heard the other actress say "He's mad; that what's the matter." And I was so wrapped up in myself and my religious mania that I did not mind their thinking so.

After the tour was over A. asked me to come and see her at her home, and as I missed her very much I went one night to tea. She had a room in her father's house to herself. A. was dressed in her best and we had an affectionate meeting. After tea I asked her if she were married to E. She said "No." Then I said: "Who are you married to?" She commenced to cry then, and told me something of her life, the saddest I ever heard. When only 17 she had been courted by a young man she did not care for, but who prevailed on her parents by pretending he had seduced her, but wished to marry her. Strange as it may seem, A. did not know what marriage meant, her mother being one of those silly women who don't like talking of these things and let their daughters grow up in ignorance, expecting they will learn from some one. In nine

cases out of ten this happens, but A. was an exception. It was this, and the fact that she had not a particle of love for her husband, that gave her such a hatred of coition. When her mother saw the sheets the morning after the marriage she burst out crying; she did not like the young man and saw she had been deceived.

A.'s husband soon showed his true character; he was in reality a gaol-bird. He beat her, drank, and even wanted her to go on the streets to earn money for him. She left him and went home; it was then she began her theatrical career by entering the ballet. At intervals her husband, drunk and desperate, would waylay and threaten her in the street. One day after a rehearsal he attempted to stab her. She got on in spite of all, being a born actress, and played small parts in traveling companies. Then E., who had also gone on the stage, courted her and she listened to him, not because she cared for him, but he protected her and offered her a home. She joined him; but his drunkenness and sensuality were so gross that he ruined his health and he attempted to maltreat A. in a nameless way. And whenever she was in the family way he would leave her alone and half-conscious in the cellar for days. To add to her misery she had epileptic fits. Then sometimes they would be out of an engagement and starving. They had been so hungry as to steal raw potatoes out of a sack and eat them thus, having no fire. She would often have had engagements, but E. was jealous and would not let her act without him. And he beat her as her husband had done, and her health became undermined. It was just after one of the forced miscarriages that she joined our traveling company, and that accounted for her yellow and puffy appearance. E. was now away up-country with a circus, but was expected down any time. A. told me a good deal of all this, between her tears, while sitting at my feet, and her tone carried conviction. When I ought to have gone home I persuaded her to let me stay all night. We had been in bed some time when her mother knocked at the door and wanted to come in for something in a chest of drawers there. "Why don't you open the door, A.? Who have you got there? Hasn't that fellow gone?" A. was confused and told me to get under the bed, but I refused, and she covered me up with the bed clothes as well as she could and opened the door. She had hid my clothes, but missed one of my shoes, and her mother saw it. "Oh, A.," was all she said; "you've got that fellow in bed," and went out crying. "Well, Fred" (my stage name), "you've got me into a nice row," A. said. She gave me my breakfast in the morning and I walked out of the front door without being molested. Another night I entered her window by a ladder and stayed all night. In the middle of the night E. came home drunk. She would not let him in and told him she would have nothing more to do with him. He attempted to break in the door, when A. called to me, and hearing a man in the room he went away, saying, as he

went downstairs: "Oh, A.! Oh, A.!" as if he thought she would not have done such a thing. He never molested us after that night.

I think it was my intention, at first, to break off with A. gradually. I found, however, I could not keep away from her, and it commenced to be evident to me that a bachelor's life in lodgings again would be dreary and lonely. And all this time the fear that I had offended God troubled me more than I have said, and it occurred to me (there may have been a touch of sophistry in this, or not) that if I were a true husband to her for the future—stuck to her and worked for her for the rest of my days—perhaps it would find favor in God's sight and be an atonement for my sin. Had she been free I would have married her, I believe. But she began to be harassed by her mother and bothered about my incessantly coming there and staying all night. It ended in my telling her I would be a husband to her, and she came and lived with me at my lodgings. We had one room and our meals cost us sixpence each. Cheap as it was, it was a struggle for me to earn money at all. I remember feeling ill and anxious once, and sustaining myself by the thought of my father wheeling the heavy truck up the street when he married my mother. And I decided to wheel my truck, too.

A. seemed happy and her love increased, if possible; at first, though, she must have found me a trying lover, for I made her kneel and pray with me two or three times a day, which she did with such a queer expression of face. Sometimes her feelings got the better of her, and she would say: "Oh, damn it, Fred, you are always praying." And then I would be shocked and she would be sorry. . . . Coitus was frequent; she commenced to like it now. . . .

A. was not looking well one evening when she came in, and lay down on the bed. Presently she commenced to make a strange noise, and I saw her eyes were closed and her hands clenched. "Ah," said the landlady, who came in to help me; "she has epileptic fits." When her convulsions were over she looked blankly at us, knitting her brows and evidently puzzling her poor brain to remember who we were. For many years it was my fate to see her looking at me thus, at first stony and estranged, like a dweller in another star, then half-recalling with extended hand, then forgetting again with hand to mouth, then the gradual dawn of memory and love, and final full recognition. "It's Fred, my Fred!" I never got used to it; it always moved me to tears. . . .

It was not to be thought that we had no quarrels. I still had fits of bad temper, and sometimes they came into collision with A.'s temper. It hurt my vanity considerably to see how soon she relinquished the respectful, patient, spaniel-bearing she had when we were traveling. I said some cruel things to her and she retorted. One would have thought, to hear us, that all affection was over. But when the mood of rage wore

itself out we would both be sorry and make it up with tears, and be very happy in spite of our poverty.

I think it was lust that prevented me from striving to fulfill my ambitions. A. let me do anything I liked, at all times of day or night, although she seemed surprised at my proceedings sometimes, for it was becoming a fever of lubricity with me. She still thought only of her love. I remember her coming in one day, tired, pale, perspiring, and worried—we had hardly anything in the house and she had been to the theater ineffectually—and when her eyes lighted on me the whole expression of her face changed, softened and brightened at once, and she came and kissed me and said: "It is so strange, I was thinking all sorts of nasty things coming along, but as soon as I see my pet's face I feel happy—I don't care for anything—I would sooner share a crust with him than have all the money in the world!"

I commenced to feel libidinous curiosity to examine her—this was mostly on Sundays—and she let me, blushing at first, but laughing. Then I would try new positions in coitus I had heard of. Still she did not enter into my mood.

She was engaged at this time to play in a pantomime and I commenced to lead a miserable, jealous existence. I heard scandal about her, baseless enough, but in the diseased, nervous, anxious state I had brought myself to it nearly drove me mad. I would go with her sometimes to visit her mother, whom I began to like. Her brother I still saluted coldly. It caused me horror and jealousy to see A. kissing him and letting him tickle her. In my rage, when we came home, I even said that perhaps she would let him do something else, naming it brutally and coarsely. I remember her shame, astonishment, indignation and tears. If ever a man tried a woman's love I did. But she forgave me, even that.

We went to live in a little cottage. It was in this cottage that A. first showed signs of lust, and in the diseased state of my mind, instead of regretting it, I encouraged her. She told me one day that the orgasm very often did not occur at the same time with her as with me, and that it would not unless I put my little finger into the anus. This her husband taught her, and she would rather have died than confess it to me when we first met. We would often devote our Sundays to having a picnic as we termed our lustful bouts, stimulating ourselves with wine. Her temper was not improved thereby (though her fits entirely stopped for a twelvemonth)—we had wordy warfares, but we made it up again always with tears. Nor did I allow myself to deteriorate without reactions and excursions into better things. I was always reading Emerson; it was he who rescued me from orthodox Christianity and taught me to trust in myself and in Nature. I have never ceased this struggle towards better things to this day. There, in a nutshell, is

my life; I have always been defeated when temptation came, but I have never ceased to struggle. I determined to be more abstemious in sexual indulgence and asked her to help me. She agreed willingly, for she was easily led. Whenever we fell back again into excess it was my fault.

At a theatrical performance we first met a Miss T., a young German who sang. She was about 25, with modest, quiet and engaging manners. A. and she became very friendly. I liked her; she was tall, dark and lithe, but had bad teeth.

I had been ill and at this time A. and I had a quarrel, my temper suddenly breaking out in murderous frenzy. I called her names and finally put her outside the house, telling her to go to her mother. I suffered a very hell of remorse and misery. Everything in the quiet, lonely house reminded me of her, seemed fragrant of her; my anguish became so keen I could not stop in the house, though I was just as wretched walking about. I kept this up for two days, when I met her coming to look for me. One look was enough—"A.!" "Pet!" in broken sobs—and in tears we kissed and made it up. Miss T. was with her, and I greeted her, too, with happy tears in my eyes. Another time, when A. was giving way to *her* temper, and one would have thought all love was dead, I said "Don't you love me then?" and the word alone was a talisman, her face changed, she held out her arms and began to sob quietly. . . She accepted an offer to travel with a small theatrical company who were going up-country. She was not looking well when I left and after a time I received a telegram telling me to come to her at once as she was ill. Dreading all sorts of things I borrowed my fare and went to her. I knew nothing of women, of their point of view and different code of honor, and was very far from the attitude of Guy de Maupassant who said he liked women all the better for their charmingly deceitful ways. A. wanted to see me and had taken the surest means to ensure my coming. I was angry at first, but she looked so well and was so loving that I could not be angry long.

One day when I was working the landlady came in and began talking about A. and her conduct before I came. She had gone into the actors' rooms at all hours, the woman said, and drank and been as bad as the rest in her conversation. It was the second time a married woman had run her down to me, and I commenced to think there might be something in it, and suffered all my mad jealousy over again. Not knowing the freedom actors and actresses allow themselves on tour, without there being necessarily anything in it, I worried till I thought I had nothing to do but die. And then one of the great struggles of my life occurred. Walking the country roads, I asked myself: "If it *is* true, if she has been unfaithful, will you forgive her and help her to arrive at her best?" For a long time the answer was "No!" But perhaps my striving for unity with myself had done some good, and the

final resolution was for forgiveness. I felt more peace of mind then and when I told a dying consumptive lodger in the house what the land lady had said, he replied, "Don't you believe a word of it. I know she loves you!"

After an absence I found myself one evening in a town where A. was performing. I went round to the back and they told me she had gone to a room in the hotel to change for another part. I followed and entered the room, with a glass of spirits I found that an effeminate young actor was bringing to her. She was half undressed, her beautiful arms and shoulders bare. My arrival was unexpected and she looked at me surprised, I thought coldly, as I reproached her for not keeping a promise she had made to me to touch no alcohol during the tour, but soon her arms were round my neck. She cried like a child. She was bigger and handsomer and healthier. There was not only an increased strength and size, but an increased delicacy and sweetness; her eyes and brows were lovely; there was an indescribable bloom and fragrance on her, such as the sun leaves on a peach; the traveling, country air, and freedom from coitus (had I known it) had enabled her to arrive at her true self, not only a beautiful woman, but a woman of fascination, of wit, vivacity and universal *camaraderie*. Her face was like the dawn; all my fears and jealousy left me like a cloud that melts before the sun. I remember the look on her face as she embraced me in bed that night. It had just the very smallest touch of sensuality, but was more like some beautiful child's who is being caressed by one she loves; this divine, drowsy-eyed, adorable look I had never seen on her face before—nor have I since.

We fell back into our old lustful ways. Later on A. became ill and the black devil of epilepsy returned. I became gloomy. . A restlessness and selfish brutality came over me; our love and peace were gone. I persuaded A. to go to Melbourne and look out for an engagement. The day before she was to sail we went to Glenelg for a trip. The sea air, as often happened, precipitated A.'s fits. We had gone down to the pier and A. said she felt bad. I just managed to support her to the hotel before she became stiff, and I made some impatient remark (for she nearly dragged me down) which she heard, not being quite unconscious and said half incoherently and very pitiably: "Be kind, oh, be kind!" repeating it after consciousness left her. Her heart had been breaking all day at the prospect of parting, and also, I expect, because I was so ready to part with her. That moment was a crisis in my life. I was in a murderous humor, but she looked so unutterably wretched that it seemed impossible to be anything but kind. I made myself speak lovingly to her. in moments of partial consciousness, hired a room, carried her up, and nursed her and petted her all night. The act of self-

control, and forcing myself to be kind whatever I felt, became a habit in time, a sort of second nature.

In a few days she sailed. When she had gone I was remorseful and mad with myself. How could I let her go by herself? I resolved to follow her as speedily as possible, and did so.

If I remember rightly I came to the conclusion about this time that we ought not to have coition unless we felt great love for each other. It seemed to corroborate this to a certain extent that A. always seemed more electric and pleasant to the touch when we had connection for love and not for lust. Leave it to Nature, I would say to myself. I began to feel how much my struggles, efforts and temperate living had improved me. I had more self-respect, though something of the old self-consciousness was still left. I did not get better continuously, but in an up-and-down zigzag. I still had moods of rage approaching madness and periods of neurotic depression. Long walks decidedly helped to cure me, and the sea, sun, wind, clouds and trees colored my dreams at night very sweetly. I frequently dreamed I was walking in orchards or forests, and a deeper, slightly melancholy but potent savor, as of a diviner destiny, was on my soul.

After a long absence, during which she had frequently been ill, A. joined me. I could see she was recovering from fits, which I began to realize that she had more frequently in absence from me, and also from drinking, perhaps. She was small and thin, but fresh and sweet as honey, and all signs of fits and tempers passed away from her face, so wonderful in its changes. I had become so healthy through my abstinence, temperance and long walks that our meeting was a new revelation to me of how delicate, fragrant and divine a convalescent woman may be. She was glad and surprised to see me looking so well, and if she put her hand on my arm I felt a joyous thrill. I was certainly a better man for abstaining and she a better woman and I determined not to have connection unless we were carried away by our love. As a matter of fact we did not give way to excess, though we were very loving. I tried to persuade myself that we had not gone back to our old ways, but I could not do so long.

Miss T. put in an appearance every day. She did not look so innocent, but as it was no business of mine I did not trouble. She seemed more attached to A. than ever. . . . A. was still very loving with me, but it was an effort to me to keep up to her pitch, and when A. proposed to go to Melbourne with Miss T, to sell off the furniture before settling in Adelaide, I was rather glad of the opportunity of abstaining from coitus and of watching myself to see if I again improved. When A. and Miss T. came to see me before going down to the steamer, A. was nearly crying and Miss T., changed from the old welcome friend, was not only pale and anxious, but looked guilty as if she had some

treachery in her mind; she could not meet my eye. I thought less of it then than afterwards. And once more I took long walks at night and rose early to catch the freshness of the mornings.

Some time before this I had read a book advocating a vegetarian diet, and at this time I chanced to read Pater's beautiful "Denys L'Auxerrois," the imaginary portrait of a young vine-dresser, who was attractive beyond ordinary mortals and lived, until his fall and deterioration, on fruit and water. The words, "a natural simplicity in living" remained in my memory. I resolved to read more carefully the book on scientific diet. Who can say, I thought, what changes for the better may come to me if I live on a strictly scientific and natural diet?

I fasted one whole day, and then had a breakfast of cherries, in the middle of the day a meal of fruit, and walking in the afternoon—a gray, rainy day—I felt so light, so different, and the gray sky looked so sweet and familiar, that I was reminded of the luminous visions of my boyhood. It was a distinct revelation. This Pan-like, almost Bacchic feeling, did not last, however, nor was I always able to maintain my new method of diet, though I tried to do so. I made the attempt, however, but I imagine I was more than usually run down. I would walk miles in the hope of feeling less restless. One holiday I walked down to Glenelg, having only had grapes for my dinner, and lying on the beach I looked through a strong binocular glass I had borrowed at the girls bathing. And the beauty of their faces in their frames of hair, of their arms, of their figures, seen through their wet clinging dresses, satisfied me and filled me with joy, gave me for a short time that peace and content—in harmony with the strong sunlight on the waves and the rhythmic surf on the shore—I was seeking. The summer evenings on the pier or along the beach had a peculiar savor; one felt the youth and beauty there even on dark nights, the air was fragant with them, white dresses and summer hats disappearing down the beach or over the sand hills. It was easy—doubtless justifiable sometimes—to put a lewd construction on these disappearances; but I felt it need not have been so; that it was not necessary that youth and beauty, even the sexual act itself if led up to by love, should be a subject of giggling and sniggering. I always left the beach and its flitting summer dresses with a sigh.

A., after writing once, ceased writing at all and once more her mother and I were left in a state of anxiety and suspense. At last I determined to go to Melbourne to look for her, the only clue I had being a remark in her letter that a certain actor was giving her an engagement. In Melbourne I could not find any traces of her for some days and what traces I did find of her were not calculated to allay my anxious fears. One hotel-keeper told me that some one of A's name had stayed there with another hussy (giving Miss T's stage name): "There were nice carryings on with the pair of them." I thought of Miss T's strange

looks, but could not imagine what hold she had on A., for A. loved me, I knew. I seemed to be in an inextricable maze. I could settle to nothing and was thinking of applying to the police when I heard that the actor A. had mentioned had taken his company to the Gippsland lakes. I followed to Sale, found the actor and was told that A. was not there. "She slipped me at the last moment," he said, "and remained in Melbourne." I returned to my lodgings, with my anxiety and nervous restlessness increased tenfold. But suddenly my fear and restlessness left me like a cloud. I felt quiet, young, peaceful, able to enjoy the country. A. was doubtless all right and would be able to explain her silence. I undressed leisurely and happily, thinking of the stars,

The next day, Sunday, I awoke refreshed and still at peace. After breakfast, hearing children's voices, I went out into the garden and there was a collision of souls who somehow were affinities. A young girl about twelve or younger with a fine presence and handsome face fixed her eyes on me for half a minute and then came and sat on my knee. She was one of those children I am accustomed to call "love-children," because they are so much brighter, healthier, larger and more loving than others. I always imagine more love went to their making. We fell in love and she said, stroking my beard, "Oh, you are pretty!" and I said, "And so are you!" We were so affectionate that the servant called the child away and I went for a walk, finding my little sweetheart waiting for me on my return. The touch of her hand was electric and her voice fresh and musical. I kissed her, but had become more self-conscious since the morning and wondered if her mother or the servant were looking, or even of they would appear. I was not so frank and natural as my little chum. I have often thought of her since. She had the breadth of forehead, the strength and yet lightness of limb, together with the hands and feet, not too small, that I always imagine the dwellers in Paradise will have.

I returned to Melbourne and continued trying to find A. At the same time I commenced in earnest to live on fruit and brown bread only, and enjoyed better tone and health every day, so that it was a joy to walk down the street in the sun and exchange glances with passengers à la old Walt. One day in the Botanical Gardens veils seemed to be lifted off my eyes. I could look straight at the sun and taking my note of color from that golden light I turned my eyes on the flowers, the mown grass, the trees, and for the first time perceived what a heavenly color green is, what divine companions flowers are, and what a blue sky really means. For half an hour I was in Paradise, and to complete my joy Nature revealed to me a new and unexpected secret.

I was lying on a bench, basking, and my silk shirt coming open the strong sun made its way to my breast and presently I felt a totally new sensation there. I had discovered the last joy of the skin. My

skin, fed by healthy fruit-made blood, must have functioned normally under the excitation of the sun just then (for a brief space only, alas!). I cannot describe the joy, any more than I could describe the taste of a peach to one who has only eaten apples: .it was satisfying, divine. I opened my shirt wider, but the feeling only spread faintly, and indeed this halcyon sunny hour terminated in a restlessness that sent me walking into town to look for A.

At last I heard, not of A., but of Miss T. She was in a ballet. I went round during rehearsal and while waiting entered into conversation with a little chorus girl with a good face, who was sewing. On my telling her whom I was seeking she stopped sewing and looked at me quickly: "Oh, are you her husband? I know her. *I have seen them together.*" She looked as if she were going to tell me something, but merely shook her old-fashioned head in a mournful, indescribable way, saying "Why don't you keep your wife with you?" I went to the door and presently saw Miss T. She tried to avoid me, I thought, and looked more vicious than ever, but after a minute's thought reluctantly told me where she and A. were staying. To hide my fears and suspicions I had assumed a careless demeanor, but I think I should have strangled her had she refused to tell me. I hastily went to the place indicated and going up the stairs (to the astonishment of the people) opened the door and found myself face to face with A.—but how changed! She had the hard, harlot, loveless look I detested. I felt for a few minutes that I did not love her, and she regarded me coldly too, but presently old habits reinstated themselves. She put out her hands, very pitiably, and then was sobbing in my arms. I could get nothing out of her but sobs, and to this day do not know where she spent all these weeks nor why she did not write. Miss T. came in after rehearsal, pale and hard-faced. I greeted her politely, but was watching her, trying to puzzle out why A. did not look as she usually did after long absence from coition. Miss T. took another room in the same house and was soon joined by another ballet girl, young and very pretty, who soon began to have fits. A. was always crying until Miss T. went away with her pretty friend. I knew nothing, could hardly be said to suspect anything definite, and yet I pitied that pretty girl whose eyes looked so helpless and appealing.

I set to work again. But I continued to live on fruit and bread, and taking off my clothes I would stand up at the window in the sun. A lot of prostitutes, however, who lived at the back saw me and were scandalized or shocked or thought me mad. The landlady heard of it and spoke to A. So I had to desist from my glorious sun-baths.

We slept on a single bed, and though I did my best to avoid coitus (I wanted to wait and think out some theory of it), A., who knew nothing of this, wanted to resume our old habits, and finally I surrendered. But my sufferings next day were intense, and I had the sense

of having fallen from some high estate. My thoughts were divided between two theories: one that our misery was caused by our diet, more or less; the other that we had fallen into some error as regards coitus, and this was becoming almost a certainty with me.

There is one incident I think worthy of note which happened before the "fall" just mentioned and when I was living on fruit and in splendid health. At a performance I saw a girl on the stage with handsome legs in tights, and once as she straightened her leg the knee-cap going into position gave me such a strange and keen joy—of that quality I call divine or musical—that I was like one suddenly awakened to the divinity and beauty of the female form. The joy was so keen and yet peaceful, familiar, and subjective that I could not help comparing it to a happy chemical change in the tissues of my own brain. Like the unexpected functioning of my skin in the sun it was a sign of a partial return to a normal condition, another glimpse of Paradise.

I stuck to my new diet and gained a fresh elation and joy in life. Gradually clothes became insupportable, and I went down to the beach as often as possible to take them off, and at nights, beside the patient and astonished A., I would lie naked. One evening, passing some grass, I looked over the fence like a gipsy and felt a longing to take off my clothes and sleep in the grass all night. It was of course impossible. And A. looked unhappily in my face; she began to think her mother, who now thought I was mad, must be right.

That night I woke up and found myself having coition. I was angry and felt I had been put back in my progress, but a fever of lust now came over me. I would sit under the tap and let the cold water run over me to conquer the fever, but at the end of a week my hopes were frustrated and I even turned against my natural diet, on which I had made flesh. A., as I expected, went through her usual fits, and slowly recovered. (If we had connection only once she in about three weeks had a mild attack of fits; if we had coition more than once the fits were more severe.) I relapsed more than once and as a means of impressing my resolution for future abstinence I would walk for miles in the middle of pitch-black nights. . . .

Miss T. came over to Adelaide and as I knew nothing definite against her and heard that she was engaged, I thought perhaps my suspicions were unfounded and was friendly. But one day in town I saw her and A. on a tram going out to our cottage. Even then my suspicions might not have been awakened, but I saw Miss T. say something rapidly to A., and A. called out to me, "Will you be coming home soon?" And I answered "No." When the tram had gone on I found myself vaguely wondering what Miss T. wanted to know that for, for my perceptions were becoming acute enough to understand women's ways. In another minute I was walking rapidly home. When I came to the door

it was locked. I knocked and knocked and no one came. I called out and threatened to kick in the door. Still no one came. Mad with rage I commenced to put my threat into execution, when the door was opened by Miss T., half-naked, in her petticoats, and pale as death, but no longer defiant. "So I've caught you, have I?" I *looked*, but could not trust myself to speak. Wondering why A. did not appear I went into the bedroom. She was lying on the bed, just as Miss T. had left her, on the verge of a fit, and on seeing me she held out her hands piteously, and when I stooped over her she whispered, "Send her away, send her away." Then she became unconscious and going into the next room I ordered Miss T. (who had managed to scramble on her dress) out of the house. I spoke scornfully as if addressing a dog, and she slinked out with a malignant but cowed look I hope never to see on a woman's face again. What they had been doing with their clothes off I do not know; women will rather die than confess. When A. had recovered from her fit she denied that there had been anything between them, and stuck to it doggedly, but with such a folorn look I had not the heart to prosecute my inquiries.

For my part, all the efforts I had been making for so long seemed for a time to be in vain; for some weeks I sank into a sort of satyriasis and even my anger against Miss T. turned to a prurient curiosity. At the same time I was not always able to adhere to my diet. But both as regards coition and diet I was still fighting, and on the whole successfully. My fits of temper, however, were excessive and my ennui became gloomy despair. One day I blasphemed on crossing the Park and spoke contemptuously of "God and his twopenny ha'penny revolving balls," referring to the planetary system. But for long walks I should have gone mad. A. was drinking in the intervals of her fits. I found half empty bottles of wine hidden away. This did not improve my temper and one day—this was when she was well and up—I struck her a heavy blow on the face, and she aimed a glass decanter at me. She went home to her mother and I lived alone in the cottage. I heard soon afterwards that her husband had come back and that they had made it up. Our parting was not, however, destined to be final.

Even out of that month's sufferings I made capital. I was better after my tendency to lubricity, my gloom, rage, restlessness and degradation. They had been but the irritations of convalescence.

INDEX OF AUTHORS.

Abrantès, duchesse d', 213.
Adler, 131, 145, 148, 166, 174, 186.
Albucasis, 130.
Alexander, H. C. B., 217.
Amatus Lusitanus, 163.
Ammon, 193, 196.
Andersen, 192.
Andriezen, 175.
Aquinas, 174.
Aristophanes, 52, 86, 147, 174.
Aristotle, 159, 183, 194.
Averroes, 138
Avicenna, 130, 138.
Aubrey, 93.
Aulnay, Madame d', 26.

Baer, 222.
Ball, 93.
Ballantyne, J. W., 221, 222, 223.
Bancroft, H. H., 80.
Barker, Fordyce, 223.
Barnes, R., 205, 209.
Bartholin, 129.
Bayle, 83.
Beale, G. B., 218.
Bechterew, 29, 151.
Beck, J. R., 161.
Becker, 177.
Bell, Sir C., 137.
Bell, Sanford, 215.
Belletrud, 62, 82.
Beneden, 116.
Bergh, 120, 125, 127, 129, 135, 136, 195.
Bianchi, 227.
Biérent, 185, 188, 203.
Binet, 2, 15, 106.
Bischoff, T. L. W., 222, 223.
Bloch, J., 25, 50, 60, 78, 81, 83, 84, 87, 98, 100, 222.
Blondel, 221.
Blumenbach, 81, 188, 222.
Blunt, J. J., 51.
Boas, 52, 80.
Boccaccio, 170.
Bölsche, 133.
Boiteau, 78.
Bois, J., 51.
Bois-Reymond, E. du, 222.

Booth, D. S., 103.
Booth, J., 220.
Bouchereau, 185.
Bouchet, 183.
Bourke, J. G., 51, 52, 58, 59, 173.
Boveri, 116.
Brand, 51.
Braun, 139.
Brantôme, 10, 129, 195.
Brehm, 86.
Breitenstein, 179.
Brénier de Montmorand, 58.
Brenot, 227.
Brouardel, 216.
Brown-Séquard, 179.
Brügelmann, 155.
Buckman, S. S., 167.
Bucknill, 195.
Bunge, 175.
Burchard, 58, 87, 173.
Burdach, 222.
Burton, Robert, 9, 63, 108, 189, 200.
Buschan, 179.
Busdraghi, 186.

Cabanis, 181.
Campbell, J. F., 216.
Campbell, H., 179, 227.
Carpenter, E., 110.
Casanova, 15.
Cascella, 195.
Castelnau, 84.
Catullus, 203.
Cecca, 180.
Celsus, 124.
Chapman, C. W., 219.
Charcot, 177.
Chaucer, 122, 175.
Chaulant, 122.
Chevalier, 11.
Chidley, W., 164.
Cladel, J., 109.
Clement, of Alexandria, 175.
Coe, 128, 129.
Coen, 177.
Collineau, 183.
Colman, W. S., 104.
Columbus, R., 129, 221.
Cook, G. W., 223.

Crawley, 173.
Cumston, 216.
Cuvier, 86.
Cyples, 109.

Dabney, 224.
Darwin, C., 85.
Darwin, E., 222.
Daumas, 56.
Dearborn, G., 167.
Dembo, 159.
Deniker, 122, 136.
Dessoir, Max, 26.
Dickinson, R. L., 125, 135.
Diderot, 101.
Disselhorst, 158.
Donaldson, H. H., 228.
Douglas, C., 207.
Drähms, 200.
Dühren, E., 63, 64, 95, 195 (and see Bloch, J.).
Dufougère, 178.
Dufour, 25, 173.
Dulaure, 58, 80, 98.
Duncan, Matthews, 210.

East, A., 63.
Edgar, Clifton, 162, 223, 228.
Ellis, Havelock, 1, 63, 100, 126, 137, 185, 199, 200, 209, 228.
Engelmann, 193.
Erotion, 125.
Esbach, 205
Eschricht, 127.
Espinas, 56.
Eulenburg, 1, 95.
Evans, 210.
Ezekiel, 58.

Fabricius, 127.
Fallopius, 130, 138.
Féré, 55, 74, 77, 103, 155, 166, 169, 184, 225.
Fichstedt, 161.
Flood, E., 184.
Florence, 172.
Fothergill, Milner, 189.
Frazer, J. G., 61.
Freud, 133, 153, 202.
Freyer, 91.
Froriep, 147.
Fuchs, 47, 60, 82.
Fürbringer, 171.

Galen, 123, 130.
Gardiner, C. F, 220.
Garnier, 92, 94, 96, 98, 102.
Gautier, A., 208.
Gautier, T., 26.
Gellhoen, 140.
Gerhard, A., 229.
Giles, A., 210, 212, 214, 216.
Godin, 192.
Goethe, 17, 49.
Goncourt, E. de, 54.
Gopcevic, 100.
Goron, 8.
Gould, 166, 212, 223.
Gow, 146.
Graaf, de, 137.
Griffiths, 184, 189.
Groos, K., 3, 201.
Gualino, 143.
Guéniot, 210.
Guibaut, 145.
Guillereau, 85.
Guinard, 192.
Guttceit, 86, 133.

Haddon, 87.
Haig, 169, 228.
Hall, G. Stanley. 8, 15, 16, 53, 74, 76, 99, 100, 120, 185.
Haller, 125, 130, 180, 222.
Hamilton, A., 9.
Hammond, 29.
Hardy, Thomas, 17.
Hartland, E. S., 61.
Harvey, 146, 165.
Hegar, 198
Henderson, J., 207.
Henle, 134.
Hennig, 206, 222.
Herman, 119.
Herodotus, 80, 101.
Herrick, 45, 48, 70.
Heusinger, 191.
Hewitt, Grailey, 209.
Hippocrates, 194, 203, 220
Hirst. 160.
Hislop, J. T., 219.
Hoche, 97.
Horrocks, 209.
Howard, W. L., 77, 97, 172.
Howell, 10.
Howitt, A. W., 167.
Hrdlicka, 123.
Hughes, C. H., 103, 149.
Hunter, John. 166, 172.
Hunter, William, 223.
Huysmans, 4, 50.
Hyades. 122. 136.

Hyrtl, 116, 122, 123, 125, 130, 137, 140, 148, 177.

Jacobi, 166.
Jacoby, P., 23, 27.
Jahn, 128.
Janet, 7, 55.
Janke, 163, 166.
Jastreboff, 159.
Jenkyns, J., 220.
Johnston, G. A., 220.
Johnston, Sir H. H, 122, 172.
Jonson, Ben, 217.
Juvenal, 84.

Kaltenbach, 209.
Kelly, H., 179.
Kepler, 192.
Kiernan, J. G., 8, 84, 217, 223.
Kisch, 152, 174.
Kleinpaul, 5, 25, 101.
Kobelt, 199.
Kocher, 87, 122.
Kohlbrugge, 118.
Kolbein, 51.
Krafft-Ebing, 2, 15, 20, 27, 28, 30, 32, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 90, 92, 102, 105, 106.
Krauss, 84, 101.
Lamb, D. S., 125, 137.
Landes, L. de, 122.

Lane, 12.
Lasègue, 89, 216.
Laurent, E., 11, 75.
Lawrence, Sir W., 147.
Laycock, 186, 194, 199.
Levi, 177.
Licetus, 221.
Liébault, 173.
Liétaud, 131.
Lipps, 105.
Litzmann, 161, 222.
Lombroso, 2, 128, 195.
Lorion, 163.
Lortet, 183.
Lucas, J. C., 176.
Lucretius, 108, 148.
Lunier, 216.
Luschka, 137.
Lusini, 60.
Lydston, 78.

Macdonald, A., 6, 73, 195.
MacGillicuddy, 155.
McKay, A., 219.

Mackay, W. J. S., 125.
Mackenzie, J., 200.
Magnan, 28, 61, 89.
Melebranche, 221.
Mantegazza, 10, 82, 88, 186, 187.
Marandon de Montyel, 17, 122.
Marc, 186.
Marro, 174, 185, 187, 195, 199, 200.
Marshall, H. R., 225.
Martial, 203.
Martin, J. M. H., 210.
Martineau, 130, 194.
Maschka, 60, 83.
Masterman, 59.
Matignon, 21, 184.
Mattei, 177.
McMordie, 177.
Mercier, 62, 82.
Meredith, Ellis, 229.
Middleton, T., 190.
Mirabeau, 24, 82.
Mitchell, Sir A., 218.
Moll, 10, 25, 29, 30, 31, 64, 78, 79, 83, 84, 86, 90, 93, 95, 105, 186, 227.
Mongeri, 228.
Morache, 22.
Moraglia, 29, 62, 195.
Morris, R. T., 131.
Morselli, 55.
Motet, 76.
Moulin, J. Mansell, 172.
Müller, J., 129, 222.
Mundé, P., 132, 162.

Nücke, 85.
Neale, R., 59.
Neri, 57.
Nicholson, H. O., 206, 207.
Nina Rodrigues, 139.

Obici, 151.
Onanoff, 149.
Ottolenghi, 186, 200.
Ovid, 147, 175

Pacheco, 26.
Palfyn, 124.
Park, Mungo, 51.
Papillault, 192.
Pasini, 195.
Paterson, A. R., 219.
Paulini, 128.
Paulus Æginetus, 148.
Pearse, W. H., 173.
Pearson, Karl, 5

Pechuel-Loesche, 147.
Pelanda, 61, 92.
Pennant, 51.
Penta, 13.
Pfaff, 83, 128.
Pierer, 122.
Pillon, 112.
Pinæus, 137.
Pinard, 206, 216, 229.
Pitre, C., 193.
Pitres, 55.
Pittard, 184.
Plant, 194.
Plautus, 137.
Pliny, 124.
Ploss, 23, 26, 81, 98, 99, 119, 124, 126, 127, 128, 135, 138, 145, 147, 150, 204, 214, 216, 221, 228.
Poehl, 179.
Polemon, 183.
Pollux, 130.
Porta, Della, 194, 221.
Power, 189.
Pyle, 166, 212, 223.

Raymond, 55.
Régis, 55.
Règnier, H. de, 49.
Reinach, S., 26.
Renooz, Celine, 99.
Restif de la Bretonne, 18, 22.
Retterer, E., 117, 120, 144.
Reynolds, A. R., 8.
Rhys, J., 53.
Ribot, 3.
Riedel, 145.
Rimbaud, 99.
Riolan, 163, 204.
Robinson, Bryan, 120, 130, 168.
Robinson, Louis, 127.
Rodin, 108.
Roederer, 222.
Roons, R. P., 219.
Rosse, Irving, 83, 98.
Roth, W., 172.
Rothe, 128, 129.
Roubaud, 28, 123, 149, 163, 187, 194.
Rousseau, 102.
Routh, C. H. F., 127, 133.
Rufus, 130.
Russell, W., 218.

Sade, de, 63, 172, 195.
Salmon, W., 59, 173.
Scherzer, 125.
Schinz, 24.
Schmiedeberg, 175.
Schreiner, 179.
Schrenck-Notzing, 89.
Schurig, 5, 10, 58, 85, 87, 122, 123, 125, 130, 137, 138, 139, 145, 146, 163, 172, 203, 211, 221.
Scott, Colin, 3, 98.
Scripture, E. W., 124.
Seerley, 120.
Seligmann, 180.
Sellheim, 184.
Shakespeare, 170.
Shattock, 118, 180.
Shufeldt, 45.
Silk, J. F. W., 156.
Simon, H., 229.
Simpson, Sir J., 130, 193.
Sims, Marion, 166.
Smith, Sir A., 86.
Smith, Haywood, 127, 189.
Soemmering, 222.
Soranus, 130, 221, 227.
Spigelius, 134, 138.
Stahl, F. A., 220.
Stanton, 206.
Stendhal, 9, 12, 107, 112.
Stengel, 206.
Stern, B., 52, 79, 100.
Stevens, Vaughan, 177.
Stieda, 134.
Stratz, 21, 22, 126, 205.
Stubbs, 87.
Suidas, 130.
Sukhanoff, 60.
Sullivan, W. C., 175.
Sutherland, W. D., 176.
Sutton, Bland, 117, 208.
Swift, 48.

Tarde, 106.
Tardieu, 189, 190, 195.
Tarnier, 228.
Taxil, 63.
Theocritus, 51.
Thoinot, 95.
Thompson, W. L., 207.
Thomson, J., 225.
Tilt, 131, 186.
Toff, 176, 177.
Tourdes, G., 183.
Tridandani, 208.
Trochon, 91.
Turke, Hack, 195.

Vahness, 148.
Valentin, 222.
Varigny, H de, 147.
Variot, G., 222.
Varro, 86.
Vaschide, 152, 154, 167, 185.
Vatsyayana, 150.
Venette, 176.
Venturi, 189.
Vesalius, 138.
Vinay, 206, 227.
Vinci, L. da, 146.
Voigt, 127.
Voisin, J., 198.
Vurpas, 152, 154, 167, 185.

Wagner, R., 222.
Waldeyer, 131.
Walker, G., 172.
Wallace, A. W., 224.
Warton, 83.
Wasserschleben, 58, 87, 173.
Weininger, O., 229.
Wellhausen, 101.
Werner, 125.
Wernich, 161.
West, J. P., 155.
Wharton, 171.
Wilhelm, Eugen, 52.
Wilkin, G., 229.
Wilkinson, A. D., 161.
Williams, J. W. Whitridge, 192, 209.
Williamson, C. F., 219.
Wolff, B., 208.
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 9.
Wordsworth, 49.
Wychgel, 205.

Youatt, 85.

Zaborsky, 209.
Zoppi, 180.
Zimmer, 52.
Zola, 101.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Abyssinians, coitus among, 163.
Acquired element in erotic symbolism, 28.
Acromegaly and sexual development, 186.
Alcohol, aphrodisiac effects of, 174.
Algolagnia, in relation to scatologic symbolism, 56; as a form of erotic symbolism, 106.
Anæsthesia, sexual, 186.
Anæsthetics in relation to sexual excitement, 156.
Anaphrodisiacs, 177.
Animal copulation, attraction of, 72.
Animals, detumescence in, 158, 160, 168.
Annamites, coitus among, 163.
Antipathies of pregnant women, 212.
Anus in relation to pubic hair, 128; as an erogenous zone, 133.
Apes, sexual organs of, 125, 127, 136, 165; sexual congress in, 144, 147.
Aphrodisiacs, 172 *et seq.*
Apples, longings of women for, 216.
Arabs, penis in, 122.
Artist, compared to lover, 108.
Associations of contiguity and resemblance in erotic symbolism, 3.
Australian method of sexual congress, 147, 148.
Auto-suggestions, longings of pregnancy as, 213.

Bartholin, glands of, 145.
Beard in relation to sexual development, 197.
Beauty, the objective element in, 107 *et seq.*
Bestiality, 77 *et seq.*
Bladder in relation to sexual excitement, 56, 154, 155.
Blood during pregnancy, 206.
Blood-pressure during detumescence, 151, 169.
Breasts, and erotic temperament, 188; during pregnancy, 200.
Bromide as an anaphrodisiac, 177.
Bulbo-cavernous reflex, 149, 157.

Camphor as an anaphrodisiac, 177.
Cantharides, effects of, 174
Castration, results of, 180, 183.
Celery as an aphrodisiac, 174.
Children, attracted to foot, 16; to scatology, 53; to copulation of animals, 72; to hair, 74; food impulses of, 215.
Chinese, foot-fetichism of, 21.
Circulatory conditions during coitus, 151; during pregnancy, 207.
Clitoris, 118, 121, 126, 129 *et seq.* 146.
Clothes, erotic fascination of, 45.
Coitus, the phenomena of, 111 *et seq.*; the methods of, 146 *et seq.*; *ethnic variations* in methods of, 147, 151; respiratory and circulatory conditions during, 151; interruptus as a cause of vasomotor disturbance, 152, 178; glandular activity during, 153 *et seq.*; psychic state during, 157; serious effects of, 168.
Congenital element in erotic symbolism, 27.
Contiguity in erotic symbolism, associations of, 3.
Coprolagnia, 47, 62 *et seq.*
Coprophagia, religious and sexual, 87.
Courtship, 142.
Crystallization, Stendhal's, 9, 107.

Defile, the impulse to, 95.
Distillatio, 153.
Dog, human sexual intercourse with, 83.
Dynamometric experiments during sexual excitement, 154.

Ejaculation, the mechanism of, 149.
Embryo, 117.
Epilepsy and exhibitionism, 91, 103; compared to coitus, 150; as a result of coitus, 169.
Erectility during coitus, 144.
Erogenous zone, anus as, 133; lips as, 143, 202.
Erotic intoxication, 155.
Erotic temperament, 182 *et seq.*
Eryngo as an aphrodisiac, 174.
Ethnic variations in coitus, 147, 150, 159, 163.
Etruscans, sexual significance of foot among, 24.
Eunuchs, characteristics of, 183.
Exercise on sexual organs, influence of, 123.
Exhibitionism, 89 *et seq.*
Eyes during detumescence, 166; in relation to erotic temperament, 189; darker at puberty, 193.

Face during detumescence, expression of, 166.
Fæces as a drug, 58.
Fecundation, the phenomena of, 117; artificial, 166.
Feet as a sexual symbol, uncovering, 15.
Fellatio, 172.
Fetichism, erotic, 2 *et seq.*
Flagellation, 64, 94, 102, 106.
Foot-fetichism, *see* Shoe-fetichism.
Fuegians, penis in, 122.
Fur as a fetich, 76.

Garments as fetiches, 10, 74.
Genital organs as fetiches, 10.
Goat as a human sexual fetich, 80, 82.
Greeks, sexual significance of foot among, 24

Hair as a fetich, 74; despoilers of, 75; pubic, 125 *et seq.*; darkens at puberty, 193; in relation to erotic temperament, 194 *et seq.*; in pregnancy, 205.
Hand as fetich, 15.
Heart during pregnancy, 206.
Homosexuality as a form of erotic symbolism, 2.
Hottentot apron, 134.
Hymen, 138 *et seq.*, 162.
Hyperæsthesia, sexual, 6 *et seq.*
Hypertrichosis universalis, 195.
Hysteria, 143, 200, 227.

Ideal coprolagnia, 64.
Idiocy as result of maternal impressions, 218, 224.
Idiots, sexual development of, 198.
Impregnation without rupture of hymen, 162; without conjunctions, 163; artificial, 166.
Impressions, maternal, 217 *et seq.*
Intellectual work, relation of pregnancy to, 229.
Intoxication, erotic, 155.

Japanese, labia majora in, 125.
Joy, the expression of, 167.

Kiss, the, 143.
Kleptomania and pregnancy, 216.
Knee-jerk in pregnancy, 208.

Labia majora, 125 *et seq.*
Labia minora, 119, 134 *et seq*
Larynx in relation to sexual state, 203.
Linea fusca, 192.
Lips, as an erogenous zone, 143, 202; in relation to erotic temperament, 190.
Longings of pregnancy, 210; theories of, 212; as auto-suggestions, 213; physiological basis of, 214; relation to the longings of childhood, 215.

Masochism, in relation to shoe-fetichism, 31; in relation to scatalogic symbolism, 56; in relation to exhibitionism of nates, 102; as a form of erotic symbolism, 106.
Masturbation and pubic hair, 127; hypertrophy of clitoris ascribed to, 131; part played by clitoris in, 133; why some theologians permitted, 146; phenomena during, 155.
Maternal element in sexual love, 201.
Maternal impressions, 217 *et seq.*

Menstruation in relation to coitus, 145; metabolism during, 208; in relation to sickness of pregnancy, 209; compared to pregnancy, 228.
Mental state during pregnancy, 208.
Metabolism during pregnancy, 208.
Mixoscopic zoophilia, 71.
Modesty a supposed sign of virginity, 204.
Mohammedan method of sexual congress, 147.
Mole as a fetich, 12.
Mongol peoples, foot fetichism among various, 23.
Mons veneris, 124.
Mordvins, foot-fetichism among, 23;
Motor activity during coitus, 183 *et seq.*
Mouth in relation to erotic temperament, 191.
Muscular movements during coitus, 154.

Nates in relation to coprolagnia, 63; in relation to exhibitionism, 100, 102; in relation to erotic temperament, 186.
Necrophilia, 11, 81.
Negative fetich, 8.
Negro, penis in, 122; labia majora in, 125; clitoris in, 130; labia minora in, 134; method of sexual congress among, 147.
Nervous system during pregnancy, 208.
Neurasthenia cordis vasomotoria, 152.
Nipples, pigmentation of, 193.
Nudity, religious, 99.
Nurition, symbolism of, 7.
Nymphæ, 119, 134 *et seq.*
Nymphomania, 186.

Obsessions of scruple, 7; longings of pregnancy as, 211.
Obsessional exhibitionism, 102.
Odor an alleged sign of defloration, 203.
Onion as an aphrodisiac, 174.
Opium as an aphrodisiac, 176.
Organs, sexual, 119 *et seq.*
Ova and spermatozoa, union of, 161 *et seq.*
Ovarian extract, effects of, 179.
Ovaries, function of, 181; analogy of with thyroid, 208.

Paidophilia, 11, 13.
Pain and erotic symbolism, 106.
Pedicatio, 133.
Pelvic development and erotic temperament, 186.
Pelvic floor, variability of, 119.
Pelvic inclination, 126.
Penis, 119, 121 *et seq.*, 129.
Penis-fetichism, 96.
Phallic worship, 98.
Physiognomists and the erotic temperament, 182.
Pica, 211.
Pigmentation in relation to erotic temperament, 191; in pregnancy, 205.
Potatoes, the supposed aphrodisiac effects of, 173.
Precocity, influence of, 29.
Pregnancy and pigmentation, 193; psychic state in, 201 *et seq;* sexual desire during, 227; relation of to intellectual work, 229.
Presbyophilia, 11.
Prostate, 171.
Prostitutes, external genitals of, 136; stature of, 187.
Psychic exhibitionism, 94.
Psychic condition during coitus, 157.
Puberty, the phenomena of, 184; pigmentary changes at, 192.
Pubic hair, 125 *et seq.*; 204.
Puericulture, 229.
Pygmalionism, 11, 12.

Quadrupedal method of coitus in man, 148.

Rachitic, sexual tendencies of the, 184.
Reflex, bulbo-cavernous, 149.
Reflexes during pregnancy, 208.
Religious scatalogic symbolism, 57.
Resemblance in erotic symbolism, associations of, 3.
Respiration during coitus, 151.
Responsibility of pregnant women, 217.

Restif de la Bretonne's shoe-fetichism, 18.
Romans, sexual significance of foot among, 24; methods of coitus among, 147, 148.
Rousseau, 102.
Rue as an anaphrodisiac, 177.

Sadism, 106.
Saint compared to lover, 109.
Salivation during coitus, 153.
Satyriasis, 185.
Scatalogic symbolism, 47 *et seq.*
Scrotum, 123.
Scruple, obsessions of, 7.
Secretions of genital canal, 146.
Semen, alleged female, 146; in coitus, 157; in female genital canal, 159; vital activity of, 165; artificial injection of, 166; constituents of, 171; as a stimulant, 172.
Sexual anæstheaia, 186.
Sexual conjugation, 116 *et seq.*
Sexual desire during pregnancy, 229.
Sexual organs, 119 *et seq.*
Sexual selection in relation to erotic symbolism, 108; in relation to external sexual organs, 127; the probable cause of the hymen, 140.
Shadow as a fetich, 8.
Shoe, sexual significance of, 25
Shoe-fetichism frequency of, 15; normal basis of, 16, 27; illustrated by Restif de la Bretonne, 18; prevalence of among Chinese, etc., 21; former prevalence in Europe, 24; congenital basis of, 27; acquired element in, 28; favored by precocity, 29; relation to masochism, 30; illustrative cases of, 33 *et seq.*; dynamic element in, 45.
Sickness of pregnancy, 209 *et seq.*
Skin, sexual significance of, 143, 177; condition of during coitus, 144, 158; in relation to erotic temperament, 190; sexual pigmentation of, 193.
Slipper as a sexual symbol, 25.
Smile, origin of the, 167.
Sodomy, the term, 72.
Spain, sexual attractiveness of foot in, 26.
Spermatozoa reach ova, how the, 161 *et seq.*, 171.
Spermin, 179.
Sphygmanometer experiments during sexual excitement, 152.
Stature and erotic temperament, 187.
Stimulants, 178.
Stuff-fetichisms, 73 *et seq.*
Strychnine, aphrodisiac effects of, 174.
Suggestion in relation to longings of pregnancy, 214.
Symbols, nature of, 3; of sex in language, 4.

Temperament, alleged erotic, 182 *et seq.*
Testicular juices, effects of, 179.
Testes, 123, 181, 197.
Thyroid, condition during sexual excitement, 203; during pregnancy, 207.
Ticklishness in relation to stuff-fetichisms, 76.
Tumescence in relation to detumescence, 115 *et seq.*, 142.

Unnatural offence, the term, 72.
Urethra, variability of female, 120; an erogenous zone, 133.
Urethrorrhœa ex libidine, 153.
Urinary stream, in relation to nymphæ, 136; an alleged index to virginity, 204.
Urine in religious rites, 50; possesses magical virtues, 52; in legends, 52; in medicine, 59; during coitus, 153, 154.
Urolagnia, 47 *et seq.*
Uterus, 118, 132, 159 *et seq.*, 194, 210.

Vagina, 126, 137, 145, 159, 163, 177.
Vaginismus, 13, 163.
Vasomotor conditions during coitus, 151.
Vaudonism, 98.
Virginity, ancient diagnosis of, 126, 138, 203 *et seq.*
Virile reflex, 149.

Voice, in relation to erotic temperament, 188; in relation to virginity, 203.
Vomiting of pregnancy, 209 *et seq.*
Vulva, 124 *et seq.*, 146, 163.
Vulva-fetichism, 96.

Waist, origin of admiration for small, 21.
Yohinbin as an aphrodisiac, 176.

Zooerastia, 77 *et seq.*
Zoophilia erotica, 71, 76.
Zoophilia non-erotic, 77.

PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PREFACE

This supplementary volume of Studies is made up of what Schopenhauer would have called paralipomena and parerga. That is to say, it consists, in part, of essays and fragments left over from the main volumes because dealing with subjects which had not yet assumed sufficient importance or taken clear and definite shape; and in still larger part of studies that are by-products of my investigation, lying on the borderland of the field of sex, partly in and partly out of it, but suitable to discuss here because here we are able to attempt to determine their precise sexual aspects.

To the first class belong notably the study of Eonism, as I term the anomaly which Hirschfeld inadequately named "Transvestism," and the summary of observations of Kleptolagnia, as I would term an anomaly which would formerly have been ranged in the ancient and highly disputable group of Kleptomanias. To the second class belong most typically the studies of dreaming and of vesical psychology, subjects having fields of their own, which yet at times pass over neighboring frontiers of sex.

It may seem that some of the lines of investigation here followed lead away from familiarly recognizable paths generally accepted as profitable. But as one of our greatest masters in the exploration of the living organism, William Harvey, wrote a few weeks before his death: "Nature is nowhere accustomed more openly to display her secret mysteries than when she shows traces of her workings apart from the beaten path." That which is true of Nature in general is true of the impulse of sex in particular, and none of the explorations, however unfamiliar, recorded in this volume will be devoid of instruction.

I had proposed to include as an appendix to this volume the detailed life-history of a Russian correspondent communicated to me in French. This lengthy narrative I regard as of much interest, both as presenting an intimate picture of social life in Russia before the Revolution and as illustrating various points of sexual psychology. It is not, however, essential to my work, and on grounds unconnected with its intrinsic interest it has been considered desirable to omit it from the English edition of these Studies. It is included in its original form in the French edition published by the Mercure de France, *Etudes de Psychologie Sexuelle* (Vol. 6, pp. 101-208), to which I would refer those who may like to consult it.

In now finally drawing together the last threads of Studies which have occupied so large a part of my life I wish to restore an acknowledgment which was made in the Preface to what is now the first volume, when it was originally published in London in 1900 (1899), of "my indebtedness for the assistance and sympathy which, here and always, I have received from my wife." I removed that acknowledgment from later editions because in the stormy period my work had to pass through in those days I feared that to some persons any association with it might not seem creditable. It was not by my wife's wish that I made the omission, for it was her pride to stand loyally and helpfully by my side in even the most dangerous situations. In now restoring this acknowledgment I know with what satisfaction she would have accepted even so small a recognition of her comradeship in my life-work.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

CONTENTS

I.

PAGE

EONISM 1

II.

THE DOCTRINE OF EROGENIC ZONES 111

III.

THE HISTORY OF FLORRIE AND THE MECHANISM OF SEXUAL DEVIATION 121

IV.

THE MENSTRUAL CURVE OF SEXUAL IMPULSE 213

V.

THE SYNTHESIS OF DREAMS: A STUDY OF A SERIES OF ONE HUNDRED DREAMS 237

VI.

THE CONCEPTION OF NARCISSISM 347

VII.

UNDINISM 376

VIII.

KLEPTOLAGNIA 477

IX.

THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE 492

INDEX OF AUTHORS 533

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 537

I.

EONISM.

MANY years ago, when exploring the phenomena of sexual inversion, I was puzzled by occasional cases I met with of people who took pleasure in behaving and dressing like the opposite sex and yet were not sexually inverted; that is, their sexual feelings were not directed towards persons of their own sex.

Such cases had, indeed, often been noted, both among men and women, and it is on record that various prominent people, some of high ability, have shown this peculiarity and sometimes thereby greatly intrigued the curiosity alike of their contemporaries and of posterity. The Chevalier d'Eon is probably the most conspicuous of these historical personages.

Charles-Geneviève, the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont, was the son of Louis d'Eon de Beaumont, who belonged to the petty nobility, and was director of the King's demesnes in Burgundy. He was born in 1728 in the delightful Burgundian town of Tonnerre. A house in the main street, nearly opposite the railway station, is traditionally regarded as his birthplace, but a local antiquary has in recent years found reason to believe that he was born in a house of more aristocratic character (the former Hôtel d'Uzès) which is the architectural gem of Tonnerre. He was short, slight, delicate in shape, and in early life not robust in health. As a child he was dressed as a girl, and he stated that he had worn the robe of the Sisterhood of the Virgin Mary until his seventh year. He was of nervous disposition but restless and adventurous, courageous and full of energy, even quarrelsome and irascible. He became one of the best swordsmen of his time and when nearly seventy he was more than a match for the English champion fencer. He was also an accomplished musician, and he accumulated a large library.

Though sometimes lacking in judgment, he was of high intelligence and sagacity, and his face in old age, while finely and delicately moulded, is, in some of the portraits, powerful and intellectual rather than feminine. But "his virility was all in his brain." He appears to have had no known sexual relationships either with women or men, notwithstanding various romantic legends which circulated concerning him, and there is (according to Telfer) no truth in the story of a *liaison* with the youthful Catherine Woronzoff, later Princess Dashkoff, although he was on friendly terms with many women, both before and after his outward transformation. He played an important part as a secret diplomatic agent of the French Government in various countries, especially England (where he attained a certain popularity and succeeded in being on good terms with the Government), and became a conspicuous figure in the international political world. With the accession of Louis XVI his fortunes declined. He had adopted feminine dress on his own initiative, and became commonly regarded as a woman, the result being that, on account of his prominent position, it would not later have been easy for him to resume masculine dress. He was still playing the part of a woman and occupied in little feminine avocations, regarded by all as really a woman, even by the English woman friend with whom he lived and the doctor who attended him in his fatal illness, when he died in London in 1810. The autopsy showed that he was in all essential physical respects a completely normal man.

A quarter of a century earlier this discovery would have produced a public sensation. But in the storm of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars the large part played by the Chevalier d'Eon in European public affairs had been forgotten; he had sunk into oblivion and poverty, reduced to pawn his Cross of St. Louis and his jewels.

Pettow regards the Chevalier d'Eon as a "pseudo-transvestist," who merely used feminine garments to aid his secret diplomatic missions, and his biographers, ignorant of psychological considerations, refer to his "masquerade." But this

theory will hardly work out. A man who "plays a part" during the greater part of his active life and continues to play it long after the active phase of his life is over, plays it, moreover, with such ability and success that no one suspects the "masquerade," is, we may be sure, fulfilling a deep demand of his own nature. He clearly had a constitutional predisposition for the life he adopted, aided by an almost asexual disposition, so that we might place him with the asexual group of transvests in Hirschfeld's classification. It is to be noted, however, that in people with this psychic anomaly physical sexual vigor seems often subnormal.

There are many books on the Chevalier d'Eon both in French and English. Most of them are imperfectly reliable and by authors who were without psychological equipment. Reference may be made to Gaillardet, *Mémoires de la Chevalière d'Eon,* 1866 (but not the romancing book written by the same author thirty years before and afterwards frankly withdrawn by him); J. B. Telfer, *The Strange Career of the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont,* 1885; E. A. Vizetelly, *The True Story of the Chevalier d'Eon,* 1895 (a little book by J. B. Telfer, *Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont: A Treatise,* 1896, is mainly a correction of inaccuracies in Vizetelly's work); G. Letainturier-Fradin, *La Chevalière d'Eon,* 1901; O. Homberg and F. Jousselin, *Un Aventurier au XVIII^e Siècle,* 1904, translated into English as *D'Eon de Beaumont: His Life and Times,* in 1911. A German writer, Adolf Paul, has used the Chevalier's story, with much freedom, as the subject of a novel, *Excellenz Unterrock* (1916).

While the Chevalier d'Eon, by his abilities and his public prominence, stands out as the protagonist of transvestism, he is not its earliest representative of note. His fellow-countryman the Abbé de Choisy (François Timoléon de Choisy) takes precedence not only in time but by virtue of the record he has himself left of his adventures in woman's garb. Like the Chevalier d'Eon, he was of good birth and high ability, though he never attained the same conspicuous international reputation. But he mixed in the best aristocratic and intellectual circles of eighteenth century France, and notwithstanding the feminine disguises of his early life he became a distinguished

ecclesiastic, the historian of the Church, and the Doyen of the French Academy.

De Choisy was the son of the Chancellor of the King's brother, and was born in Paris in 1644. He was educated by his mother who belonged to the family of Hurault de l'Hospital and was the great grand-daughter of the famous Chancellor. She was over forty at her son's birth and a woman of much mental vigor, possibly of a rather masculine type, "une maîtresse femme," her son called her, who was treated as a friend by Louis XIV, and she is reported to have given that monarch good advice with much directness. It is said that she brought up her son "on the very breast of the Muses." He himself refers to her without affection, but it was she who cultivated or implanted his taste for transvestism, for she had a fancy to dress him when a child as a girl. Physically he seems to have been well adapted for the part. He was of small size, and plump, with breasts that were like those of a girl of fifteen, he says, on account of the tight stays he wore in early life; his skin was soft and well cared for, and he had much dark hair. He not only possessed a facile, delicate, and expressive literary style, but was an accomplished musician on the harpsichord, and in comedy he was skilful in playing women's parts. He had abandoned feminine garments at the age of 18; but while still a young man a little over twenty, in 1666, at the suggestion, it seems, of no less distinguished a woman than Madame de la Fayette, he returned to a costume for which he seemed so peculiarly adapted, and for which his predilection was so strong. All his adventures in that shape of which we have definite knowledge took place before the age of thirty.

They helped to inspire Louvet to write a once famous novel, *Faublas*, and they are narrated in the fragments of Choisy's *Mémoires* which have come to us, written at the instigation of another distinguished woman, Madame de Lambert, for he was happy in his women friends. These *Mémoires* are written with much charm and skilful facility, in the best eighteenth century manner, the manner of the younger Crébillon, and while they

have not the artist's touch which marks Crébillon at his best, they have a much greater precision of interesting detail and the additional attraction that they present real adventure. If we possessed them in full, Choisy's *Mémoires* would rank among the chief literary treasures of that fascinating century, and, as it is, they constitute a cherished fragment. Moreover they are typical of the Eonist's attitude, and in their ingenuous vanity, their constant complacent absorption in all the smallest details of feminine costume, they curiously resemble the narratives written by Eonists of today. The Abbé de Choisy also resembled the main Eonist type in sexual temperament, being definitely heterosexual, so that even in an age when homosexuality was conspicuous not a rumor of that tendency is associated with him, and also in uniting a great devotion to women with a less than average degree of physical passion, so that he was able to find satisfaction in simple affectionate intimacy, though on occasion he went beyond this and, at least once, became the father of a child. In 1676 he accompanied the Cardinal de Bouillon to Rome in an official capacity. Later, after a serious illness in which his life was despaired of, he became serious, was converted, and, in retirement at the Seminary of Foreign Missions, occupied himself for a time in writing on the existence of a God and the evidence for immortality.

In 1685 he went as coadjutor-ambassador to Siam and on the voyage became a priest, returning, with fine words from the King of Siam and beautiful presents, to receive a splendid reception in Paris. He translated the *De Imitatione Christi* and wrote the History of the Church in many volumes. But, notwithstanding, he seems always to have remained on good terms with his past life, while at the same time his amiable and indeed high character, aided no doubt by wealth and position, enabled him to preserve both general esteem and the friendship of many of the best and most intellectual people of his time. He died in 1724 at the age of eighty and D'Alembert pronounced his Eloge.[1]

---

[1] An edition of the *Avcntures de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme* was put forth in Paris in 1870 with a Preface by M. P. L. (Paul

During the life-time of the Chevalier d'Eon (1795) a woman was born who became to some extent his feminine counterpart and had a long and distinguished professional career in masculine garments as James Barry, Senior Inspector-General of the English Army Medical Department. She was said to be the grand-daughter of a Scottish laird and entered the army, attired as a man, at the age of 18, to become a hospital assistant, passing through all grades, in male costume, to the rank she finally attained, and serving in various parts of the world. The Inspector-General was said to be quarrelsome in temper, once fighting a duel, and often guilty of breaches of discipline, but the offence was always condoned at headquarters. Barry was described as "the most skilful of physicians and the most wayward of men," in appearance a beardless lad of unmistakably Scotch type, with reddish hair and high cheek bones; there was a certain effeminacy of manner which he was always striving to overcome; his conversation was greatly superior to that usually heard at a mess-table in those days. Barry died in 1865. There is no indication of any sexual tendency in her history, whether heterosexual or homosexual, and we may believe that, as is fairly common in this psychic anomaly, the sexual impulse was not strong, and, therefore, easy to divert and sublimate in this transformation.

Rather earlier than Barry, a much more famous and romantic woman of the same type appeared in English aristocratic circles, Lady Hester Stanhope.[1] On the death of her father, the third Earl Stanhope, who was highly eccentric, but a remarkable and able man and a notable inventor, she was

---

Lacroix), and the same work, under the title of *Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme*, was published in Paris in 1920 with a somewhat longer introduction.

[1] *The Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by her niece the Duchess of Cleveland, 1897 and 1924. This is regarded as the authoritative biography, though the Duchess never saw her aunt. There are many other lives, both in English and French, some of them superficial and inaccurate, merely serving up the old material afresh. Among the best, perhaps, may be reckoned Frank Hamel, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope*, 1913; Julia Roundell, *Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1909. There is a brilliant little sketch of her in half a dozen pages of Lytton Strachey's *Books and Characters*, 1922.

adopted by her uncle, the great statesman William Pitt, and presided at his table with much brilliance. Her mother had died when she was a child but she was greatly devoted to a half-brother, and his death was "the crowning sorrow of her life." After Pitt's death she nearly, it appears, married Sir John Moore. Then she set out on a tour in the East, lost all her clothes in a shipwreck, and put on a male Turkish costume, which she found so convenient that she adopted it. Her transvestism was thus apparently due to an accident, but the significant fact was that she clung to it for the rest of her life and also adopted many other male habits, though there seems no reason to suppose that she was sexually inverted. So that, as sometimes happens, an accident had served to reveal an innate disposition. She dressed sometimes as an Albanian Chief, sometimes as a Syrian soldier, sometimes a Bedouin, sometimes like a Pasha's son. For the Moslems she became a prophetess, almost a queen. She died in old age in her castle hermitage on the summit of Lebanon, and was described by one who knew her as "wholly and magnificently unique."

Numerous distinguished or capable women seem to have exhibited this peculiarity in the eighteenth century and earlier. Näcke briefly refers to Ulrike Kleist, the faithful and beloved sister of the poet, as a typical example of the heterosexual form of this anomaly. He brings forward no precise evidence. When we turn to Kleist's correspondence and poems, it seems clear, at all events, that Ulrike possessed masculine elements in her composition. Her brother sends her a New Year's Wish poem in 1800 in which he addresses her as an "amphibian," living at once both in air and water, and begs her to make sure of her sex, to leave the water and shake her wings and fly. This may perhaps be explained by a letter addressed to her in the same year in which he tells her how deeply he has often wished that she were a man. This hardly suffices, however, to indicate transvestism.

A much more genuine example is furnished in low life at an earlier date in England by Mary Frith, who was

commonly called Moll Cutpurse and became the heroine in a rather attractive guise, of Middleton's delightful play, *The Roaring Girl*. She was a kind of feminine Jonathan Wild and possessed great natural ability; she was also the first woman to adopt the habit of smoking. She seems clearly to have been the subject of sexo-aesthetic inversion, perhaps with latent homosexuality.[1]

Of all these people we have no precise scientific knowledge even of their exact psychic state, to say nothing of the explanation of it. Toward the end of the nineteenth century they at last began to come under psychological observation. Westphal, a great pioneer in this field, briefly described the anomaly and brought forward examples.[2] Some years later the case was published in America of a highly cultured man of good moral character, happily married and a father, who cherished a passion for wearing very tightly laced corsets and women's high-heeled French boots; he derived sexual excitement and gratification from this practice; there was a tendency to masochistic algolagnia; the taste, and allied feminine habits, began to develop in early childhood; this is a form of the anomaly of which later much was to be heard.[3]

But the earliest full and scientifically described case, my knowledge, was that of a Hungarian doctor whose history written in 1890, was given by Krafft-Ebing in the later editions of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. The subject was a physic

---

[1] See the brilliant account of her in Whibley's *Book of Scoundrels*. *The Roaring Girl* is included in vol. ii of Middleton's Plays, Mermaid Series.

[2] *Archiv für Psychologie*, 1876. The first was the case of a young man arrested in woman's clothes and other feminine articles of toilet he was accustomed to wear and frequently stole. The tendency began in childhood. There was no sexual inversion, but he was slightly feminine in appearance and the testicles were incompletely descended. Westphal had a similar case in a woman. He regarded them as showing nervous weakness.

[3] "Gynomania: a curious case of Masturbation," *Medical Record*, March 19, 1881; quoted also by Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, 1887, pp. 74–78. Later examples of the same type will be found, for instance, in Moll's edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathic Sexualis* (1924) pp. 612–613; a case will be brought forward in the present study. Emile Laurent had in 1896 recognized both inborn and acquired "psychic hermaphroditism."

who wrote his own fully detailed history. He was married and not homosexual, but his feelings were feminine and he felt to himself like a woman. He was really somewhat feminine in appearance. There were no actual delusions. Krafft-Ebing considered the case to represent a stage of transition to *metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, that is to say a stage on the road to insanity. This manner of regarding the case is not now acceptable. It was merely the schematic classification of an alienist and threw no light on the anomaly. To describe a mental condition which, though abnormal, is sane, by its relation to an insane state it never reaches, although such a method may be the most obvious to an alienist, is to assume too pathological a standpoint. The case itself, however, as described by the expert subject, may still perhaps be regarded as the most typical and complete on record.[1]

A few years later, Lombroso, another great pioneer in the realms of abnormal psychology, described what he called "a strange psychopathic form of sexuality." It was that of a man of 30, belonging to Romagna, a good artist, small, timid, very kind to animals, who had from the age of seven a kind of passion for feminine ornaments, especially ear-rings. At an early age he pierced the lobes of his ears and rather enjoyed the pain. He wanted to be a woman, he said to himself as a child, because women are nicer than men. He much admired women who wore large ear-rings, and when about twelve, though quite innocent in sexual matters, he used to have erections in thinking about this subject. Beauty in women consisted for him in the shape of the ears. He was not addicted to masturbation and seems to have had no relations with women. He carefully concealed his peculiarity and usually wore his ear-rings in secret.[2] Lombroso made no attempt to classify this anomaly, but a case I shall here bring forward indicates that it probably belongs to this group.

---

[1] It will be found in the 16th and 17th edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, as edited and remoulded by Moll (1924), pp. 595-610.

[2] *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, fasc. 1-2, p. 163.

A little before Lombroso (in 1895), Austin Flint, the distinguished professor of Physiology at Cornell University, had carefully investigated and photographed a case belonging to this group, though he neglected to publish it until sixteen years later.[1] This was a youth of 21, who had always preferred women's dress and occupations, and had been lady's maid in a Boston family, where he attended his mistress in her bath and slept with the servant girls. He denied sexual feelings for either sex; nor had he ever had any erotic dreams, seminal emissions, or erections. But his physical development was entirely and fully masculine and the external genital organs were generously developed. His ways, however, were rather feminine, and he had a high voice, which in singing was a pure adult soprano and not a boy's voice. This was his most remarkable peculiarity. He might now be fairly considered a case of eunuchoidism. But at that time all such anomalies were confused and obscure, still awaiting differentiation and adequate explanation.

Another example, that of a teacher, not vigorous in physical health but well endowed intellectually, was published as a case of "effemination with fetichism."[2] He was referred to as an invert, but in reality he was attracted not to men but to women. It was clearly a typical case of what Hirschfeld later termed "transvestism" and what I would call "sexo-aesthetic inversion," or, more simply, "Eonism."

In my own early attempts to classify the cases of this kind I met with I had similarly been inclined to regard them as representing a combination of feminism with fetichism and as occupying a sort of annex to inversion proper. But this was

---

[1] A. Flint, "A Case of Sexual Inversion, probably with Complete Sexual Anæsthesia," *New York Medical Journal*, Dec. 2, 1911. The name applied to the case is wrong, for, in the psychological sense in which the words are usually employed, "sexual inversion" and "sexual anæsthesia" are incompatible. Emile Laurent, who towards the end of the last century was a pioneer in the study of bisexual manifestations, suggested the rather better name of psychic hermaphroditism.

[2] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Bd. ii, 1900, pp. 324-344. Some further account of the early bibliography is given by Dr. E. Wilhelm, *Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, pp. 495-502.

unsatisfactory, though it avoided some errors previously made, for not only is there usually no real primary inversion in these cases, but there is no true fetichism, the garment possessing no marked dynamic erotic power in itself, or when worn by another person, but only when worn by the subject himself; in some cases, moreover, clothing played little or no part. So I left the matter over for further consideration.

It may be worth while to note that, about this time, C. G. Leland, a well-known and prolific American man of letters, wrote towards the end of a long life a book which had some bearing on the phenomena we are here concerned with. He argued that the "subconscious self" is of the opposite sex, asserting itself when it can and especially in dreams. He seems to have had an intuition of the class of facts included under "transvestism" (though he made no reference to cross-dressing); we shall indeed meet with a case in which this impulse is confined to dream-life, and one is inclined to suppose that Leland had found such phenomena in himself and was tempted to unduly generalize them; but his book was vague and unscientific.[1]

In the meanwhile Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin, whose acquaintance with all the phenomena in any way related to homosexuality is so vast, had become impressed by these cases of persons who take pleasure in assuming the attributes of the opposite sex and yet are not sexual inverts and seldom even tend to become inverted. He put forth a substantial volume concerning what he called "transvestism"—"An Investigation into the Erotic Impulse of Disguise," as he termed it in the subtitle—in which the historical aspects of the subject were discussed and seventeen new cases fully described and analyzed.[2] This book placed the subject at once on a solid basis, for Hirschfeld clearly distinguished the anomaly from homosexuality and all other recognized groups of sexual aberration, and for the first time conceived of it as a simple and

---

[1] C. G. Leland, *The Alternate Sex and the Female Intellect in Man and the Masculine in Women*, 1904.

[2] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den Erotischen Verkleidungstrieb*, 1910.

not compound perversion.[1] But Hirschfeld's conception of the anomaly scarcely appeared to me altogether satisfactory. Transvestism or cross-dressing[2] fails to cover the whole of the ground; it may even be a negligible element in the psychological anomaly, while the other name proposed, "impulse of disguise," (*Verkleidungstrieb*), though approved by Näcke,[3] seems to me even more open to objection, since the subject of this anomaly, far from seeking disguise by adopting the garments of the opposite sex, feels on the contrary that he has thereby become emancipated from disguise and is at last really himself.

From the first, however, Hirschfeld had realized the great dfficulty of naming this anomaly. In *Die Transvestiten* (p. 300) he had proposed and rejected the term "sexual metamorphosis," and he admits that "transvestism" by no means exhausts the contents of the phenomena. That may be the reason why for a time he preferred the equally unsatisfactory term approved by Näcke.[4] More recently[5] he has returned to

---

[1] Stekel, in an interesting review of Hirschfeld's book (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. i, Heft. 1-2) thought that he unduly minimized the tendency to homosexuality and more recently in various volumes of his *Störungen* (as Bd. ii. p. 183 *et seq.*, and Bd. vii, pp. 534 and 570) is inclined to deny heterosexuality altogether in Eonism. More recently, Sadger, also from the psycho-analytic side (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 167), is inclined, on the contrary, to think that Hirschfeld related transvestism too nearly to inversion, whereas, at all events in its slighter forms, it is associated with a normal direction of the sex impulse. As we shall see, inversion, when it appears in such cases, seems usually to be secondary and not of primary appearance. Rohleder (*Vorlesungen*, 4th ed., 1920, p. 389) finds all his own cases heterosexual.

[2] "Cross-dressing," as suggested by Edward Carpenter (*American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, vol. iv, 1911), is probably the best English equivalent of "Transvestism." According to Hirschfeld's terminology, a cross-dressed man is a "transvestit"; a cross-dressed woman a "transvestitin."

[3] P. Näcke, "Zun Kapitel der Transvestiten," *Archiv für Kriminal-anthropologie*, vol. xlvii, 1912, p. 237.

[4] Hirschfeld and Max Tilke, *Der Erotische Verkleidungstrieb* (*Die Transvestiten*). This is an interesting collection of pictures and portraits, ethnographic, historical, and clinical.

[5] *Sexualpathologie*, 1918, vol. ii, ch. 3. He here (p. 140) further introduced the term "androgynous delusion" to express the tendency to believe that the body actually has a feminine or masculine build opposite to the apparent sex. The necessity for such a term, however, only arises from the use of the term "transvestism." The Eonist (though sometimes emphatically of the apparent sex) sometimes shows real physical

"transvestism" and defines it as "the impulse to assume the e ternal garb of a sex which is not apparently that of the su ject as indicated by the sexual organs." He adds that t name refers only to the most obvious of the phenomena co cerned, and not to the inner psychological core.

Still more recently[1] Hirschfeld has stated the chief vari ties of transvestism which he would accept as follows:

1. The Heterosexual variety.

2. The Bisexual variety, with an attraction to viri women and feminine men.

3. The Homosexual variety.

4. The Narcisstic variety (regarded as common) in whic the feminine components of the subject's nature give satisfac tion to his masculine components.

5. The Asexual variety, often impotent and finding ful satisfaction in some feminine occupation, as that of a domestic servant.

Since Hirschfeld's book, *Die Transvestiten,* was published in 1910, Dr. Ralph Pettow of Berlin has occupied himself with the subject and finally published a small volume with a title accepting Hirschfeld's names for the anomaly.[2] Pettow made no definite forward step in the study of the anomaly, and he regarded it as morbid, but he stressed its psychological significance, and brought forward a number of suggestive though not always original considerations, and many examples from the by-ways of literature and journalism. Pettow defined the aberration as being, "on the foundations of a psychological compulsion, a perpetual or periodic laying aside of the garb pertaining to sex and age and the adoption of another not so pertaining." And he divided the individuals belonging to the class into three groups: (1) Men adopting women's garb, (2)

---

approximations towards the opposite sex, and is naturally apt to exaggerate these. We must be cautious as to terming this exaggeration a "delusion."

[1] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* Jahrgang, xxiii, 1923, pp. 12-14.

[2] Ralph Pettow, *Der Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Transvestie,* 1922. Johannes Baum, Pfüllingen in Württemberg.

women adopting men's, and (3) adults adopting the garb of childhood. He attached some importance to the last anomaly, which he dealt with in detail under the heading of the *Retour à l'Enfance*. This was the name given to it by Pierre Janet who seems first to have called attention to it as a psychic anomaly; he treated it as an emotional disturbance but failed to note the associated tendency to revert to the garments of childhood.[1] Pettow was also careful to distinguish pseudo-transvestism, in which cross-dressing is adopted, not out of psychic compulsion but from convenience or interest or occupational grounds.

It is true, as Pettow claims, that the *Retour à l'Enfance* has not usually been given any important place in the study of transvestism. It is well recognized but has been frequently otherwise classed. Thus, Laquer of Frankfort, in his study of shop-thieves in 1907, brought forward the case of a youth of 18, having really a rather childish appearance, who twice stole money from a shop-till to buy clothes of child type and stood about the street wearing them, to be petted and kissed as a child; and Stekel, who quotes the case,[2] regards it as one of psychosexual infantilism combined with kleptomania from sexual motives (kleptolagnia, as I should term it), without any reference to transvestism. He brings forward a rather similar case of his own in a married man.

The subject has still more recently been dealt with rather fully by Moll in a chapter of his remoulded and rewritten edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, entitled "Contrary Sexuality Outside the Sexual Impulse."[3] He accepts, for a certain number of cases, the conception I had put forward, that they are due to "aesthetic inversion," an exaggerated sympathy with the object of affection leading to imitation and empathy, the "Einfühlung" of Lipps. He points out (as I had already done) that many such cases really are linked on to the fetichism with which they were originally identified, and

---

[1] P. Janet, *Les Obsessions et la Psychasthénie*, 1903, p. 391.
[2] W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, 1923, p. 42.
[3] Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, pp. 572-632.

that the fetichist may easily be tempted to wear the garments he is attracted to; and further that an effeminate inverted fetichist may in consequence of such empathy wear masculine garments, even though he otherwise prefers feminine dress. Moll's own classification (first put forward in 1921) is as follows:

(1) A class of cases, which possibly may not belong to the psychosexual sphere at all, but in which there is simply an obsession taking the form of an impulse to wear the garments of the opposite sex.

(2) Homosexual cases in which cross-dressing constitutes part of the contrary sexual psychic state.[1]

(3) Heterosexual cases in which, though the sexual impulse is normal, cross-dressing constitutes part of a contrary sexual state.

(4) Cases to be explained in the sense of Havelock Ellis as due to a pronounced heterosexual desire to imitate and enter into the feelings of the opposite sex.

(5) Cases in which other grounds for the practice, such as concealment or professional occupation, must be sought; that is to say, cases which other investigators have called "pseudo-transvestism."

He refers, also, to the further cases, in which the *retour à l'enfance* occurs, and the adult subject finds pleasure in feeling and acting like a child, and is wearing a child's garments; but many of these cases on close examination, Moll considers, are found to represent forms of masochism.

Moll's conception shows a real grasp of the subject by his realization that the mere cross-dressing seldom constitutes the core of the anomaly, but it seems doubtful whether the classification will be found permanently to hold good and he omits the Narcisstic and asexual groups. The cases put down to obsession were not analyzed in a manner which would ex-

---

[1] *The Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1918) and *Female-Impersonators* (1922) by Ralph Werther (also known as Earl Lind and Jennie June) are an interesting exhibition of this condition from the subjective side. They were published by the New York *Medico-legal Journal* and introduced by its editor, Dr. A. W. Herzog.

clude the possibility of a more definite explanation, not clear that there is any decided line of demarcation cases of the second and third groups and those of th But some of the cases brought forward are valuable, the memorable case of Krafft-Ebing's but another (which presents the anomaly in a marked form, clearly that constitutional basis which induced Hirschfeld such cases as representing a special stage of int sexuality, though, it may be noted, Moll himself fai such a conception acceptable.

Since Hirschfeld's work in this field, the most effort to carry the investigation further has been t by the psycho-analysts. Accepting the anomaly in understood by Hirschfeld, and usually adopting for it of Transvestism, they explain it, in a totally differen largely or mainly a disturbance in the psycho-sexual m due to influences traceable in early life, and involvi sistence into later life of infantile traits. This expl not presented as the psychic view of a situation w also be viewed constitutionally, but sometimes (th by more cautious psycho-analysts) as overthrowing t tutional view altogether and putting it out of court. often assumed by the psycho-analyst that the anomal on a normal constitutional basis and is completely by psycho-sexual disturbance.

It scarcely appears that Freud has given any spe tion to this anomaly. Karl Abraham, in dealing with cal" conditions, brought forward a case which I sh regard as primarily an example of Eonism. It was man who, without apparently any desire to wear clothes, desired to be a woman and in his day-dreams himself physically changed to a woman. There was a to identification with his mother, and, like her, he h of headache every month which he called his ' Abraham attributed this to a homosexual impulse-co

[1] K. Abraham, "Ueber hysterische Traumzustände," *psychoanal. Forsch.*, Bd. ii, 1910, and reprinted in the author *Beiträge*, 1921, pp. 71-74.

Sadger has brought forward several cases, and he would explain them exclusively on psycho-genetic grounds: the subject, as a child, wishes he were a girl, and, therefore, he tries to be a girl, and thinks he will thereby become more pleasing and more like his mother, or more attractive to his father, since his father admires his mother; it is usually the mother's or sister's garments that he first seeks to put on; whether in heterosexual or homosexual subjects, the desire is to be the mother or the father.[1]

It is Stekel among psycho-analysts who has most often discussed the nature of cross-dressing, besides bringing forward new cases.[2] While accepting Hirschfeld's clinical histories, he is completely opposed to his biological conception and refuses to regard these cases as representing one of the intermediate stages of sexuality in the way in which Hirschfeld has been inclined to class them, in a group by themselves, although passing into other groups, and with subdivisions. Hirschfeld, Stekel declares, has overlooked the fact that cross-dressing is really a latent homosexuality, and believes that he has proved that the "so-called sexually normal" Eonists are really masked sexual inverts. When we remember that Hirschfeld undoubtedly possesses a wider knowledge of homosexuality than any other investigator of his own or earlier times, it requires some courage to assert that he has here "overlooked" its existence. It is hardly likely that he would overlook the anomaly of which he is the chief expert in a class of cases which he was the first to study with care on a large scale. It is more likely that his critic has overlooked some consideration. And that consideration seems to be that we are not entitled to classify a group of cases in relation to a condition which for the most part they never reach. To do so is a regression to precisely the same kind of error as Krafft-Ebing made when

---

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 171. Sadger somewhat misunderstands the view of Hirschfeld, who regards the group of transvestists as co-ordinate with that of inverts, and not, as Sadger supposes, subordinate.

[2] Successively in *Onanie und Homosexualität*, *Die Geschlechtskälte der Frau*, and *Der Fetischismus*.

he classified his interesting case of Eonism in relation to insanity. We all, however normal, possess latent possibilities. But it is quite unprofitable, however correct, to classify the general population under the three heads of masked thieves, masked murderers, and masked adulterers, especially when we have to add that the same person may belong to all three groups. On another point—the distinction of Eonism from fetichism—Stekel agrees with Hirschfeld, though not on Hirschfeld's ground. Hirschfeld finds the distinction in the tendency of the fetichist to love the fetich for its own sake, and not as part of himself, while Gutheil (putting forward Stekel's view) finds this distinction superficial, and considers that it is the system-formation of the fetichist which is absent; the garment for the Eonist is the expression of a strong wish, the wish to be a man (or woman), and the garment is used, under pressure of an ugliness-complex, to secure a flight into the other sex.

An elaborate analysis of a female Eonist has been made by Emil Gutheil, Stekel's assistant, under his general direction (W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus,* 1923, "Analyse eines Falles von Transvestitismus," pp. 534-70).

The case is that of Elsa B., a woman of 34, Government Official, who did not come for treatment but for medical investigation in view of an application to the police for permission to wear masculine clothes, which was in due course secured.

She was a seven months child and delicate in early life. At the present time she is in all general respects normal and with no notable stigmata of degeneration. She is of slender figure with small asthenic chest, but the primary and secondary sexual characteristics are normal and feminine, and menstruation is regular and painless. But in her bearing and walk and ways generally she is masculine. She wears her short hair like a man's. Urination is effected in the standing posture. She wears a skirt but her dress, so far as possible, is approximated to that of a man, so that at a first glance it is not always easy to recognize her sex, and she is thus liable to attract unpleasant attention in the street and several times aroused suspicion during the War. But she cannot bear to wear ordinary feminine things; they have made her feel, she says, even from childhood, "like a dressed-up monkey." She has artistic tastes and plays the violin.

As a child she did not care for girls' playthings and would hide them away. She made no friends among other little girls but played

with boys and found her best friends in books. The question of dress became to her, from early years, more and more a "catastrophe." She was, however, much left to herself. Her father, a solid and serious man, a teacher, who died when she was 2, was 68 at her birth, and her mother was more than twenty years younger. The parents did not get on well together, and the mother was "master" in the house. She was lively and fond of dress and pleasure; she married again, and the child, who detested her stepfather, was brought up by grandparents who did not occupy themselves much with her. This neglect led to mental depression; she felt her inferiority and dreaded the future. She felt, too, that she was unwelcome as her mother had wanted a boy. Her obstinacy and grief over feminine garments caused much trouble with her relations, who could not understand this strange child. At the age of about 12 she received enlightenment on sexual matters from a servant; up to the age of 9 she had not discovered that there were any sexual differences beyond those of clothing, so that to adopt boy's clothing was to become a boy. At the age of 14 or 15 she was much attached to another girl and gratified her affection by kisses and embraces. Her erotic thoughts are exclusively directed towards women, but she believes in an ideal expression of such affection.

She has never had any but a comradely relation with men, and the thought of anything sexual in connection with a man is disgusting to her. A castration complex is the chief sign of any erotic attitude to the opposite sex. But the impulse of transvestism is itself erotic for her. She denies that it depends on any homosexual impulse or on the attraction of the forbidden. The putting on of men's clothing is itself a source of sexual pleasure to her and can suffice to produce orgasm, so that transvestism enables her to dispense with any other source of sexual gratification. She states that she is content with her feelings about transvestism and with auto-erotic practices; she has scruples about homosexual practices and could not bear to think that she might injure the lives of others. It was not until the age of 22 that she cut her hair short and began putting on men's clothes in secret. But it was much earlier, at the age of 13, when still wearing ear-rings and feminine garments, that she first definitely expressed an open wish for men's clothes.

By analysis of dreams Gutheil believed he had detected mother-fixation and a religious complex (Madonna worship). He also found a degree of Narcissism which he finds significant. Her stepfather used to tell her she was ugly; she was very sensitive to this reproach and came to believe it; but dressed as a man she considered she looked handsome and this was a main cause of her attachment

to masculine garments. She found in the mirror that in men's clothes she had a great resemblance to her father. She has in course of time come to hate her mother. She has a younger brother Edward. It was when trying on his clothes that the putting on of masculine garments first caused orgasm. Gutheil finds in her dreams indications of sexual fixation on this brother.

In his final analysis of Elsa B.'s case, Gutheil concludes that the dominant element in her sexual attitude is the Electra complex of which the neurotic expression is identification with the father. In the relations of the girl to her brother Edward there is a new edition of the primary incest-constellation. This identification—an introjection of the object into the ego—takes place when the Electra relationship has to be given up. It is because no substitute, outside the family, presents itself for the incest object which is being given up that identification with the object takes place, and the foundation stone for a homosexual neurosis is thus laid. But as the father died when she was still a small child this identification took place early. In the meanwhile it was becoming clear to the child that she was not wanted by her mother because she was not a boy, that is to say because she was not clothed in the right kind of garments, and later her stepfather made it clear that she was thought ugly. She wanted to be beautiful, and her infantile Narcissism was thus wounded. Then she discovered, in relation to her brother, the real nature of sexual difference, and that it was the absence of certain physical appendages which accounted for her mother's attitude towards her. So arose the castration complex: "There is the thing you lack; cut it off." Whence sadistic impulses and wishes for her brother's death, which had to be repressed. But she still hoped she might develop a penis, until, with the appearance of menstruation, she realized that all hope of this must be abandoned. That was a turning-point in her psycho-sexual development. But she gradually reacted against the resulting depression, borne up by the exhilaration of youth. The fiction of masculinity arose within her, bound up with the desire for beauty and resemblance to her father and her brother, and led to a new sense of well-being. (This "fiction of masculinity" is obviously the same thing as Adler's "masculine protest," and Stekel remarks that Gutheil is quite unacquainted with Adler's work.) Enormous weight is attached to the fact that after on various occasions putting on men's garments, the first orgasm occurred when in her brother's clothes at the age of 15. (As a matter of fact, however, Elsa, as reported, had not said it was "the first orgasm" but "the first orgasm in masculine garments.") The scene has a pronounced fetichistic character and is the expression of a subconscious fantasy that she is now the equal of her brother and

fully entitled to her mother's love, while these are her bridges to a religious complex, supposed to be indicated by a dream in which she seems the son of the Madonna and also her lover. She struggled against her mother's second marriage, and hence she must have wished to take the husband's place. She wears a wedding ring which she bought, she says, because it pleased her.

Elsa B.'s sexuality is thus anchored in her cross-dressing. Clothing has become the symbol of the rejected incest-object. The disposition to homosexuality arises out of identification with a sexual object of the opposite sex. Stekel regards homosexuality as a flight from the opposite sex, determined by perversities ("paraphilias" in Stekel's terminology) and hate-attitudes, especially sadism. So in this case, says Gutheil; and the chief cause of the flight is here a castration-complex; and the full bearing of the complex becomes clear when we realize that the castration thoughts are closely associated with the sight of the sexual organs, so that direct contact with the penis becomes unthinkable, and anxiety at her own criminal thought leads to repression of heterosexual impulses. Sexuality in the homosexual direction is, however, also subject to inhibition in Elsa B., so that we may speak of a diminished need of sexual intercourse. A religious-ascetic complex is detected here, as indicated by a dream in which the cross-dressing seems to be effected in the name of the "Father," the "Son" (Edward), and the "Holy Ghost" (the great miracle of sexual metamorphosis she is awaiting). We are to see in Elsa an apparently free-thinking but really deeply religious nature in whom the polar tension between impulse and inhibition has a fatal operation on the psychic mechanism. A *fellatio* fantasy and exhibitionary impulses are also detected. Sadism and masochism are, further, held to be involved. Hirschfeld had devoted a chapter to Masochism in association with Eonism, but Gutheil and Stekel rightly point out that masochism and sadism are allied; as I have elsewhere sought to show (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. III) they are best regarded as two aspects of the same phenomenon, that is to say, algolagnia, or the influence of pain in stimulating sexual emotion. Stekel, more dubiously, regards the relationship as one of "polarity."

Masochism is thus a reversal of sadism, the sadism being directed towards the subject himself. It is, Stekel thinks, hate towards others turned into hate towards oneself. Elsa's castration complex had impelled her to wish her young brother dead, or at least to cut off the penis she envied. But she repressed that impulse and converted it into an impulse of harshness towards herself. This, however, while it is a partially true statement for this particular case seems to fall into the common error of regarding algolagnia as a manifestation of cruelty. The impulse to inflict pain, whether on others or on oneself,

whenever it arises from a sexual motive, must never be regarded as a manifestation of hate and cruelty. Whenever it so arises we can safely eliminate any genuinely sexual impulse. The real motive is to show love, not hate, and even if possible to give pleasure. And the reason so unlikely a method of manifesting this motive is adopted is simply that the stimulus of pain, when the sexual impulse is weak (as it often is in Eonism)—whether inflicted or suffered or even merely witnessed—does actually operate as a stimulus to the sexual emotions, and no cruelty is really involved, merely the appearance of it. The evidence on this point is overwhelming. Sadism and masochism cannot be understood unless this is realized, and to bring in the motive of hate, obscures the phenomena altogether.

On the whole, it would appear to Gutheil and Stekel—to conclude this summary of a summary—the peculiar impulse to cross-dressing first appeared in Elsa B. about the twelfth or thirteenth year, following on the depression felt by the lack of a penis. In this cross-dressing incestuous sexual feeling was blended with an acquired feeling of beauty. She had become a "man," in the image of the beloved father and brother, and therein the deepest significance of the transvestism is reached.

This analysis is presented as fairly as possible in a very condensed statement in order to make clear the strictly psycho-analytic explanation of cross-dressing, when put forward as completely adequate and as overthrowing every other possible explanation. (It must, of course, be understood that there is no necessary agreement with Gutheil and Stekel on these points among other psycho-analysts.) Certainly it would hardly be possible to pile up a greater number of complexes and perverse fantasies on to Elsa B.'s devoted head. They seem to be plentiful enough to account for anything. Yet one can well understand the sceptic feeling that the psycho-analyst is a kind of spider who spins his pathological web-complex so widely and so elaborately only in the hope that somewhere, at all events, the fly must become entangled. For it is certainly true that these threads are very slight and vague. When we remember how every living being is in perpetual slight movement and perpetually throwing off evanescent thoughts and feelings we realize how careful we need to be before deciding that there is a significance in these tiny facts strong enough to bear one's

big labels. Moreover, with all his readiness to find significance in phenomena that are very slight or very vague, Gutheil passes over, without any notice at all, very definite facts in which he might well have found a grave significance if he had not felt bound to reject altogether the possibility of any constitutional element in the case.

Elsa's father was old at her conception, and the mother comparatively young. That is a known cause of deviations in the offspring. She was, again, a seven months child, and that also is a recognized source of anomalies in development, sometimes even favorable as well as unfavorable when we recall how many men of high ability have been thus premature. Then we are told that Elsa's mother had the temperament of a "master," which Elsa may well have inherited. And we might further observe that the neglect which was Elsa's lot in early life, the absence of parental care and guidance, furnished exactly the favoring conditions demanded by any perverse innate germs. The diminished impulse to sexual intercourse which Gutheil recognizes, and which frequently appears in other cases, completely harmonizes with the view that we are concerned with individuals who are constitutionaliy abnormal. On such a view, Gutheil believes, it is impossible to account for Elsa B.'s experience of orgasm when in her brother's clothes. But the experience is scarcely well explained on his own view, while it is easily conceivable that the excitement of the long desired assumption of male clothing, especially when associated with the garments of her brother who had evidently been an object of sexual interest to her, should produce a sudden involuntary gush of physical emotion. Stekel and Gutheil believe, and they emphasize and italicise the statement, that an "incest-fixation" is the primary and driving motive of Elsa's cross-dressing, implying that no inborn predisposition is necessary. This incest-attitude (in Elsa B.'s case the desire to take the mother's place with the father)—Freud's Oedipus complex and Electra complex—they regard as the driving infantile motive to the cross-dressing and to the other symptoms associated with it.

The term "incest" (as I have on other occasions pointed out) should never be used in this connection. It can, correctly, only have relation to adults; in the psychology of childhood it has no meaning. For children there is only love for an object of affection, not incestuous desire; in that love the as yet undifferentiated impulse of sex is blended and lost. To introduce here from criminology a legal term which belongs to the law-courts may be a sensational method for arousing the horrified attention of innocent minds, but it brings its own revenge. We are really concerned with a perfectly simple and natural impulse, not necessarily a complex at all, and almost universal, though in degree it varies greatly in different individuals.

Needless to say, it was known long before the psychoanalysts called attention to it, as they were perfectly justified in doing, however illegitimate the name they chose. I know of no better example of it in a well-marked form than Stendhal supplies in his autobiographical book, *Vie de Henri Brulard*, written in 1832, when in middle life, with a rapid pen and complete sincerity, because he was not writing for immediate publication, and only anticipated, vaguely, that what he wrote might possibly reach the eyes of "a reader of 1880." As a matter of fact the *Vie de Henri Brulard* was not published until 1890. In Chapter III, Stendhal describes how he lost his mother when 7 years of age:—

"My mother was a charming woman and I was in love with my mother. In loving her at perhaps the age of 6 (1789) I showed absolutely the same character as in 1828 when loving Madame Alberte de Rubempré (Madame Azur) to madness. My way of hunting happiness had in no way changed at bottom though on the physical side of love there was the difference that Caesar would have found if he had returned to the world to discover cannons and small arms in war. I could quickly learn that and it meant no fundamental change in my tactics.

"I wished to cover my mother with kisses, and when she had no clothes on. She loved me wildly and often embraced me, and I returned her kisses with such fire that she was as though obliged to go away. I hated my father when he came and interrupted our

kisses, I always wished to kiss her on the breast—but please remember that I lost her, when I was scarcely seven, in childbirth.

."She was plump, of perfect freshness, very pretty, though I believe hardly tall enough. There was a fine nobility in her features. She perished, in the flower of youth and beauty, in 1790, when she could scarcely have been 28 or 30 years of age. Thus it was that, forty-five years ago, I lost what I have loved most in the world.

"She cannot be offended at the liberty I am taking with her in revealing that I loved her; if I ever meet her again I would tell her once more. Besides, she never in any way shared that love. As for me, I was as criminal as possible; I loved her charming favors. One evening, when by some chance I had been put to bed on the floor in her room on a mattress, this lively woman, light as a goat, jumped over my mattress to reach her own bed more quickly." (Here Stendhal interrupted the narrative and placed a cross, which was his custom when he intended to revise or complete a passage; we may conclude that this incident had a significance which he has not fully explained.)

Later (Chapter XI) he mentions that some years afterwards he heard his aunt remark that his mother had no inclination for his father at marriage: "That remark had for me an immense bearing I was still, at the bottom of my soul, jealous of my father."

We could scarcely have a more definite example, in its fully developed shape, of what is improperly called the "incest-attitude" of the child. Yet it is the perfectly simple, natural, and—though Stendhal uses the term "criminal"—innocent expression of a child's whole-hearted affection for his mother. It happened to be a child of unusually vivid sensibilities and unusually acute intellect who was, by his own inborn nature, predestined to genius, and to the troubles which beset genius; such emotional precocity is sometimes found in genius and thus may even be of its essence. But, although we know Stendhal's life fairly well, there seem no pathological problems to solve beyond those due to excessive nervous sensibility. There is no "Oedipus Complex" to pervert his existence and lead to tragedy. We know that love played an important part in his existence, that he wrote a famous book about its psychology, and that he was devoted to a succession of women, not all of whom returned his love. We may regard his mother as the first of these beloved women, but, so far as can be seen, his

love-life in later years would not have been sensibly different even if he had never known his mother. For the details of psycho-sexual experience such as the analyst investigates may be of high importance, but if there is no morbid constitutional foundation which they express they may be of no importance at all.

These considerations are not brought forward in any controversial sense. Properly considered, they should have no controversial bearing. Those investigators who concentrate on the constitutional foundations of psycho-sexual anomalies, and those investigators who explore the mechanisms revealed by psycho-analysis are alike performing necessary tasks. Nothing is now more certain than the influence of the varying balance of the internal secretions in building up the psycho-sexual constitution. Nothing also is more illuminating than the mechanisms which the masters of psycho-analysis have revealed in unravelling the varied experiences of the individual. Both are essential to a complete interpretation of the varied cases that arise. Evil only ensues when, in one party or the other party, there is a failure to realize the immense services which the opposite party is rendering.

Realization of the need to recognize alike the hereditary and innate factors, the acquired and psycho-genetic factors, in the constitution of this anomaly may be noted among the most recent investigations. Thus Dr. Ernest Jones clearly assumes the existence of both sets of factors in all psycho-analytic investigations. Dr. Lothar Goldmann of New York (though his observations seem to have been made chiefly in Berlin) is quite ready to accept both, as regards transvestism.[1] He points out that in many cases the subject shared the room of a sister in childhood, the period to which the aberration may so often be traced back, but as we know that the close association of brothers and sisters is commonly without significance for later life we are compelled to seek for a congenital predisposition.

[1] L. Goldmann, "Ueber das Wesen des Umkleidungstriebes," with many illustrations, *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. xii, Heft 9-12, 1924-5.

Goldmann sees in transvestism "a variety of sexual disposition of high biological and cultural significance." He is inclined to regard it as a form of auto-erotism, but seeks to distinguish between an erotic and a more permanent psychic form of the anomaly. He points out, like other investigators, its comparative rarity in women, and finds that in men when it is homosexual it tends to become less marked with years or with gratification of the homosexual impulses, but in the more prevalent heterosexual cases it became pronounced with age; this distinction seems just. He also remarks how, in the case of a distinguished musical composer, the bisexual constitution involved by the anomaly aided him to reach his highest musical possibilities. On the whole, he concludes that the hormonic explanation of this peculiar and many-sided anomaly is often, without question, the signpost pointing to the right road, but that there are also numerous cases where we need psychology in order to attain a completely satisfying answer to the thousandfold questions involved.

It was by Hirschfeld's important work in this field that I was stimulated to return to the subject and to bring forward my own small contribution. In a study published in the *Alienist and Neurologist* (May and August, 1913), describing four cases of the anomaly, I proposed for it the term "Sexo-Aesthetic Inversion," which I used as the title of the study, and I also suggested as an alternative the name "Eonism" after the Chevalier d'Eon, the most famous historical subject of this anomaly, to be used as comparable to the terms "sadism" and "masochism." ("Aesthetic inversion," I should say, was the name suggested to me by a man of scientific and scholarly distinction who was himself the subject of this anomaly in a pronounced form.) I pointed out the propriety of invoking aesthetic emotion in this connection since the main characteristic of these people—the impulse to project themselves by sympathetic feeling into the object to which they are attracted, or the impulse of inner imitation—is precisely the tendency which various recent philosophers of aesthetics have regarded as the essence of all aesthetic feeling. It now, however, seems to me

undesirable to use the word "inversion" in this connection as it is too apt to arouse suggestions of homosexuality, which may be quite absent, though it remains true that the phenomenon we are concerned with is one of erotic empathy, of a usually heterosexual inner imitation, which frequently tends to manifest itself in the assumption of the habits and garments of the desired sex; for the important point is that this impulse springs out of admiration and affection for the opposite sex, therefore the subject of it is not usually tempted to carry the inner imitation so far as to imitate the sexual desires of that sex and so to become unlike it by being homosexual; that is how it is that, to superficial view, he seems less logical, less thorough-going, than the sexual invert.

Moreover, "sexo-aesthetic inversion," even if acceptable as a descriptive term, still remains one of those hybrid Græco-Latin compounds which it is best if possible to avoid. "Aesthetic sexual inversion" is misleading, since it would apparently be equivalent to "aesthetic homosexuality." The same subject of the anomaly who suggested "aesthetic inversion" also independently proposed Laurent's term, "psychical hermaphroditism"; but that is not accurate since these people are not always conscious of possessing the psychic disposition of both sexes, but sometimes only of one, the opposite sex, the sex to which they are attracted. Hirschfeld regretted that the difficulty cannot be solved by adopting the name of some well-known subject of the condition as in the terms "sadism" and "masochism," but thought none sufficiently well-known. He overlooked the well-known Chevalier d'Eon who exhibited this impulse very definitely, and I am now inclined to think best the term I had more tentatively suggested in my first contribution to the subject and to call this anomaly "Eonism."[1]

Some years ago a man was found drowned off the Cornish coast dressed in women's clothes and with his hands fastened

---

[1] I have already used it as the title of an article on the subject in the New York *Medical Review of Reviews* (Jan., 1920). Wilhelm in 1914 (*Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, p. 500) regarded my proposed name of Eonism as probably the best.

together. Among his effects at the hotel he was staying at were numerous refinements of the feminine toilette and feminine articles of dress. He was a lawyer, practising as a solicitor near London, and regarded by his acquaintances (of whom one is known to me) as an ordinary and normal man of quiet habits. There was no suggestion that his death was due to violence. It was evident that he had sought what was from the point of view of the Eonist (apparently with masochistic tendencies) the most voluptuous death possible.[1]

Such a case reveals some of the peculiarities of Eonism. It tends to occur among people who are often educated, refined, sensitive, and reserved. It is for the most part successfully concealed from the subject's friends and acquaintances, even from the nearest members of his own family. It is sometimes associated with manifestations which recall masochism or passive algolagnia. Thus it is in some aspects a form of erotic symbolism which, while it might be classified under inversion, in the wider sense of that term, yet has resemblances to erotic fetichism and occurs in the kind of people who tend to be subject to fetichism. It also resembles, in some of its features, the kind of auto-erotism called Narcissism or erotic self-admiration. Aesthetic inversion cannot, however, be identified either with fetichism or with Narcissism; the subject is not really in love either with a fetich or, except in one special type, with himself.

Although this psychic peculiarity is so difficult both to name and to define, it is, strange as that may seem, the commonest of all sexual anomalies to attain prominence in the public newspapers. There are several reasons why that should be. There is not only the real frequency of the condition, but the fact that it is so striking and so intriguing a violation of our most obvious conventional rules and regulations of social

---

[1] An imperfectly investigated case (Brand, *Practitioner*, Oct., 1917) of a robust married man found dead in his bedroom in a tightly laced corset and a weak electric battery with one pole to the base of abdomen, indicates an Eonist attempting to heignten voluptuous emotion, but may not indicate a voluptuous suicide, as the corset could hardly produce Asphyxia and the battery was harmless.

life. There is the further consideration that, since in its simple uncomplicated form it constitutes no violation of our moral feelings and laws, it is easily possible to discuss it plainly in the most reputable public prints.

It may be worth while to quote a typical case thus reported in the press. In the *Alienist and Neurologist* for July, 1895, is found the following quotation from the *Journal* of Lewiston, Maine: "Commander James Robbins, of Cooper's Mills, in this State, is one of the prominent men of his community, a citizen generally esteemed as a man of integrity and intelligence. Mr. Robbins has a brilliant war record. He has lived in the village since 1883, and is a jeweler. His house is a neat cottage house on the brow of the hill as one drives into the Mills. In the narrow front hallway is Mr. Robbins' bench, lathe, and tools, and here you will find him placidly working away at the tiny wheels and springs.

"If you are on sufficiently intimate terms with Mr. Robbins you will find him indulging in his hobby. He has one, like most of us. In his case the hobby is startlingly picturesque, and it may be safely said that he is the most original man in the State of Maine, so far as his curious fancy is concerned. He wears petticoats. Not when he goes down the street for the mail and to do his marketing. At these times he slips on the masculine pantaloons. Yet he does not wear his trousers even like the ordinary masculinity. No suspenders for him. He wears a sort of dress about his hips. He always wears a woman's No. 6 shoe with high heels and graceful, slender shape. Mr. Robbins weighs something like 180 pounds, and the effect produced by those shoes peeping coyly out from beneath manly trouser legs is startling, to say the least. Mr. Robbins doesn't mince or toddle, and his shoes seem to fit him pretty well.

"He reserves his petticoats for the sanctity of the home circle, for the partial retirement of his orchard, and for calls upon neighbors with whom his acquaintance is close. Mr. Robbins isn't squeamish about showing himself in petticoats. He enjoys wearing them; he has worn them when opportunity has presented all his life long, and he wears them scientifically,

too. In the first place, there's no half-way business about it. Every detail of feminine attire is there, and Mr. Robbins is rightly fussy about the details.

"There is no woman in Cooper's Mills who owns so many dresses of such excellent material as does the commander of the Cooper's Mills Post. He takes pride in having only the best. His lingerie is elaborately tucked and ruffled, edged with lace and fashioned according to the most approved models of any lady's wardrobe. The material is of the finest quality, and when Mr. Robbins lifts his skirts the eye gets a vision of ruffles, lace and 'all such like' of dazzling whiteness and immaculate smoothness.

"He is very particular about his ironing. Everything must be starched 'up to the handle,' whatever that is, and sometimes Mrs. Robbins finds her hands full and her clothes horse loaded down like a pack donkey. Amazed neighbors, who were not fully aware of the extent of Mr. Robbins' hobby, have been obliged to ask for more details when Mrs. Robbins has laconically informed them that 'it is Jim's ironing.' Mr. Robbins' hosiery is of the long sort and it is currently rumored that the stockings are hitched up at the sides. His corsets he has made especially for his girth, and these he wears continually. His shape is fairly good, especially when he dresses up for afternoons. In the morning he wears print gowns, for he assists in the housework. Almost every morning Mr. Robbins in his print gown is seen sweeping off the piazza and whisking about the kitchen. He wears petticoats at home almost exclusively, putting on the garb as soon as he enters the house. For afternoon wear his gowns are elaborate. Some of them are made by Mr. Robbins and some are fashioned by local dressmakers. One cashmere dress is quite a favorite, and this is frequently worn by Mr. Robbins when he promenades in the orchard. He has lots of these good clothes, all of fashionable cut, puffed sleeves, and all the fixin's that go to lend grace and dignity. Usually he wears an apron, and especially so when at his bench. The apron is white, ordinarily, and has a bib with ruffled straps and pockets. Therefore, does Mr. Robbins present a somewhat

unique appearance as he works away of afternoons, or sits and converses with his wife.

"Look at the gown and you see a stylishly attired woman. But the face is very manly indeed. Mr. Robbins would be marked in any crowd. His face is full and he wears a mustache that possibly owes a colour to art. His hair is long, black and curly, his voice deep and full, and there's nothing effeminate about him except his attire."

It may be added, however, that this case, if representative of one type of Eonist, is not typical as regards the favorable response of the social environment. This is more usually one of petty persecution, so that the history of the Eonist, when less robust and jovial than Commander Robbins, may sometimes turn out pathetically.

Examples of women strictly belonging to the same group cannot so easily and so certainly be found in public records. Most of those thus brought before the world have either adopted men's dress and ways for the sake of greater facility in earning a living, or they are in reality sexually inverted. This is illustrated by the numerous references to women in Pettow's *Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb.* The genuine Eonist type can be more easily discovered in women who are never brought prominently to public attention, but even then often obscurely. Thus Stekel (*Die Geschlechtskalte der Frau,* 1921, pp. 429-457), gives long fragments of analysis of a woman, anxious to be like a man and unlike a woman; it was rather a complicated case with conflict, and an element of homosexuality, but finally the feminine element conquered and she became reconciled to being a woman.

If Eonism is a deeply rooted natural instinct, of which the possibilities are always latent, we should expect to find it wide-spread over the world among peoples of all stages of culture. We might also expect to find it emerging from time to time even among the general population. Both these expectations are fulfilled even with our present imperfect knowledge.

Among lower races the manifestations of Eonism may occur not only, as in civilization, in a sporadic and isolated way, but also sometimes endemically in groups. So that, one notes incidentally, Eonism may possibly represent, not. as we might have been tempted to suppose, a corrupt or over-refined manifestation of late cultures, but the survival of an ancient and natural tendency of more primitive man.

As an example of the isolated tendency I may quote the note of a case communicated to me by Dr. C. G. Seligman as observed by him during the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.

"Hiro, a woman of 30, daughter of a Hula chief. On casual examination she seemed rather taller and less fat than the average Hula woman, with less rounded figure. The skin of the breasts seemed rather wrinkled but the breasts themselves looked normally developed. The genitals are said to be normal and the mons hairy. As a little girl she always preferred playing boys' games, and by all accounts she played them well. As she got older she stuck to boys and their games, preferring them as companions, and avoiding her own sex. She refused to adopt the girls' petticoat for some time, but at puberty was compelled by threats to do so. She seems to have behaved normally as regards sexual matters, and about two years after the onset of menses there was an abortion. She now works in the garden man-fashion, using heavy digging sticks, and carries burdens man-fashion. She has refused at least three offers of marriage, and lives with her mother. As far as can be ascertained, she has never had any homosexual relationships, and since the abortion she seems to have had no normal sexual relationships, or, at all events, they have not been of sufficient duration to arrest public attention."

One or two rather similar cases were met, also in New Guinea, in men.

The *sarimbavy*, found among the Hovas of Madagascar, and described by Rencurel and others, have sometimes been brought up as girls because their parents desired to have a girl, but in other cases the impulse towards feminine habits and vocations arises and

persists in spite of the parents' opposition (*Annales d'Hygiène*, etc., 1900, p. 562; Jourdran, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Dec., 1903; Emile Laurent, *ib.* April 15, 1911). The *sarimbavy* shun the society of boys, and associate with girls, and as they grow up they wear their hair long and fastened in a knot; they follow women's occupations, dress in women's clothes, and epilate their chins. They show no traces of physical abnormality, no infantilism, and the sexual organs are properly developed. The shoulders are, however, rounded, the muscular system soft and covered by adipose tissue. The voice, also, resembles that of an eunuch; the inflection and timbre are those of a woman; and the laugh shrill. This appears to be due to unconscious imitation. The *sarimbavy* are gentle and timid, and very modest. Although constantly living with women, they have no sexual impulses; erections are rare, and when sexual intercourse takes place, it is only at the woman's insistence, and fails to produce agreeable sensations. There appears to be no decided sexual impulse either in a normal or an abnormal direction, and Rencurel considers that the *sarimbavy* may be regarded as a group apart, that of asexual inverts. We may regard them as asexual Eonists.

The *Pu-Mea* ("men-women") of Eastern Asia, men who are brought up to live as women or who later become drawn to such a life, present an allied phenomenon, though on the borderland of homosexuality, for the Pu-Mea sometimes marry men (especially confirmed opium-smokers who have become impotent), and such unions are quite likely to turn out happily. This is especially found in Laos, according to Otto Ehlers (*Im Sattel durch Indochina*, Vol. I, pp. 80 *et seq.*, 116 *et seq.*), whose account is also quoted by Pettow (pp. 19 *et seq.*).

Frazer has touched on this aspect of cross-dressing (*Golden Bough*, "Adonis Attis Osiris," Vol. II, pp. 253-264) and refers to various peoples among whom it is customary for some of the men to live as women. Among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo this is said to be due to a call in a dream, which indicates the existence of an inner impulse. Among the Omaha it was regarded as due to the action of the moon and began, as we might expect, at the puberty initiation rites. Frazer regards interchange of dress as "an obscure and complex problem," holding that it is unlikely a single solution applies to all cases. There may be a change of sex under the inspiration of a goddess; as perhaps the effeminate Sardanapalus, Hercules, and the priests of Cybele, the womanish priest or king, we may suppose, having "thought himself animated by a female spirit" (just, I may add, as with the Eonist today). Sometimes, again, the object, Frazer

remarks, is to avert the evil eye, while sometimes it is a disguise for deceiving a demon.

In Maarken, Holland, Jelgersma states that the boys are dressed as girls until the age of seven (Jelgersma, "A Peculiar Custom in the Island of Maarken," *Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925). He regards this custom as " a symbolic castration," imposed by the men to guard against the incestuous tendencies of children, among a seafaring population.

A general temporary impulse to cross-dressing is, so far as our present knowledge goes, still more widespread than its permanent forms. Crawley has brought together evidence of its occurrence among primitive peoples in various parts of the world (A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1902, pp. 279-281). Dr. Seligman tells me of what he would term "ceremonial cross-dressing" which he has observed in dances of the Marshall Bennet Islanders in Melanesia, and also among the Lotuko in Africa.

Cross-dressing took place in the Roman Saturnalia. In the medieval Feast of Fools, which, like the Roman Saturnalia, fell in December, women dressed as men and men as women; so also during Carnival. At St. Ives in Cornwall, I may add, it was usual some years ago to keep up the old custom of "guise-dancing" during the fortnight after Christmas, with cross-dressing and the wearing of masks.

In association with these periodic manifestations of cross-dressing through the Middle Ages, fully accepted by public opinion and even by the Church, there were constantly occurring isolated manifestations of Eonism in men and women, and these unfortunate individuals, far from being accepted, were subjected to social contempt and judicial torture and not infrequently condemned to death. Hirschfeld, Pettow, and others have brought forward examples from old literature which could no doubt be easily increased. We may measure the strength of the impulse to Eonism by the dangers which were risked by those who experienced the impulse. It should be added that still today the Eonist often has to encounter the same hostile social attitude, not even the medical profession always constituting an honorable exception. Thus, an Eonist

of high character not long since informed me that a friend of his had spoken on the subject to a London doctor "who became very wroth and said that all such cases should be confined to asylums and those who aided them shot."

The precise nature of "aesthetic inversion" can only be ascertained by presenting illustrative examples of which we may obtain exact and detailed knowledge with the aid of the subject himself. There are at least two main types of such cases: One, the most common kind, in which the inversion is mainly confined to the sphere of clothing, and another, less common but more complete, in which cross-dressing is regarded with comparative indifference but the subject so identifies himself with those of his physical and psychic traits which recall the opposite sex that he feels really to belong to that sex, although he has no delusion regarding his anatomical conformation.

Before bringing forward a fully developed case of each type, it may conduce to an understanding of the anomaly if we consider some of the intermediate stages between aesthetic inversion and the normal sexual attitude.

There are many gradations in the extent to which Eonism may occur. In a very slight degree it is extremely common, perhaps more so among women than men, and especially at an early age. This may be illustrated by the following note written by a medical woman, aged 30, normal in sexual and other respects, regarding her own youthful impulses.

"As a a child it was my greatest desire to be a boy; I read only boys' books; boys to me were wonderful beings, the souls of honor and truth, quite different from girls, and I tried to mould myself along lines which I fancied would evoke the admiration of boys. I climbed and ran and swam as well as could be done. The friendships between boys I thought wonderful and quite ideal. And even after I grew up my ideal relationship was always friendship with a man. For a long time I had short hair and dressed somewhat severely. And even now at times I am assailed by an almost irresistible desire to cut short my hair and to be unfeminine, and then at

other times I want to do just the opposite. It is very wearing to be between two fires."

Occasionally, it would seem, this anomaly may exist in a more marked form, but only in the subconscious sphere, and manifest itself in dreams alone, in this rare form corresponding to Leland's conception of "the alternate sex" lying beneath waking consciousness.

I will first present a well-marked case of such aesthetic inversion confined to dreams.

The subject is a Welshwoman, 29 years of age, married two years since. Though not muscularly strong, she is very healthy, entirely normal, tall and supple, with good complexion and hair, fond of swimming and of country life though compelled to live in a city. She is somewhat emotional in temperament, quick, vivid, high-spirited; it is a type not so very rare among her country-people. Her intelligence is of a very high order and she earns her living by literary work. Her ways and feelings are feminine; she is attractive to men and attracted to them. She has never at any time had any homosexual impulses and regards such things with horror. She has, moreover, never masturbated or played with herself. Until marriage, at the age of twenty-seven, she had had indeed, no sexual experiences, auto-erotic or other,—except in dreams.

From the onset of sexual life at the age of twelve, she had experienced erotic dreams, coming usually (as shown by a diary she kept for a long time) two or three nights before the monthly period, which, as a rule, is fairly easy; sometimes a period is not preceded by the dream. These dreams have been accompanied by complete sexual satisfaction, and she awakens, she states, "all thrilling with the sensations—and I've tried to prolong them by lying hard on my face; but in a couple of minutes they've gone."

The dreams have, however, this special peculiarity that, invariably, the dreamer imagines that she herself is a young man of about twenty-three years of age, who is making love to a young girl. She has never had a normal erotic dream about a man, although she has sometimes dreamed of kisses

that had actually occurred. Indeed, in all her very vivid dreams, even apart from those of an erotic character, she dreams of herself in this masculine shape. (She makes exception of a nightmare, to which she is occasionally liable, in which she retains her own feminine personality and is pursued from room to room by a loathsome woman.)

"In these dreams," she writes, "I *feel* myself masculine; in one or two of them I have touched myself and found it different from a woman, and once I saw myself in a mirror and recognized the face as one long forgotten somehow.[1] Personally, I believe I must have been a boy once. My girl is always the same type, though I've only *seen* her about five times, and not clearly. I *feel* her absolutely distinctly, soft-skinned and very full-breasted. The only time I saw her clearly enough to remember, she was dark-haired and light-skinned (as I am), but not of my figure; she was small and plump and had on a weird costume—sort of Turkish, with a scarlet jacket and gold jewels and white trousers and a scarlet close cap on her long hair. The costume I must have got from a picture, though I cannot call it to mind. All this is absolutely apart from my real life and I seldom give it a waking thought."

Some extracts from the subject's diary (after marriage) may illustrate the occurrence of the dreams and their nature.

21st Sept. (Saturday.) I had that dream last night. I had intense feeling but could not see my girl.

24th Sept. Monthly period.

20th Oct. (Sunday.) My girl came. I saw her lying in the scarlet and white costume. She was very sweet and I loved her, *besides* the feeling, which was strong when I awoke. I kissed her very much on the breast. I had a feeling that there was a younger girl somewhere near that I was *supposed* to take, but I kept to my own one because she was so pretty. She was ever so fond of me.

22d Oct. Monthly period.

12th Nov. That dream with a girl. Couldn't see her.

18th Nov. Monthly period.

13th Dec. Violin dream. That violin dream found me so distinctly as a young man that it might be part of the other dream, though I wasn't having the feeling with a girl at all. A party of us —tourists, I think—were in a certain Welsh hotel, in the coffee-room. There is a big mirror over the mantel-piece. I saw myself

[1] This paramnesic feeling (as I have pointed out in *The World of Dreams*) is very common in dreams, even in connection with the most insignificant details.

in a gray tweed suit with a gray cap. My hair was as dark as usual and I was about my usual (woman's) height, but it looks less in a man. I saw myself more clearly than the others—men and girls, I don't know who. I felt myself fond of one of the girls, though she was only one of a vague crowd, but I was quite aware of her—and the young man's love in me was *not* the same as my woman-feeling all through my real life. I remembered that vividly afterwards. I felt I was taking care of that girl, but I didn't see her. We were waiting for tea. There was a violin case on a table at the other end of the room. Everybody knew it was something *horriole* and the girls were frightened. Then the violin case lifted itself up without being touched, and everyone was in a state of horror. I (the young man) had a feeling that I must stand on the hearthrug with my back to the mirror. I saw my own shoulder, and the back of my head in the mirror (I don't see how I did it), I put my left hand up as if I were playing. (I've never learned the violin) and waited. I felt the girl looking at me and I was sorry she was so frightened. Then the violin suddenly flew through the air like a bird from the other end of the coffee-room, came straight at me and nestled under my chin in the right position for me to play. I held my other arm down at my side, and the loathsome violin played a tune as if someone else were bowing, but there was no bow, and no one there. It played the same little tune twice over, and then dropped out of my hands. I turned to the girl as I woke. It was an extraordinarily vivid dream; myself, the room and the violin were as clear as real life; my feeling for the girl was very strong. Only the other people were the usual dream crowd.

15th Dec. Monthly period, I had rather a bad time.

23d Feb. That dream. I saw her shoulders and breast and her face. She held me tight with her hand down there, hurting me. I awoke in pain. (This pain was all up me and in my thighs, like, I imagine, acute cramp. I was not touching myself, both arms being around my husband, who was asleep. In about five minutes that pain went, leaving me light and easy.) Before breakfast the monthly period came. Easy time."

These erotic dream experiences had lately acquired a certain importance in the subject's eyes, owing to circumstances following her marriage. Much as she loved her husband the expected emotions of intercourse failed to come about. The sensations of marriage union, while agreeable so far as they went, were not to be compared with those of the dreams. The husband, who had been without experience before mar-

riage, was ignorant of the sexual life of women and knew nothing of the art of love. He had not only failed to arouse the wife's erotic emotions, he had not even been aware that they needed arousing, or that anything beyond penetration and ejaculation was required of him. Having sought advice, she speedily realized what was amiss, took the matter into her own hands, instructed her husband who was quite willing to learn, and according to the latest report, the sexual union of marriage speedily became almost, if not quite, as satisfactory as the dream experiences.

In these dream experiences we see aesthetic inversion carried to a point which is not possible in real life except during insanity. We see, that is, an inversion which is not homosexual but heterosexual. The interesting point about these dreams is the seemingly complete divorce from real life. It is fairly evident that the subject herself could not explain the origin of the systematized delusion in her dream-life. She set forth her history with an evident anxiety to conceal nothing, however trivial; her motive for keeping a diary of the dreams at one time was the wish to discover the meaning of them. It is possible that more minute psychological investigation might have given a clue to the first constitution of the dream-system, but this was not possible, for the subject, having received the solution of the special difficulty for which she sought advice, disappeared from sight. So far as we can judge of the mechanism of the dream-system from the available indications, it would appear to be determined by the impulses of childish sexuality, corresponding to the age at which the dream system arose.

The aggressive tendency, the homosexual tendency, the tendency to Narcissism are all youthful tendencies, belonging to the period of puberty or earlier, and all appear clearly marked in this dream-system. As regards Narcissism, the subject notes that her dream-girl when seen, failed to correspond in all respects to her own waking self, but the most striking features of the dream-girl were certainly those which the dreamer, when awake, most values in herself. The trans-

formation of sex still remains to account for, and it would seem to have been a device of the subconscious mind whereby the tendencies to aggression, to homosexuality and to Narcissism might have free play. It may be recalled also that the desire to be a boy is really a very common wish of young girls, even girls of entirely feminine constitution.[1]

This aesthetic heterosexual inversion in dream-life is, in the nature of things, a manifestation which cannot occur in sane waking life. When we turn to waking life we have to make a fresh start. The next case to be brought forward seems to me to present a partial approximation to the attitude of aesthetic inversion.

J. G., aged 35. Married. Father nervous, high strung individual. Very quick tempered. Storms of rage quickly and easily produced and as easily subdued. Mother of a rather phlegmatic type. Two brothers and one sister, who seem to have been normal. Sister very religious.

As a child he was quick tempered, but his likes and dislikes were strongly mastered. It seemed to him that he was unmercifully plagued for the purpose of exciting a tempest of rage, when he was punished, usually by whipping. At the age of 7 he became very fond of a little girl, the child of a neighbor, and enjoyed caressing and kissing her. They always met secretly and the practice was kept up until discovered by a nursemaid who informed his mother that he was very forward. He was punished, he could not understand for what cause, but decided that kissing and girls were bad. He

---

[1] Maeder ("Ueber zwei Frauentypen," *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse,* vol. i, Heft. 12, 1911) attributes to what he calls the "clitoris type" of woman a tendency at puberty to want to be a boy and to have dream-phantasies in which she plays the masculine part, especially in sexual matters. Our present subject, however, only corresponds to Maeder's clitoris type of woman to a very slight extent. With regard to the desire of a girl to be a boy, Alfred Adler ("Zur Rolle des Unbewussten in der Neurose," *Zt. f. Psychoanalyse,* vol. iii) refers to the classic story of Caenis, the beautiful Thessalian girl who refused all her wooers but was ravished by Poseidon when walking by the seashore. He offered her any boon she might wish, and she chose to be a man in order to avoid any incident of this kind occurring again, at the same time receiving the gift of invulnerability, so that Caenus, as he was henceforward called, became active in martial pursuits (Ovid, *Metamorph,* lib. XII, 171-209). This story, no doubt, might well be a girl's dream-phantasy. The tendency we are here concerned with is now by psychoanalysts commonly associated with the castration-complex.

was not allowed to play with the children of his own age for some unknown reason; but he thinks that his mother thought he would be contaminated by even the innocent associations thus engendered. He was left pretty much to himself, and as he was bright he soon learned to read and his days when not in the school room were spent in the library where he pored over many books not written for children. He thus read translations from Maupassant, Balzac, etc. His particular favorite was the *Heptameron* of which there was a finely illustrated and unexpurgated edition. He was taught French and at the age of eleven could read it well; he was thus enabled to dabble in other works that had heretofore been closed to him. He was also fond of working with tools and constructed several rather ingenious mechanisms. This bent was discouraged by his parents. He now began to have hazy notions in regard to sexual matters. Because of a question of his as to the difference between a boy and a girl he was sent to school. And evidently his parents chose wisely because the master was a kind, fatherly middle-aged physician who seems to have understood the workings of the boyish mind, and here many matters were explained to him that he had grown to look upon as nasty. Unfortunately for him the master died after he had attended the school for just two sessions.

He was now 13 and puberty was beginning to show signs of its approach. He was very gloomy and despondent, had thoughts of suicide. At this time he began to masturbate. The act was not done through the suggestion of any one, but was spontaneous, and he felt ever so much better for it. He was very desirous of seeing a girl dress, more especially as he had been unceremoniously bustled from his sister's room while she was at her toilet, and when he had asked one or two of the maids to permit him to see them dressing they had laughed and called him a bad boy and threatened to inform his father.

One night he was left alone in the house, the rest of the family having gone to the theatre, and happening to want a needle for some purpose, he went upstairs and entered the sewing-room in search of one. The room in question was angular and on turning the corner he was astonished at what he saw. Standing in front of the large mirror there was his mother's maid busily engaged in lacing her corset. She was scantily clad and seemed to him a vision of loveliness. As he was apparently unnoticed he stood still and gazed, fascinated. Being finally laced to suit, she tied the strings and then with her hands on her hips, waltzed about the room, finally discovering him with apparently great surprise. "Oh, Monsieur Jean, you are naughty boy." And then as she regarded him, "How old are you?" He told her thirteen. "Well, if you are like ze French

boy you are old enough." She then kissed him passionately and putting an arm about his waist led him to a lounge in the room upon which she threw herself and then she initiated him into the mysteries of coitus. He had no emission nor did he have as much pleasure as when masturbating. Erection still persisting she performed *fellatio* and dismissed him. This maid pursued the boy for the next year and several times dressed him up in female apparel, including a tightly laced corset, and had coitus with him. He noticed that pleasure for him was greatly increased at these times. This liaison was at length discovered and he was sent to a military school. He entered a university at nineteen and on numerous occasions visited prostitutes but never successfully performed coitus as erection failed to occur. Masturbation was still kept up. He took his degree with honors and after graduation went abroad. While on the steamer some amateur theatricals were got up and he was selected to play a burlesque old maid. In dressing for the part he noticed a vigorous erection occurring while lacing himself into a corset. This fact started a train of thought, and as soon as possible after arriving in London he purchased a corset, and with it under his arm sallied forth for a promenade in Piccadilly. He soon made the acquaintance of an attractive member of the demi-monde and accompanied her to her lodging where upon disrobing and having her lace him tightly he was pleased to find that his surmise was correct and that a vigorous erection ensued. He had coitus with her several times and he also discovered that erection was produced by him lacing the woman's corset for her. As he was very sensual he consorted more and more with prostitutes. He remained abroad for over a year and on his return trip met a charming young woman, with whom he fell in love and whom he finally married.

He told her nothing of his perversion until after marriage, when he confessed his inability to consummate the marriage without the stimulus of a corset. She yielded to his request, also she herself started lacing tightly, squeezing a twenty-six inch waist into an eighteen inch corset to please him. He never had coitus with her except when she wore a corset which he had laced her into or else when he wore one. In recent years both have worn them. He was insatiate in his sexual desires; in three years he performed coitus twice daily except when his wife was menstruating. In conversation with several married women of her acquaintance she gleaned enough to realize that her husband's sexual life was very peculiar. She consulted a physician in regard to him and finally persuaded her husband also to do so. He would not submit to a physical examination, but was not effeminate in appearance, well-built and apparently muscular. He had a neuropathic eye and there was a slight tremor-

of the hands and fingers. He asked if anything could be done to make him normal sexually and hypnotism was suggested, but he refused to allow any experiment. His wife later secured a divorce.

This case may be said to be one of corset fetichism. But it has the peculiarity, bringing it into aesthetic inversion, that the subject not only feels attracted to the corset on the woman he is attached to, but feels it essential that he should himself wear a corset. To that extent cross-dressing characterizes his psychic attitude.[1]

The next case presents us with a more developed example of Eonism or transvestism, as understood by Hirschfeld. The subject knew nothing of Hirschfeld's book, which was not published until some years later, and like so many persons affected by psychosexual anomalies, even of the commonest kind, he imagined that his case was unique.[2]

A. T., aged 30, artist. He is the last of an old family. His parents and other relations have been, so far as he knows, ordinary normal persons. He is himself regarded by his friends as an ordinary sane person and none of them have any suspicion that he is not normal. Yet, he states, "every nerve in my body seems to cry out that, in spite of my outward masculine form, I am actually feminine, and I long for female clothing, female form, female amusements, and female sexual gratification."

"I began to have sexual feelings," he writes, "at what, I think,

---

[1] The fact that fetichism really represents in some cases a transition to aesthetic inversion, or constitutes an initial stage of it, is well brought out in several cases that have been published. Thus in a case of developed foot and corset fetichism in a student of twenty-two, studied by K. Abraham (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, 1912, pp. 557 *et seq.*), the subject when a boy wanted to be a woman, not in order to exercise a woman's sexual functions, but in order to dress as a woman. Again in a very completely developed case of cross-dressing investigated by Hirschfeld and Burchard (*Aerztliche-Sachverstandigen Zeitung*, 1912, Nos. 23 and 24) a well marked shoe-fetichism preceded the development of the aesthetic inversion and seems to have led up to it.

[2] I may here repeat, what I have often remarked before, that there is no ground for the notion that sexual perversions are commonly acquired through reading books about them. It is quite true that reading about them sometimes encourages the subject to acknowledge them but that is a very different matter. It is only in rare cases of persons who are already highly abnormal that an acquired perversion can thus be artificially developed. Even in these cases we may possibly be concerned with a retarded congenital condition.

must have been an extraordinarily early age, having discovered, I know not how, at about the age of four, that the handling of my penis produced a pleasant sensation and an erection, and that, after a little manipulation of it, I could bring on a short spasm of feeling even yet more enjoyable. Thus, long before I knew anything about sex whatever, I became enamored of this kind of pleasure, though, with a sort of instinctive feeling that it was 'naughty,' I carefully concealed my indulgence in it. A later discovery was that it was also very pleasurable to be partly or wholly naked, and when in that condition to bring my bare limbs or body in contact with all sorts of inanimate objects. I can remember when quite a little chap in petticoats, which I wore I think until I was about seven or eight, pulling up my little drawers to walk about with my thighs naked, and to press between them all sorts of things such as cushions, bottles, tin cans, or the legs of tables, which always gave me an erection and something the same sort of pleasure that I have since heard a woman confess to having experienced at having similar things clasped between her legs. Still better it was to strip quite naked and to roll on the floor or on the bed tickling my breasts or my thighs and enjoy the pleasurable stiffening of the penis which always supervened, . As yet I had no consciousness of the other sex, and, as I have said, I always did these things when alone, though I generally experienced more pleasure in doing them in places where, at other times, there were other people, so that I preferred to strip say in the drawing room to doing it in my own bedroom, where I knew it was safe to do so, and loved to run all over the house and up and down stairs quite naked when I was alone in the house. This passion for nakedness and exposure has grown upon me, and has driven me to do all sorts of extraordinary things, and to gratify it in all sorts of places, both indoors and outdoors, often with the greatest possible risk of discovery, which, however, only seemed to add an additional charm and piquancy to my actions.

"Growing up to boyhood with this taste for nakedness and exposure and constantly indulging in the habit of self abuse, and being, besides, a very spoiled child, I became, I am afraid, very much of a molly coddle, very effeminate and girlish in my tastes and habits. Against this, however, I developed after a time a great love and admiration for the other sex, having had many little sweethearts and juvenile love affairs, though for a long time I connected the objects of my affections very little with my curious sexual desires. Although, as may be seen, I was already in some respects very depraved, in others I was very innocent, and I must have been about fourteen or fifteen before I slowly realized the relation of the sexes and began to relate my desires to the sex of my charmers.

That, however, came quite strongly in due time, though curiously enough, the more I began to feel physically amorous towards the girls, the more bashful I became in their actual presence. At sixteen, though hardly able to speak to a girl I admired, I yet, in the exercise of a most fertile imagination, would in secret imagine myself engaged with her in all sorts of amorous and voluptuous adventures, and commit to paper all sorts of stories in which we indulged in the mutual exposure of our persons to one another, and in lascivious caressings of all kinds.

"About this time, too, began to develop the artistic tastes which have determined my general career and which have had their strongly sexual influence as well. I began, for instance, to take the greatest pleasure in pictures of the female form divine, and would take any I could get hold of to my bedroom and 'worship it,' as I called it, by stripping myself also naked before it, and manipulating my erected and excited organ until its spasm of pleasure culminated in what I termed a libation to my goddess. I also began to take the greatest pleasure in the sight and details of female clothing, especially the pretty underthings, an accidental glimpse of which, given by an extra short-skirted girl or woman, I got to be always on the lookout for and to keenly enjoy. So keen did I get on this that I would do almost anything to see a girl or a woman in any condition of exposure or undress, loving the sight of her clothing, I think, quite as much as that of her limbs or body. Many a young girl with particularly short skirts I have followed for miles enjoying the sight of her shapely legs and occasional delicious glimpses of her pretty underclothing, while one summer at the sea-side almost every day I used to go up some cliff steps behind a girls' school in order to enjoy looking up their clothes and feast my eyes on the details of their pretty drawers and petticoats. My constant presence and purpose was, I am almost sure, noticed by one or two little coquettes, for once or twice I noticed that drawers had been pushed up and that petticoats were being bunched up with the result of the display of garters and even of bare thighs above them.

"Then, somewhat later, came, quite naturally, the next step in my development. While one day enjoying being naked in my sister's bedroom, where there was a large mirror in which I delighted to see my naked body and limbs reflected, I came across a lot of her prettily trimmed underclothing, and was seized with the desire to put it on. I did so—and from that moment I date what I term my change of sex. I cannot describe to you the pleasure I felt when thus dressing myself for the first time in female garments. It was exquisite, delicious, intoxicating, far and away transcending anything I had before experienced, and when, after some

trouble, I was completely attired as a girl, and placed myself in front of the glass, it was a positive revelation. I felt that here at last was what I had been longing for. Now my bashfulness mattered no longer. Here before me was a pretty girl, whom I could see in any stage of dress or undress, whom I could pose in any position I liked that would show off her body or limbs or underclothing. I could experience all my old pleasures of nakedness and exposure and as a girl at the same time in the same condition. I was both boy and girl at once, and since that time I have never been a male pure and simple again, and today I am actually more female than male, in spite of the actual physical facts to the contrary. Feeling as I thus did, it is no wonder that the new pleasure became a positive passion with me, which I lost no opportunity of gratifying, surreptitiously borrowing articles of female attire at every possible occasion in order to enjoy the exquisite sensations caused by wearing them. The ladies' newspapers became of the greatest interest to me and I gloated over their illustrations of sweet chemises, dainty drawers and charming corsets; and gradually, through their medium, I began to get a collection of such things for myself. To such a pitch of refinement have I carried this passion for dressing as a female that I have now complete costumes of various kinds, and can appear in full evening dress, with bare arms and neck, and naked shoulders and bosom; as a dancing girl with yards and yards of lace petticoats, as a young girl in short skirts displaying her beautifully frilled drawers, or even as a child with socks instead of stockings and delightfully naked legs. Each of them gives me a different variety of pleasure as I wear them under fresh conditions or in fresh places, or pose and expose myself in some fresh variety of voluptuous position. For instance, I have when staying in the country, on going to bed dressed myself as a short-skirted young girl and when everyone else had retired, come downstairs and gone thus attired out into the garden, and walked about in the moonlight, pulling up my lovely lace petticoats to still further expose my shapely legs and frilled drawers, deriving the most exquisite pleasure from imagining myself to be a young girl thus behaving herself.

"And I have walked down a country lane, in full evening dress, at night, revelling in the nakedness of my neck and arms and the complete exposure of my bare bosom, and enjoying the feel of the billowy laces of my petticoats foaming round my silk stockinged ankles as I walked.

"I have also stripped and redressed myself as a girl in the railway carriage of a long journey non-stop train, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the daring situation.

"Perhaps, however, my most absolutely daring exploit in this way was when I went into the garden of a London square late at night, from one of the adjoining houses, clad in a charming combination of evening and young girl's dress, with a sleeveless bodice cut low to the last possible inch, and with the shortest possible skirts and petticoats, in which the delicious nudity of my bosom, and the naked exposure of part of my thighs between the tops of my elaborately gartered openwork silk stockings, was exquisitely exciting and in delightful contrast to the compression of my body in my tightly laced corsets. Over this I put on a long overcoat, which on reaching the square garden I threw off, and stood thus girlishly dressed and exposed in the open air, feminine, half naked, and more than half mad with excitement and pleasure. I walked about, tossed my lace petticoats, sat upon seats and still further exposed my legs and drawers, pulled even lower my bodice to still further bare my heaving bosom, then frantic with the lasciviousness of my feelings, I took off garment after garment, placing myself in some fresh extraordinary position in each stage of undress, and finally throwing all upon the ground and myself naked upon them I lay madly rubbing my frightfully erected organ until I spent more copiously than ever in my life before. Such is the state of things to which my mad passion for female dressing has at times driven me.

"What I have already told relates to the earlier development of my condition, and up to this stage my aberrations were always solitary. They did not, however, after a while continue to be so, for I became acquainted with a widow lady, of handsome face and figure, though considerably older than myself, and conceived for her a great admiration, which she graciously accepted. I don't know what she can have seen in me, or whether being herself of a most ardent, not to say lascivious temperament, she readily guessed mine to be the same, but anyhow the affair very quickly ripened and under her encouragement and skillful treatment I quickly became not only her admirer but also the absolute slave of her passions as well. When once encouraged I became very bold, and the first familiarities certainly came from me, but she soon convinced me that I was a mere tyro in voluptuousness, and taught me more than I had ever previously known or suspected. Confession of my half female condition she soon got out of me, and my state seemed to amuse her like a new toy, for she gave me every encouragement and assistance in it, delighting to dress me in her own clothes and even having some things especially made for me, such as corsets with special bust improvers in order that I might have the figure of a woman, and into these she loved to lace me until I was almost cut in two in the middle and suffered a curious blending of pleasure

and pain. She, herself, was a confirmed tight-lacer and experienced much the same thing when she made me lace her in a similar manner. She liked the feeling and I the sight of her full firm breasts being forced upwards and outwards till they stood with erected nipples well out of her elegant corsets and courting the kisses and caresses which I loved to bestow and she to receive on these most sensitive parts of her beautiful form. Apropros of this I may add that another of my feminine characteristics is that my own breasts also have this extreme sensitiveness and that I love to have them kissed and caressed as they rise from my tight-laced corsets or low cut evening dress. Some time ago, on my longing to have real female attributes, I tried to develop them to female proportions with an advertised preparation for improving the bust, but failed. When dressed as a woman and with my bosom bare I want real breasts very badly indeed. My lady friend was, however, an adept at caressing, kissing and tickling what I have got, as also in doing the same to another place where I also have extreme and quite feminine sensitiveness, namely, the insides of my thighs. To have between and upon these the feel of the frillings of very short drawers is just lovely, while to have them touched or tickled by female hands or lips is exquisite in the extreme.

"In little tricks like these, and in the mutual handling and excitation of our private parts, we used to spend most of our time together, she either nude for her own pleasure or perhaps partly clad for me to enjoy the sight and feel of her underthings, and I usually in some variety of female attire. At times the pleasure of the latter, my sense of being actually female, my unrestrained exposure before my mistress, and her caresses and libidinous actions would almost cause me to swoon with the exquisiteness of my pleasure. At others my masculinity would come uppermost and the séance would end with a connection, but I may frankly confess that unless the latter were performed in some extraordinary manner or position, I did not enjoy it so much as when we kept up the illusion of my being female, as we sometimes even did to the extent of her dressing as a man and going through a scene of the seduction of myself as a woman. I may add that it was curious to note that just in the same way that I like to be tight-laced in order to feel thoroughly transformed into a woman and so enjoy my most delicious sensations, she liked to be the same during an ordinary connection, saying that it increased her pleasure to an extraordinary degree.

"This particular amour is of some good time ago, but I have since had others more or less like it, some with younger women and girls who were glad to find a male admirer who could indulge in

unlimited lascivious caressing without wanting to go always to the full length of actual connection; sometimes my masculine and sometimes my feminine desires have been uppermost, but the latter have always been on the increase, and I have now I think almost reached the stage described as actual sexual inversion. When dressed as a woman, I am a woman, with all a woman's feelings and longings. The clothing still gives me all the exquisite pleasure it ever did, and, indeed I sometimes think that to be dressed in lovely feminine things, down to the last possible detail, with all of them designed and arranged for voluptuous effect, and when in them to be able to expose oneself to the lascivious gaze, or receive the lascivious caresses, of a pretty woman similarly attired, or to pose for oneself in some extraordinary position in front of a mirror, or to lie half naked half femininely in a voluptuous dream, is the absolute height of sexual pleasure; yet at times when excited to the last pitch of female desire I sometimes find myself longing for a male instead of a female lover. Dressed as a girl I seem actually to become one. With my feet in high heeled shoes, and my legs looking exactly like those of a girl in black silk openwork stockings; feeling the clasp of my elaborate garters and the tickling of the frills of my drawers; clad in a delicate delicious chemise; laced to the utmost in shapely corsets; with a foam of lace petticoats round my ankles; with my neck and arms bare, and my bosom and shoulders rising nude out of the chiffons of a low-cut evening bodice, I look like a woman, and I feel like one, and then I seem to want a man to expose the charms of my person and clothing, to kiss and caress me, while I give myself up to him in I know not what mad orgie of lascivious and voluptuous pleasure. I have not yet got the length of doing any such thing in reality, even if there exists anyone who would abet me in such a thing, but when, in my calmer moments, I reflect on the extreme depravity of such desires and realize the depth to which I have actually fallen by the indulgence instead of the repression of my extraordinary feelings, I know that I have gone far enough and that it is quite time the whole thing was in some way stopped and treated. I think I know myself well enough to say that if the right road to a cure is pointed out to me I have strength enough to follow. Not that it will probably be easy, but the same spirit that has hitherto made me seek gratification at any cost may also serve me to practice renunciation in the same way.

"I may say that my feminism is almost entirely mental, for physically, in all the matters of conformation, growth, and distribution of hair, sexual organs, voice, etc., I am quite an ordinary and normal male. I have, certainly, rather small and well shaped hands and feet, and my legs, when seen in dainty stockings are surprisingly

feminine in shape and appearance, and I hate to have my hair cut; but apart from these things I have no marked bodily female characteristics—though I have often the most intense longing and desire, especially when enjoying the nakedness of my bosom in a low cut evening bodice, to have female breasts, that is in shape and size, for I already have the feminine quality of extreme sensitiveness in those parts, and keenly enjoy having them kissed and caressed, in which pleasure my lady friend used to very often indulge me, getting me, as I was nothing loth, to kiss and caress her own very fine, well-developed breasts in return. My other feminine characteristics are, as I have said, chiefly mental, beginning with the intense longing and desire to be a woman, and going through the faculty of, under certain conditions, actually being able to imagine myself to be one, to the love of and exquisite pleasure in the wearing of female clothing, and to the minor ones of a great love of perfumes, of jewelry in the way of rings, necklaces and bracelets, and of pretty things generally. The last is probably merely a part of the artistic tastes which make me hate anything that is coarse and ugly and love the beautiful and elegant. As an artist I get all my pleasure through the eyes, and suppose I carry the same thing into my sexuality, and naturally love the sight of a pretty woman quite nude, or displaying her charms and her pretty clothing together in some voluptuous or suggestive pose.

"That the charms of the underclothing exercise even a more powerful effect upon me than those of the woman herself is probably due to the fact that when I wear them myself they, to some extent, help to satisfy my longing to be actually a woman, and so gratify both my "feminism" and "erotic fetichism" at once.

"Beyond these there, however, still remains my extraordinary delight in nakedness and exposure. This is a matter of feeling as well as seeing, for when, for instance, my neck and shoulders, arms and bosom are bared by a low-necked evening bodice; or a set of girlishly short petticoats and drawers expose above my socks or stockings a space of naked legs or thighs I enjoy the feeling of nakedness and exposure, quite as much as the sight of it in a mirror or on a pretty girl similarly exposed.

"This exquisitely delicious feeling is tremendously increased in the case of my bosom when I am extra tightly laced in a pair of shapely corsets, and in the case of my legs and thighs when I have on very tight garters or the bands of my frilled drawers fit tightly round my thighs. It is also more delightful to be thus half naked out of doors than in, and most of all to be in that condition in the presence of and before the eyes of a woman, who will give the nude parts the caresses they long for and enjoy. To be dressed like a

woman, exposed before a woman, all at one and the same time, while she herself is in a similar state of undress and exposure has been to me the absolute height of erotic pleasure—until recently I have been assailed with the further longing to give myself thus to a male instead of a female lover, and at this point have decided that things must stop, or they will certainly get to the "disgraceful" stage which they have not yet reached. I think I have the necessary will power to stop this.

"With regard to cultivating the masculine side of my highly erotic temperament I may be able to do something, but I fear that any sort of sexual indulgence with a woman will keep up the present state of things as my feminism and erotic fetichism are so absolutely a part of my general sexual feelings. I could not see a woman undress without at once being mad to put on her underclothing and experience again all the exquisitely pleasurable sensations of being myself feminine. So potent has this erotic fetichism become that I can hardly tear myself away from the windows of an underclothing shop, or that of a corsetière, while the sight of a girl's or woman's accidentally exposed legs, petticoats or drawers will sometimes almost madden me with pleasure.

"Dressed in elaborate female underthings; corsetted and laced to the last gasp; low-bodiced, and short-skirted; conscious of my exposed legs, my high-heeled shoes and tight garters; with the froth of billowy lace petticoats and flounced drawers round my thighs; with my breasts heaving in exquisite nakedness; and with the long hair of my wig flowing over my bare neck and shoulders and in this condition shamelessly displaying myself before a pretty woman in a similar condition, I become absolutely intoxicated with the exquisite femininity of my feelings and I feel that the next development of wanting a male lover would be actual madness and so must be resisted with all the means in my power."

This case, it is clear, while it presents a further stage of the condition revealed in the previous case, is yet not to be classed in the same group. Both are keenly interested in feminine dress, both attach importance to the corset, and both require to wear corsets themselves to obtain complete sexual satisfaction. But J. G. never goes beyond this; he wears no other feminine garment, and he shows no definite sign of any other feminine tastes or of any conscious identification with the feminine attitude. He may be quite plausibly regarded as a corset fetichist. A. T. is both less and more than a

fetichist. He is not fascinated by any single feminine garment, and garments have only their supreme attraction when worn by himself. They are not really fetiches; they are simply the outward symbols of the inner spiritual state; and the really essential fact about A. T. is that he himself experiences the feminine state, and his tastes have undergone a feminine inversion and that he feels like a woman. A. T.'s attitude towards sexual inversion is instinctive and probably, it seems to me, fairly typical for this anomaly. It has gradually come about in the course of the full development of his sympathetic identification of tastes with women that he feels that the attentions of a man are needed to realize fully his feminine attitude. But this is purely an imaginative feeling, and, further, it is a later and secondary development. Actually he has not the slightest sexual attraction to any man. Moreover, he feels a profound repugnance to homosexual relationships. It seems highly improbable that he will ever become a sexual invert.

D. S. He believes, but on slight grounds, that hereditary influences may be traced back through his mother's family. His mother had three brothers, one who was married committed suicide through business failure; the others, though prosperous, remained unmarried. They were of high character. D. S. thinks he has detected in them embarrassment in the presence of strange ladies, but this hardly seems significant. His mother's life was devoted entirely to her home and family, but both were run in order to suit her, and perpetual quarrels and disturbances led to his father leaving the house when D. S. was 10 years old; his father was ever after pictured to him as a black-hearted vicious monster, a picture which it took some years to destroy. The mother was violent and passionate, had few friends, and cowed her family, but D. S. was the favorite between thrashings and scoldings, and by good luck, after the age of 12, escaped in part from her influence by mixing with other boys and devoting himself to sport. He was only happy away from home but had not the courage to run away. His mother still lives, and he still regards her with aversion as cantankerous, greedy and utterly selfish. "My father," D. S. writes, "was a splendid man as far as I can find out from his old associates. He was a sea-captain and lived a hard life. His old companions brighten up and speak of him in such glowing terms that I am quite sure that it is not only my own memories that make me picture him

as a clean and particularly pleasant man, as well as brave. He died of cancer of the throat and suffered agony. I often console myself with the knowledge that there are two kinds of blood in me."

D. S. has three brothers and one sister, all older than himself. The two elder brothers, when young, were always running after girls, and much in their company, married early, and both have families. The sister had a hard life at home, and was subjected to much drudgery by their mother, who, D. S. believes, disliked her. But she eventually escaped from this repressing influence, became a teacher, and later married. "My third brother," D. S. writes, "I am convinced had sexual troubles. He was never willingly in girls' company and was a lover of solitude, like myself. I cannot give any details as we never confided in each other.

"My earliest recollection of sexual nature was when I was about five years of age. To eat and drink urine and feces I thought must be fascinating. Although, however, the thought was fascinating I believe I never even touched them, as actual contact revolted me. At the same age, though not combined with this, I had sexual sensations. The first time was when I was climbing a pole, and slipped down a little and then pulled myself up. I do not think any definite thoughts were connected with this. Then, a little later, I began to find fascination in girls' and ladies' underwear, and by the time I was 10 or 12 years old I had stolen a fair hoard of my sis-er's underwear, and borrowed her corsets on any available occasion. These I used to don and invariably had sexual sensations. I had a slight feeling of disgust and remorse afterwards, but nevertheless the fascination grew stronger.

"Onc evening at the tea table my sister read from a periodical called *Modern Society* about a young man dressed as a girl. I at once went rigid with excitement, and I am sure turned pale. Until then I had thought I was unique in my thoughts. Later I had the paper to myself, and, enjoying tremendous excitement, read a page or two of readers' correspondence on 'effeminate men.' My excitement was so great I had sexual sensations almost involuntarily. From that time my inner desire was to live as a girl. No thought of love or affection entered my head. If I had had a supply of lingerie, corsets, and high-heeled footwear I would have been happy.

"By the time I was fourteen I had got hold of another periodical, *Photo Bits,* which devoted itself almost entirely to encouraging this trait and the pleasures of birching. The latter never made the slightest appeal to me.

"I was stopped one evening by a young man who asked me for a match. He said he had been to a dance, opened his shirt front, asked me to feel how warm he was. I innocently did so, and he

gently took my elbow, forcing my arm down inside his shirt. I sensed rather than felt his erect member and, breaking away, hurried home, utterly shocked, and washed my hands.

"About this age, of course, I began to have emissions, and that, I believe, made me desirous of having an understanding with myself.

"I was alarmed at my powerlessness to resist the fascination of ladies' wear and made a most determined and constant fight against it. I now admire the spirit I showed then, but I think I was unwise. Yet every time I gave way to self-abuse my determination increased; I was constantly losing yet always fighting, with brief reactionary fits of despair after each 'downfall.' The result of the long fight was to stifle desire in me, making me thoughtful, moody and possibly bitter.

"All this time my desire was to wear exotic girls' underwear. [D. S. explains that by 'exotic' girls he means prostitutes and actresses, 'hot house plants, orchids, beautiful, costly and delicate.'] Contemplation of it in a shop window made me passionate. The first pair of corsets I bought gave me tremendous excitement. I would have sexual emissions, either through wearing girls' underwear or reading about men dressed as women, sometimes three times a week, sometimes once a month; it depended how the fight was going.

"In the year 1915, at the age of 19, I joined the Army, and I thought that I could start everything fresh. But of course, while I could not get what I craved, my desire did not change. So I started new tactics. I imagined the pleasures of sexual intercourse and deliberately produced emission. The imagination of being near to intimate underwear appealed immensely, but the idea of intercourse itself left me rather cold. I had difficulty in imagining it. In the Army I took to drink and had enjoyable times with friends. All this time I was trying to make my desires 'normal' (which is surely not natural) but without the determination I had shown before. At intervals, after I left the Army, I bought corsets and underwear to wear on the quiet.

"In 1920, through an advertisement, I got into correspondence with a young man in London who lived, as nearly as possible, as a girl. His first letter raised hopes of going to London to live with him, and the emotions thus aroused made me feel a supreme being. I've read of men feeling more like young gods than men under the influence of love, and that is how I felt. I don't think I shall ever forget it. A week later, however, I had word from him that it was impossible. But the incident gave me an inkling of what my emotions could mean. It set a standard I never expect to reach again, though anything less will not fully satisfy me.

"In 1922 I went to work in a little place in Scotland where I made many friends. Here, as always, girls failed to rouse me. Some were attractive, particularly those who were 'exotic' in dress, but these were the ones of whom I was invariably frightened. With them I tried to be as like other fellows as possible, though sometimes I would get headaches with their laughter and talk.

"One night I and some others became, not drunk but 'lit up.' I felt aroused. For some time previously I had thought indefinitely of marriage. Anyhow, about midnight, I saw two of the 'exotic' type of girls going home. A friend and I stopped them. I took one of them who was most attractive to me, though she did not arouse sexual feelings. I told her that she was the kind of girl I would like to marry. We talked for some time. I saw her several times afterwards, and (frankly helped by her) fell in love with her. After one or two false starts, we had sexual intercourse. I monopolized her for six months, and had intercourse as often as thirteen times in four successive nights. Then I had to leave and come to London. But we still corresponded and as a result we have agreed to get married in October. In the meantime I have ladies' high-heeled shoes, corsets, literature, etc., in my trunk. I have not troubled much about them, for I think the pleasures of the girl's company preferable. But I have no supreme desires. I make violent speeches of love in her presence, and they seem to come fairly naturally; but my passion towards her is nothing to what I know it might be. When I have emissions in my sleep now I sometimes dream of the girl, sometimes of other girls, sometimes about corsets and sometimes there are no accompanying dreams at all.

"My own weighing up of my life is that I have spoiled myself by trying to force myself into the moulds of convention. I sometimes feel bitter about it."

How the marriage turned out remains so far unknown, as it has not been possible at present to obtain further news from D. S.

T. S. is now 50 years of age, a successful author and a man of high-minded character. I have only had one interview with him. In appearance he is tall, with the air of an English gentleman of sensitive refinement. There is nothing obviously feminine about him. I reproduce his history in his own words.

"The wish to wear the clothes of the other sex is my earliest definite recollection. My father's calling compelled frequent moves from place to place, and he kept a diary; I am therefore able to give essential dates with a measure of precision. I was between six and eight years old when I used to lie in bed imagining myself dressed in skirts; I invariably saw myself as a grown woman in black. This seems to me singular, as I love bright colors.

"I think this train of thought, which has never left me, arose through my mother's treatment. She cordially disliked me and was at pains to prove her antipathy; she beat me frequently and mercilessly; and if she could humiliate me before my brothers and sisters, did it. A favorite taunt was a threat to dress me in my sister's clothes; the threat was never carried out—I suspect my father interfered—but when a child is perpetually ill-used and such a threat occurs daily, he falls into a habit of brooding over injustice, and my broodings in the bed to which I was so often sent 'to be out of my sight,' took the form stated. I was made to part my hair in the middle 'like a baby girl,' and my resemblance to a girl was consistently pressed upon me. With what justice I do not know; there is no photograph of me at this age.

"My mother, however, was a very shrewd judge of character, and it may be that I was feminine looking, ('He ought to be a girl,' she would say) and this offended her instincts; hers was a strong character. I know I was afraid of boys; I remember the surprise with which I heard my elder brother tell my father he should like to go to school. He was more than a year older than myself, but his wish to go among strange boys took my breath away. This disinclination to mingle with strange boys was strong during my 'teens. I did not mind meeting girls.

"I was between fifteen and sixteen, home for holidays, when I first donned girl's clothes. My elder sister dressed me, and I remember her regret that my hair was not long enough to be curled as then 'nobody could guess you're not a girl.' It was about this time the master of the school I was at sneered at me, saying I ought to dress as a girl and be at a girls' school. This could only have been a gibe at my appearance, for I was as keen about football and other games —also mischief—as the rest. Nobody knew of my craving to wear girls' dress; nothing on earth would have persuaded me to reveal it.

"A little later an opening in a great business firm was offered to my brother. His tastes were artistic, and he had the strength of mind to refuse a career for which he had no liking; and, lest an opportunity of starting a boy in life be lost, I was summoned from school and the case put before me. The prospect of office life did not attract, but I was greatly attached to my father, his anxiety was unconcealed, and I yielded. Perhaps it was no great sacrifice on my part, as I had never really enjoyed school life. I had been sent to various schools as the family movements suggested, and remember only one boy of whom I made a friend.

"I was sent up to London, and passed two years—detestable years—in an office. I used sometimes to pick up girls in the street and walk with them for the sake of companionship; my people had

few friends in London, so I had none other than office acquaintances. I boarded with some people of whose goodness I have no shade of doubt, but whose piety was slightly aggressive; the atmosphere of the house was not wholly congenial, and also I sought at night the exercise denied me by day. At the age of 18 I went to the East; it was a large station and I made friends. The Eastern method which requires a new arrival to call on the ladies of the place had no terrors for me; on the contrary, I enjoyed 'calling' and I made friends readily among the women.

"I well remember myself at this age. I loved the society of women, and I think they liked me; at all events it always has been a source of gratification to recall the freedom with which I was admitted into their confidence. I remember a married woman, perhaps ten years older than myself, saying suddenly as we sat out a dance, 'You understand us better than a man has any business to.' I forget what prompted the remark. I was then twenty or thereabout. I was, in some sort, a privileged character with women. I have since imagined this may have been due to feminine discernment which recognized total absence of sexual thought.

"At this age I ought to have been developing, but I was not. I had passed through the age of puberty without a trace of those facial spots so common among young men, and had no reason to shave till I was twenty-four. I must have been about thirty-two when my father asked with mild contempt, 'Do you ever shave?' I did so about every second day then. Not till past forty did I shave regularly; a blessing, as my skin is peculiarly tender. I ought to have been developing, but was not. I admired and liked women, but never knew desire. There were two types of women I disliked—the fat, white sensuous creature, and in rather less degree the girl who woos with all her teeth. The latter, because intention to attract was obvious and repelled.

"Perhaps sexual indifference was intensified into active dislike by my immediate surroundings: one of a bachelor household of half a dozen, all older than myself, whose talk ran much on women as bedfellows, to whom venereal disease was a matter of course, and regarded much as measles or whooping cough among children. I conceived an utter distaste for sexual matters. Disease was rife; on my arrival, two of my house-mates were 'not riding just now' (a pony was the universal mode of conveyance), one had recently begun to ride, and a fourth was disabled within a few weeks. In a hot climate desire seems to be enhanced in the normal man, and to require more frequent indulgence, and when the predominant instinct supervenes, no thought of risk, no experience however painful, deters. And I hated the table-talk—twopenny worth of wit to an

intolerable deal of obscenity. The tone of the house improved much after two men left; and a new arrival of clean mouth, whatever his private proceedings, wrought a welcome change.

"Looking back now, reviewing the numbers of men I have known, I see one point very clearly. it is the strong character, the man of force, who is most avid in a sexual sense; in fact, the experience of the last few years (since 1915), during which I have been perforce drawn out of my shell, or study, to work with men, and control men, has reassured me on this head.

"I led in the East much the same life as other active young men; established a reputation as a horseman, played polo, cricket in the cold season, shot, and when transferred to a small station within the reach of jungles seized every opportunity of going off to the hills with a few natives after big game. I was not very keen on actual killing; what appealed to me was animal life at home; I enjoyed seeing the men track, and learning the art myself; the greatest pleasure was to come within the eyeshot of beast and watch its doings. It may seem odd, but at night lying on my camp-bed under the stars (I never carried a tent), my thoughts would run in the old groove—I would mentally dress myself, garment by garment, as a woman; and finished, begin all over again. Sometimes I had the help of a sympathetic woman in my imaginary toilette, but usually I pictured myself alone.

"From an early age I was addicted to the habit of handling my genitals—possibly a consequence of being sent to bed in season and out of season, to be 'out of my mother's sight.' My father discovered this habit, and even now I hear his grave warning: 'If you go on doing this you'll never grow up to be a man. You'll die.' He was always very kind and was fond of me. I fear his admonition was thrown away. To a child of seven the idea of death is too remote to intimidate; and the habit remained. Later it developed into masturbation, and I associate it to some extent with my habitual train of thought in bed. In my 'teens erection was so regular in bed I thought it must be the normal thing. When I learned from my elder brother that it was not, and he condemned it, I broke myself to a great extent, but even now am subject to involuntary erection, much as I dislike it, especially if accompanied by emission. I acquired the habit of sleeping on my back; this has been a real help to me.

"After nearly seven years in the East I came home. I had never liked a commercial life, and threw it up without regret. Seeking a new career, I essayed writing; and my first article was accepted by the editor of one of our best magazines, who asked for more. I don't know that it was unfortunate; I should never have succeeded

in business, and was then too old (25) to enter Government service; and if the real aim of life is to enjoy it, I have nothing of which to complain. I had a struggle to establish myself; three anxious years in cheap London lodgings; but I have never regretted adopting a career which does not tie me to an office.

"The old craving was still strong upon me; I was still without desire, and the absence of sexual appetite sometimes vaguely exercised me; very vaguely. I am as I am, and I thought little about it until I fell in love, and absorption led me to believe that sexual passion might awaken; though I shrank from the idea, from respect for the girl.

"I married in my thirtieth year. Having never known woman my marriage night found me as nervous as my wife. I pass lightly over a phase of life that reproaches me. I failed to obtain access. A few months after marriage I made my wife see a medical man; he told her that our marriage had never been properly consummated. I tried, and failed, again. Soon after chance intervened; some slight operation became necessary, and the nurse in attendance told my wife that if in her place she would not run the risks of motherhood. 'You are very small there and it would be very dangerous for you to have a child.' To my infinite relief, this made on my wife a deep impression which lasted several years. Until then I had been haunted by the knowledge that she had the right to expect what I had utter disinclination to give; her periods, when nothing was expected, had been oases for me. Now we were at one; there was nothing to mar the complete harmony of our marital relation, and we shared the same bed, finding perfect satisfaction in physical contact and nothing more. With the approach of her *retour d'âge* longing for a child beset her again. I tried to gratify her, and again failed to gain access. Soon after this we separated, to occupy different rooms, remaining, however, on the old affectionate terms.

"I had thought love and marriage would make an end of my longing to adopt woman's dress. They did not. I soon found that I could be laced and padded to fit my wife's clothes. Until my marriage I had never shaved my upper lip—there was little to shave even at thirty. Within, I think, a couple of months, my wife, in frolicsome mood, cut off my moustache, 'to see how you look without it.' I let her have her way, secretly delighted to be thus rid of it. I have shaved clean ever since. It may have been a week or two afterwards that I broke the ice by putting on a pretty dressing-gown of my wife's in our bedroom. She sat up in bed, burst out laughing, and exclaimed, 'Oh! how feminine that makes you!' I seized the opportunity, and she looking on in glee, I dressed myself in the clothes she had taken off.

"That was the beginning. She took her favorite sister into her confidence; her sister must see me dressed as a woman, and I was nothing loth! For a time it was regarded as a joke. Then I think I betrayed my extreme content in woman's dress and her instincts turned. We came to a sort of understanding; I might do what I chose when she was not in the house, and she was to hear nothing of my doings. We did not adhere strictly to this agreement, but it served its purpose inasmuch as our good relations remained undisturbed. On one occasion she took a dislike to a dress when it came home from the dressmaker; she allowed me to buy it from her and I had it altered a little 'for my sister,' to fit me. I took over other gowns from time to time, bought underclothing, shoes, etc., and finally, after experiment, had a woman's wig made. *A propos* those experiments, among others hired 'for private theatricals' I tried a black one. That was the only time I ever was dissatisfied with my appearance 'habillé en femme'; black hair gave me so markedly the look of a prostitute, I was filled with disgust. On the other hand, the first wig I ever tried created an effect exactly the reverse; it was one of the moments of my life when I saw myself completely transformed for the first time. I was then 43 years of age. My wife and her sister are the only people who have seen me in skirts, save occasional messengers coming when I have been alone in the house. I used to prepare for such occasions; wearing hat and veil to justify gloves—I always feared my hands would betray—I would make sure it was not a visitor, then open the door acting my part. To be called 'Ma'am' delighted me. I do not think I was ever suspected. Health compelled my wife to winter abroad; I made the most of it, sending the maids out that I might be free. As already said, my sister-in-law was my only confidante. I once asked if it offended to have me dress as a woman. She reflected: 'It would in anyone else I know, but somehow it doesn't in you.' And, after a pause, a laugh: 'It seems natural for you to be a woman!'

"I made my first essay in fiction some years ago. The first novel I wrote was laid aside for a few months, that I might consider it with a more impartial mind. I read it again, and I suppose in masculine mood, for it struck me forcibly as the work of a woman. I had been wholly unconscious of sex while writing it, was absorbed in character drawing. Indeed the habitual train of thought had been displaced in idle hours by the congenial task of devising character touch, situation, turn of phrase. The book was published under a name that might be that of woman or man; and the reviewers who concerned themselves with the sex of the author at all assigned it to a woman. The next novel I wrote was, I thought, more masculine, but it also was accepted as a woman's work. Two

others I deliberately wrote from the feminine standpoint. Long passages of these I drafted while dressed and made up as a woman, often before the glass. I tried to think this helped me to assume the mental attitude I intended, but doubt it. I was not sufficiently accustomed to woman's dress not to be partly distracted by satisfaction with myself. It may have helped, but I have found that when writing of a man and a woman I am not even an impartial onlooker; inevitably I assume mentally the female character.

"When first I began to dress as a woman, I was offended by the fact that it induced erection; this irritated me greatly, but before very long, as I became more used to skirts, there was no disagreeable effect. I could entirely forget I am a man.

"I have worked much with men and with women during the war, and my conviction that the differences between the sexes is exaggerated has been confirmed. Man merges into woman, woman into man. I prefer working with intelligent women; I find myself in closer touch and see eye to eye with them readily. Methods of education, of up-bringing and dress, I believe go very far to emphasize what differences there are, save in those persons whose sexual character is particularly strong. My sympathies are wholly with women; thus, I resent keenly the view so often advanced that a woman should be paid less than a man because she is a woman. I *cannot* adopt the mental attitude of the normal male towards woman. It seems so animal. Recently I learned that office life and the independence it confers were producing a serious effect on the standard of morality hitherto a matter of course among girls of the middle and upper middle classes. The fact exercised me greatly; the indifference of those men with whom I have spoken on the subject exercises me not less. At best, it is indifference; at worst, cynical approval. Expression of the latter reduces me to speechless wrath.

"During the War I refrained from indulging my preference in dress. Shame forbade; starvation has bred increased appetite.

"For many years now I have found satisfaction in writing an account of imaginary circumstances under which I adopt woman's dress altogether. The scheme of the thing is always much the same. In the capacity of private secretary I take up my residence with a woman my own height and figure whose taste is the counterpart of my own. She thirsts to dress as a man, and I must take her place to adjust matters. She forces change of clothes on me, first in jest, then by persuasion, until I am committed. For some obscure reason an element of compulsion enhances the delights of the situation for me. I am allowed a week-end once a month to come home, but always on the understanding that I resume skirts without protest as soon as I return, that my employer may resume male dress.

Refusal on my part would entail public exposure (a threat which, in practice, would serve its end), and I submit. I have worked out this idea a score of times in minute detail, introducing variations which seem to bring it within the ambit of the possible, and speculate on its prescience were it translated into actual fact. In a word, should I delight in the situation as I believe? (The monthly week-end is a concession to the actualities, it is not a respite from the skirts.)

"The scene is generally a small country house in a large walled garden. My employer is a woman of strong and masculine cast of mind who, dressed as a man, dominates me dressed as a woman, treated as a woman, and restricted to feminine occupations. It would be an interesting experiment to try!

"A few years ago I had a dream that has remained vividly in mind. As already said, I have acquired the habit of sleeping on my back (I believe this makes for dreaming). I felt a weight on my chest and was conscious of something gently feeling within my vitals which shrinkingly embraced it. The sensation became stronger; an instant of ecstasy passed like a flash into nameless terror—literally black terror. I woke trembling violently and on the verge of tears. This is the only time I have ever dreamed of connection.

"Another dream: I was with child. I felt the life stirring within me and knew a moment of indescribable exaltation. I woke to find that a trifling and passing pain in the stomach was thus rendered by sleeping thought. I think I can explain this, to some extent, by my great love of children. To say that I *adore* nursing a baby is hardly adequate. A young child in my arms confers a feeling I cannot describe. Children, of course, understand and always come to me. Some years back, while on a small coasting steamer abroad, there was among the passengers a woman with a small boy—a jolly little chap at the sturdy toddling age. He came to me and we talked—I knowing no word of the language. His mother's amazement and indignation were comical. I really believe she suspected the Black Art, for my wife's assurance that children always come to me did not seem to satisfy her. There are advantages, luxuries, boons, to obtain which some of us cannot make up our minds to face tasks we dislike. Children fall into this category with myself."

"C. T. I am 25 years of age. My father died when I was three years old, and I was brought up by my mother and her brother. They were in poor circumstances, and at times we found it difficult even to get food. I was, considering the position and status of my parents and my early environments, a fairly intelligent child, and liked to 'know all about things.' At my first school I was looked

upon as rather a 'prodigy.' I subsequently went, at the age of 11, to a London secondary school, and remained there for four years. I then became a clerk in a Government office, and stayed on in that and other capacities until the autumn of 1915. I had decided by that time that I could not remain in such employ any longer, as I was opposed to the late War and all that was connected with it. So I resigned. Six months later I was arrested for failing to comply with the first Military Service Act, and remained in prison from then until February, 1919. Since then I have been living in an ordinary sort of way as far as my relations with society are concerned.

"Physically I suppose I am quite normally masculine. I am of medium height, and have I think a typically male face. My left testicle is very slightly smaller than my right; and I have a tendency to grow less hair on the left side of my body than on the other. I believe my thighs are rather well developed for a man; my breasts are quite small. I am unable to exert myself physically very much without quickening the action of my heart to a great extent. I am anemic, and have a tendency to giddiness and fainting, but not frequently. Otherwise my health is quite good and I have suffered little from disease of any description.

"I have little moral sense. I have, for example, no theoretical objection to stealing—in my own case at least—unless it causes injury to someone whom I like. I am much more afraid of getting found out than of 'doing wrong.' (I don't think I am particularly afraid of physical pain, or at least I bear it moderately well.) I lie quite freely whenever it is useful or handy so to do. I have a tendency to appreciate beauty—or what I consider beautiful, for my taste often differs from other people's—both in nature and in art—especially in literature. I sometimes try to write verses, and a few have been printed. I am extremely 'sensitive' —*i.e.*, I can't bear to see a child crying or in pain, and things of that sort, and I always suffer intensely on hearing any remark that may by any possibility bear a construction that hurts my self-respect—or perhaps I should say spiritual pride.

"Soon after I left school I came across a periodical that aspired to provide literary criticism for the 'lower classes.' This paper contained a page set apart for advertisements by people who wanted friends. The idea attracted me, and on three occasions I inserted notices. I had replies from several people who, I discovered, were in most cases looking out for young boy associates for what is called 'immoral purposes'—in fact, the page was a sort of Employment Exchange for pederasts. I saw several of these people—mostly of the 'decadent' type—and they interested me, but I soon dropped them all. One or two made definite approaches to me as a potential

passive pederast, but I excused myself through fear and saw no more of them, though conscious of a desire to accede: not a very keen desire; more curiosity than anything, I think.

"It was this that first awoke me to the realization of sex. I had made no friends at school, and was in the unusual position of having gone through a boys' school without having heard any mention of sex and allied subjects from my contemporaries there. I forget how I acquired what vague ideas I had of the purpose and use of the sexual organs: probably by desultory reading. I never masturbated; when I read of the practice I tried it, but nothing seemed to happen. I couldn't even become erected by that alone, though usually my penis erects on very slight mental provocation. In the summer of 1915 I again turned to my paper, and happened to see there a notice inserted by a girl—more as a joke than with any serious import—asking for correspondents. I answered it. We soon met, found we liked each other, and met very frequently then. Her people were considerably better off than mine, but at that time she was not altogether happy at home. Just after I resigned from my office I suggested she should clear out and marry me. She wanted time to think, but at Xmas she left her home and came to me. We arranged to marry at the local Registry Office (we were both under age—she was then 18), but her people came to my place, found her, and would not let the marriage proceed. We decided under these circumstances to do without the ceremony, went away together, and got rooms where we lived until my arrest.

"I should explain here that since about 16 I had had a great attraction for the 'ritualistic' type of religion, whether in the English or Roman Church. I was for some time an acolyte at a London church. I liked the pretty dresses and the incense and the lights and the solemn stateliness. And for a time I took it really seriously. I even thought of trying to read for Orders. I took a sort of private vow of celibacy, because the thought of married priests was repugnant to me. In fact, I had no desire to perform the sexual act even apart from this. My ideal of marriage was a sort of ethereal-ized comradeship (and I have managed to realize it). So as my wife, too, was at that time more or less affected by the religious impulse, we agreed between us that there should be no physical sexual element in our lives until we had gone through the actual ceremony of marriage. Until I went to prison, although we invariably slept together, we both remained in a state of virginity.

"While I was in prison nothing particular happened to me that needs recording. But I gathered from my wife's letters that she, as she grew, became affected with a very intense desire for the physical completion of our marriage (I should have said that we were mar-

ried a day or two before my arrest) and I at the same time lost my religious repugnance to physical satisfaction. I cannot say that I felt any greater desire than before for it; I have always had a sort of instinctive feeling that for me the business was—well, I can only say, dirty, even with a woman to whom I was married. But on my release we attempted it more or less as a mattter of course. I found at first that it was very difficult for me to secure an erection; I attributed this to weakness as a result of recent experiences. But after about a month my erectness seemed normal, though on attempting to complete the sexual act I obtained no physical pleasure. (I was using a silk sheath for preventive purposes.) I was, however, under the impression that I had properly penetrated my wife, but she was told by a medical man to whom she addressed herself—because she was under the erroneous impression that she suffered from a prolapsus—that her hymen was still unbroken. I may say here that we are very deeply in love with each other, in spite of these things: we caress each other's naked bodies to a great extent, and both find immense pleasure in so doing; mentally and spiritually also, we seem to be perfect mates. We both greatly desired a child, and after some years a healthy and apparently normal boy was born.

"My wife tells me sometimes, and I think truly, that she often wishes she were a man, and could take a man's part in our love-life: not always, but as an alternative. And sometimes she lies upon my body and makes me almost forget my sex—an experience which gives me greater pleasure than I can ever get from my virility. She looks upon me mostly, I think, as a sort of child of hers, and pours out a sort of mother-love on me that one doesn't often seem to find in married people towards each other.

"I have tried to tell her some of my feelings with regard to sex, but I believe she thinks they are, as it were, secondary, and can be overcome. I disagree. And anyway, I don't want to overcome them. I want to become more of a woman, not more of a man. And this desire has grown very greatly of late. I cannot trace that it has had any physical effects.

"In my tendency to feminity, I have often thought seriously of castration. Only the possible danger has several times prevented me from castrating myself. I know that I should be immensely happier if my sexual organs were removed. If I knew anyone who would perform the operation I should immediately have recourse to him. This desire, also, seems to grow stronger, especially of late.

"Since what I suppose was more or less the time of puberty, or before, I have always had a desire to dress as a woman, and when

about 13 I would put on, unobserved, various garments of my mother's. Certain articles of female attire have always attracted me, more especially corsets, high-heeled and high-legged boots, combinations, and most of all, earrings. I have not been able to indulge my desires in these respects, because, until recent years, I have had no access to female clothing. During the last few weeks I have tried to explain more lucidly than in the past to my wife my thoughts in this respect—she has known or suspected them more or less, for a long time. I recently possessed myself of a pair of corsets which I am wearing, and which give me exquisite physical pleasure—especially when they are actually within my view. I have several times been possessed with a desire to wear my wife's boots, but cannot get them on, and unfortunately I cannot afford to indulge in such luxuries as a pair of women's boots for myself just now. At present my wife is away on holiday, and I have been wearing in her absence a pair of her combinations, and at night her nightdress. When I give myself rein in this way I enjoy a luxuriously happy frame of mind. My chief desire sometimes is to get hold of sufficient money to buy myself a wig and a complete set of female attire.

"I have a great desire that my friends should know of these peculiarities of mine, and yet I always try to keep them from them, owing to what I suppose is an impulse of shame.

"One night I got my wife to dress in a suit of mine. The result was that I was almost mad with desire to be a girl and to love her as a boy.

"Perhaps it is well to say a little more about two special peculiarities: my desire to be tattooed and to wear earrings. My first introduction to the former practice was that I was walking one day, when about fourteen, down a London street, and passed a tattooist's shop. I examined the window, and went in to have my initials tattooed on my arm. The result gave me extreme joy, and since then I have at intervals had a great deal of tattooing done. My arms from the shoulders to a little way above the wrists are almost completely covered: I have designs on my legs, feet, chest, stomach and penis. The desire to be tattooed has also been particularly strong of late, and is growing more so. I am very anxious to be tattooed on the exposed parts of my body—my wrists, hands, neck and face: and only the practical certainty that this would cut me off from the possibility of getting my living in a fairly respectable way, and of mixing—in so far as I do mix—with people of education, has prevented me from undergoing this. With reference hereto I may say that on the occasion—some five years ago—when I got a tattooist to place the figure of a butterfly on the upper side of my penis, I experienced a few minutes after leaving the shop, the phenomena of

erection and ejaculation accompanied by a feeling of physical exaltation so great that it almost prostrated me afterwards. I have never obtained anything like this in any other way: and it has always represented for me the ideal of physical sexual satisfaction.

"I don't remember exactly when I first conceived the idea of wearing earrings, but when I was quite a child I recall noticing that my mother's ears were pierced and asking her why she never wore earrings. As far as I can recall when I was about fifteen, I came across a letter or article in some periodical of the *Tit-bits* type on 'Earrings for men,' and I wanted to experiment. So with a penny pair of earrings and a needle I did. Of course, public opinion (especially as represented by my people) only allowed me to do so for a few minutes when alone—perhaps with intervals of months—and the holes that I pierced closed up in the intervals, and had to be remade each time.

"On my release from prison the possibility of satisfying this desire again arose; but I didn't take advantage of it until later. Then, one evening, my wife being away, I spent about two hours in my bedroom with my earrings, after piercing my ears for their reception. I continually inserted and removed them, and the sight of the blood which dripped from my ears owing to the repeated 'worrying' of them gave me intense pleasure. (This, by the way, looks as if my sexual make-up includes a degree of masochism.) Then I pierced my nipples, and placed the earrings in them. As they were small and not sufficiently obvious to please me there, I removed them to my ears and sewed to my breasts by means of the hole I had made in my nipples a pair of pearl buttons—the handiest things I could find. This orgy of lasciviousness gave me a surfeit of pleasure such as I had not known for a very long time.

"In connection with these things, the desire that I should do them is accompanied by a desire that others should follow my example. I always feel more or less pained to see a handsome woman whose ears are not pierced. I have several times asked my wife to wear earrings, and have also suggested that she should undergo some tattooing, but she will not."

I have been in touch with C. T. at intervals for some years and in this way have been enabled to enlarge at various points the short account of himself he had originally sent me. In spite of his statement "I lie quite freely," I believe that his narrative is reliable. A recent nude photograph illustrates the details of tattooing in the History.

Two years later C. T. reported that soon after the period at which the foregoing narative terminated he became violently attracted to a girl with red hair and unusually pleasant skin and

complexion, with whom he came in touch at his place of business. He confided his peculiariti to her and she was not repelled but she in no way responded to h s feelings towards herself. This produced in him so much depression that in a sudden mood of unreason, in order to escape from her presence which unduly excited him, he gave up his busines post. A few days later he went to his previous tattooist and induced him to tattoo a large design on each cheek. "The desire to have my face tattooed has always been strong in me," he writes. "Needless to say, however, the moment it was done I realized that it must be undone. I went home, told my wife the whole story, and with her help concocted a tale of an accident which would account to the world for my face being bandaged, and went in search of another tattooist who would remove the marks. We found one, and after several months of bandages my face became clear enough for the nature of its mishap to be hardly identifiable by anyone who had no reason to suspect tattooing. For a time the realization of my foolishness held me back from indulging in the practice any more; but the remembrance soon wore off, and since then I have had much more tattooing done on various parts of my body—legs, thighs, stomach and penis in particular. The most recent addition to my tattooing consists of a fully-worded inscription of a sexual nature on my stomach, which I am in continual fear of my wife seeing.

"With regard to my feelings about the sexual act, these have approximated more and more to what I imagine to be the norm. I feel now no reluctance for it whatever; in fact I endeavor to induce my wife (who is by nature rather cold sexually) to consent to it more often than she is willing to do. As a result of this I have commenced frequenting prostitutes and also masturbation—the latter every two or three days, if possible with a woman's garment, preferably somethings of a silky or velvety texture, or a boot or shoe.

"I have managed to induce my wife to consent to have her ears pierced, and since then she has continually worn earrings. In my relations with prostitutes I invariably seek those who are tattooed—and my dream of the perfect prostitute depicts her as pale, tall, with red bobbed hair, a tight fitting velvet dress, high leather boots, and pierced ears, with as much tattooing as I dare hope for.

"I feel convinced that my passion for tattooing will at some time or other lead me again to disfigure my face; and the results will in such case be of necessity, I imagine, permanent. I still wear earrings frequently when I am alone, whether indoors or out. My ears are now permanently pierced as a result of my continual borings. A very decided attraction to high boots, both for myself

and in women, is noticeable as being the strongest new feature of my more recent development."

Yet three years later, in response to inquiries, C. T. wrote:—

"The principal thing in my development calling for notice during the past three years has been a very noticeable accentuation of the normal sex-impulse. I have felt a constantly increasing desire for sexual satisfaction with women—rather, it is true, for the secondary sexual pleasures than for actual coitus. Nearly three years ago my wife gave birth to a second child, and six months ago to a third. A week after the last event my wife died. In consequence I am now living alone—my children are in the care of my wife's mother—and I feel my loneliness and the absence of domestic female comradeship very keenly. I am longing for the opportunity of forming a union with a woman once again—though I should prefer it to be without the legal sanction of marriage. I have for over two years indulged in masturbation—at times very frequently, but of late I have endeavored with more or less success to break myself of the habit gradually. My desire for female clothing, jewelry, etc., is undiminished. I still wear earrings at times when alone, and very frequently sleep in them. My tattooing continues, there was a decided outburst of it three months ago; for the last six months I have not given way to it, however, though I shall doubtless soon do so once more. When walking through London streets I tend to notice with keen interest the dress of women. On a few occasions, when I have fallen into conversation with prostitutes, it has been their attire rather than their physical attractions which has drawn me to them.

"I tend to be much more affected by 'Eonist' impulses in the evening than in the daytime. It quite frequently happens, if for any reason in the evening my thoughts have been at all concerned with sex—*e.g.*, if I have been entertaining or entertained by a female acquaintance, have been accosted by a prostitute in the street, or have been writing to a woman—that I have a sudden impulse to plan future tattoo designs, pore over my book of newspaper-cuttings regarding tattooing, put on earrings and such other feminine adornments as I can lay my hands on, etc."

R. L. "I am 48, the eldest of five in a very healthy and normal family of English parentage, nor would anyone suspect that I am anything but a manly man. My father was a professional man and my mother of good country stock, and her parents and sisters all lived to a good age; she is still alive (75) and has enjoyed good health all her life. She was, however, the stronger partner physically and my father relied a great deal on her judgment. He suffered from an internal complaint that at times gave him great pain, and

his temper was naturally affected by it; these outbursts used to make us side with our mother, whereas now I see he should have had our pity. My brothers and sisters are all alive and in good health. I am myself of a masculine type, tall and broad; there seems nothing effeminate in me and until recent years I have never confided in anyone. My youngest brother is musical and Bohemian in tastes, resembling my father. One of my earliest recollections is of my sister and I changing clothes and the pleasure it gave me to pull up my skirts and undo my drawers and use the chamber, not because I particularly wanted to but to do as a girl would. At that age there was no sexual feeling. We never repeated this although I reminded her of it when we were about 15, and asked her to do so again, but she refused. When about 8 or 9, I first had the desire to be a girl, and used to envy a little boy, a neighbor, who lived with two sisters and mother, and who was dressed girlishly, which led me to think that I should like to be him and be brought up as a girl. I took great notice of girls' clothes, and admired them, yet there was the boyish desire not to be thought to be girlish. At the age of 12, I saw a female impersonator for the first time at the Moore and Burgess Minstrels in London, and although got up as a darkie I was attracted greatly by 'her,' and it seemed to make more possible what had been my secret ambition—to dress and live as a lady when I grew up. From the age of 8 I have had this desire, which has been continuous, and growing in strength, yet I am not outwardly effeminate, but it is as if the soul of a woman had been born in a male body, and had been engaged in overcoming the physical nature, until now the spirit and mind long for pleasures that are contrary to the physical sex. I was of a very quiet nature, and am very sensitive, so that I react to influences of environment or personality very easily and am also quickly moved to tears. When very young I was severely frightened by the fear that I had injured my father in play, and this caused me to stammer very badly for many years, which undoubtedly has affected my whole life and temperament. Whenever I had a chance I used to go to the bedrooms of my sister, aunts, cousins, or the maids, and try on their outer garments on the sly. I was particularly interested in a big bustle one of the maids had. On one occasion when about 15 I put on a dress, coat and hat of an aunt (in her absence) and went out for ten minutes. I used to steal interviews with the maids when quite a boy and later to kiss them, not consciously from sexual motives. My knowledge of sexual matters was very slight for at the age of 15 I did not know the cause of my mother's sudden illness when my youngest brother was born, nor did her appearance cause me to think on these things. At boarding school I was disgusted

at any sexual practices I saw, but greatly attracted by the he: master's daughters, and the glimpses of their petticoats, these, a the thought of them used to cause erections. My thoughts abo girls and their clothes while still a boy with little real knowledge sexual matters, evidently had influence in developing strong sexu feelings. I don't remember when I experienced my first erection, when I first found it pleasant to handle my penis. I certainly nev learned it from other boys, but must have accidentally discovered when trying to ease the pain caused by my desires, and the appeal girls' clothes, as clothes, to my sexual nature. I remember walkin home from a Sunday evening service some miles away, with m father and brother, I walking on in front to indulge in my thoughi of a certain girl I had seen who looked very nice in her prett clothes and I held my organ (not exposed but gently squeezing it with my thoughts on the pleasure of dressing like a girl.

"When I went to boarding school (100 boarders) at the age o 14, I was beginning the habit of masturbation, not for the pleasur of exciting my feelings, but as a relief to my feelings when excite by my desire to be a girl. I remember realizing that it was wrong my father had suspected something and scolded me and at school I used to sleep with a handkerchief tied round my hand, or a glove on with a pad inside, or tie my organ to my thigh, or wear my pajama trousers front to back, all to prevent wet dreams, or masturbation, but the desire to be a girl always led to feelings which I found were relieved by masturbation, always followed by regrets at indulgence and the resolve to amend, not the thought but the act. I well remember being disgusted at seeing two boys in their night-shirts in a long dormitory playing mother and father one on top of the other and then one stuffing a pillow inside as if pregnant. I had many attacks of calf-love with girls or women but always thought more of their clothes than of sexual indulgence. Later, when admiring girls or behaving in a perfectly normal manner in paying them general or special attention, or in deeper love affairs, there has always been the desire to dress as she, and move about freely, undetected and feeling myself to be a girl.

"I had no special experiences until I was 23 or 24 when I went to Canada and, while staying at the coast port for a few days, took a walk one evening with a girl I 'picked up,' who taking me to a quiet place, laid herself down and invited me to indulge. I laid down, and enjoyed my feelings but did not have intercourse, pretending to hear someone coming. Previously, on the beach in England one evening, I had slipped away from a woman whom I thought was going to ask me, and in London I had always refused to even dally with girls soliciting. For a few years I was very busy,

and only able to admire and long for women's clothes. I joined a Musical Society, which was later on enlarged into a Musical and Dramatic Society. Although I was fond of choir work, it was with difficulty that I was induced to go on the stage in the chorus of comic opera, and later I was surprised at being offered a 'principal part,' which, however, was a success and I played many character parts in opera and comedy. My stammer, although I have since by a course of instruction practically reduced it to a very slight nervousness, yet has been a weight all my life, and I have been handicapped; it was a bar to the stage as a profession and a hindrance in my life. Yet, although dissatisfied with myself, I have a record of which I can be proud. After my theatrical experiences—and note that they and previous 'dressing up' *followed* my early desire and were not the cause of an appetite being created for wearing clothes or acting as a woman—I began to wonder if it would be possible to impersonate a woman successfully. I wrote for some clothes from a distant firm, and used to enjoy putting them on and sitting in them—but had no wig. Then I decided to try and get a proper dress made and went to a little dressmaker. The ultimate result was that I was tempted to forget my ambition in the primeval attraction of physical to physical, but I realized not only that this was wrong but that it was an obstacle to my ambition. I used, however, to frequent women's society as much as possible and envy them at dances; especially did I envy a young man who came dressed up in white satin as a bride at a fancy-dress ball. After this (at 36) I married, principally because the lady—a very Christian lady—was very fond of me and thought a great deal of me. My desire to be a woman was stifled, but existed, although it was not such a trial to me as it might have been with one who was more my ideal of what I should like. I did, however, have a sort of wish that it would be nice to divide myself in two and have both individualities. Married life, though brief, helped me to understand woman's nature more, and I envied happily married women, and felt sorry for the unhappily married, and especially for those with maternal instincts who were not married.

"After my wife's death (there were no children), when the first shock had passed, I determined to try if I could successfully dress as, and look like, a woman, and thought that if I could not do so the longing would die down, as an impossibility. I visited a theatrical costumier and ordered some clothes, which although stagey yet made me appear a remarkably good-looking woman, and my early ambition being seen to be physically possible, I was fired with the desire to try and carry it out, and since then, that has been the consuming fire within me.

"The pleasure I felt in being dressed (although I wanted really feminine garments) was so great that I began to examine myself whether it was simply the fascination of the clothes, and if so should I fight against it. This I decided to try to do, but the desire returned and the sight of a well-dressed woman drove all resolutions away. I gave the matter serious and quiet thought, and felt that I would, if I had the chance, be changed into a woman physically, if I could be a refined charming gentlewoman, and that I should stipulate for full womanhood. From that time I began to realize that my desires were not mere idle fancies but were based on inherent tastes, developed by the years of thought and contemplation. Still realizing the physical handicap and the difficulties of public opinion, and the law, I thought that if I could try for once to live as a woman, the restricted life and the tendency of realization to fall short of anticipation, would lessen the desire and reduce or stop the conflict within. I ordered a costume and outfit and was astonished when dressed with hat and veil, as were the dressers; yet I felt I was only wearing theatrical clothes, the undergarments not being to my taste, and I wanted to be properly dressed and be able to go about and feel quite at ease. This happened in London, and soon after I went abroad again, taking the clothes with me, but finding little chance to use them. Simply to 'dress up' has never satisfied me. Eventually, after having found a suite of two rooms in a block from which I could safely go in and out, and from which I was able to make several excursions, I discovered, in my search for feminine companionship, an elderly nurse, living alone, who took in maternity cases, and she allowed me to go there for two weeks between cases, during which time I dressed, but alternated between the two characters. This was a step up but by no means represented my ambitions. Next I made the acquaintance of a smart English lady in reduced circumstances, when advertising for rooms and engaging a lady housekeeper-companion, ostensibly with two male friends, until I had discovered a suitable applicant whom I could trust with my story. This lady, however, I feared would be too attractive, so I said my two friends had retreated from the idea. She then openly suggested that I should undertake the project alone, but I pointed out the conventional difficulties, to which she replied: 'If I don't care, why should you?' and in the end begged me with tears to do so; she was unhappy in her position and wanted a nice home, and a nice man, and confessed that her desires—unsatisfied since her husband had died—were so strong and her hunger for me was so great, she was in pain. I take no credit for resisting an undoubtedly attractive temptation, but I felt desperately sorry for her and in sympathy with her unfulfilled desires. In my next experience I

inspected a room in an elderly widow's house, a fine well-built woman, who had a grandson over 21. Having satisfied myself on her trustworthiness, I broached the subject, to which she raised no objection, but remarked that we were about the same size. I said that I had always wanted to put on the clothes actually worn by a woman, and she offered to let me have hers, and suggested a trial then. We went upstairs, the plan being to undress in separate rooms, she to get into bed, and I to dress and go to her for inspection. This gave me pleasure and promised well for the future, but she suggested afterwards I undress in her room which pleased me as being a feminine course. Then, later, she said she had done me a favor, would I do her one and get into bed for a little while in a nightdress of hers. Her warmth of body, caresses, and invitation to lie in her arms as a baby, followed by the baring and offering of her plump breast, gave me a delicious feeling of enjoyment, and I dozed happily and contentedly as a child after breast feeding. Then she invited connection, saying she had not enjoyed it for eight years. and that I appealed to her from the first. My two natures struggled for a moment, sympathy with her unfulfilled desires, especially in a woman much older than myself, and possibly with few, if any, chances for future enjoyment. I yielded although my inner self said: 'You are spoiling my chances for enjoyment.' It was not passion, but more of a love embrace, and I felt additional pleasure in the thought that she was much older in years and her enjoyment was greater because of its unexpectedness to her. We were a pair of lovers, and I could have enjoyed my life with her (probably marrying her), but not in the way of a sexual orgie, simply love embraces and caresses without fiery passion. My inner self, however, pointed out that I could not carry out my purpose and enjoy a feminine life thoroughly if I gave way to masculine sexual desires.

"I should have said before this that I made the acquaintance of a smart lady who made costumes privately, and she undertook to fit me out completely and make an outdoors, an indoors, and an evening gown. While being fitted with the latter a lady friend came in and held the tray of pins, afterwards expressing admiration of my hair and figure, knowing nothing of me but that I was Miss——. I was filled with pleasure (not sexual) when she sat down on a lounge beside my hostess, lifted her skirts and showed her knickers, a recent present—I was admitted into fellowship! A doctor friend called after she had gone and favorably criticized my appearance saying: 'You should go on the stage and make a success. You are so perfectly natural,' adding, 'But first of all go somewhere and live the life for a while continuously, to get quite correct in little details.' This put into words in concrete form what had before been a kind

of fanciful desire. The lady and I went out next day from 10.30 to 5 to get photos taken, do shopping, etc. We had lunch out and she introduced me to all her friends and said at the end of the day: 'You are perfectly wonderful; I feel you are really a woman.' My first taste of enjoyment, quite free from masculine sexual feelings!

Afterwards we went to a matinée at the theatre and she called on another lady, who, expecting us, told a male friend to go as we were coming. He came downstairs as we arrived at the apartment block, afterwards telling his friend that he easily recognized *the man* by the way 'she' went upstairs. The joke being that it was not I who was detected to be a man but my lady friend! Another time we went out calling and took tea. This experience, however, was enjoyable as far as it went, but it was not *living* continuously and entirely with a woman as a woman. Next I found an elderly spinster and took a suite of rooms for a month, but she regarded me as being 'dressed up,' so that episode ended. Then came another English widow quite satisfactory, but very matter of fact, who took me for a month during which time I had a bad attack of influenza. Later I had the luck to find a lady living in her flat alone for the time her friends were away, who was sympathetic and with whom I stayed for some months.

She having had children of her own was able to talk with me on a subject that had growing attraction for me ever since I had decided that I really desired to be a woman, and not merely to dress as one. One day a neighbor left her infant to be looked after, and my friend gave it to me to nurse, but vivid as had been my imagination before, the actual holding of a real baby so stirred me to the depths that I had to call out to have it taken from me. Since then I have had a real desire that amounts to physical feelings at times to enjoy the full experience of womanhood, and although my friend told me of the sickness, pain and discomfort, as well as danger, yet I felt that it would be worth all these to experience the wonderful joys. Friends came to stay with her and I had to go, eventually finding rooms with an elderly couple who had two other boarders; this house being close to another lady friend, whom I used to visit when dressed and go out shopping with and to theatres, etc., on one occasion a male friend of hers taking us both to dinner at his club. The costume I used to wear then had a narrow skirt, with a small V at bottom, in which I walked and got in and out of street cars quite easily, yet when I sent it to my sister she said it fitted her nicely but, oh, the skirt was too narrow to walk in! Before my marriage I had accidentally found and read Richardson's novel *2835 Mayfair* and was still more infatuated with the idea of changing to a woman.

I returned to the English lady after her friends left, and was experiencing some pleasure in changing into the character, when the spring of 1915 came and I decided that it was my duty to return to England, although advised in August, 1914, that men were not wanted. I had previously in one of my intervals since August, 1914, joined a recruits class and passed my elementary drills and on the night previous to leaving I went out dressed with two ladies to a vaudeville show, and remember sitting reluctantly on my bed, not wishing to undress and close a chapter which I knew not when I should reopen. My first thought on the outbreak of war was: I shall have to return to England, I may be killed, or wounded in such a manner that I can never dress again, nor realize my great desire. Upon my return to England in 1915 (at the age of 42) I found that men were not so urgently needed in the Army as in munitions, and as a stern sense of duty alone made me face the possibilities of a rough life with coarse men, hardships, discomforts and spiritual crucifixion, I was not sorry. After months of attempts to get something of national importance I joined an engineering class and learned to make shells. In a weary search for work as a lathe hand I accidentally met an officer, which led to an invitation from another officer to visit Woolwich Arsenal. I was engaged there to train for a month or so, and then go to branch works shortly to be opened, in which I ultimately had charge of a staff of several hundred women. Among them were several ladies of education, with whom, after hours, I became on very friendly terms, forming theatre parties, etc. By invitation I visited once or twice at the houses where they had rooms. But for my strong desire to be a woman, I should have let myself go and paid marked attention to one whom I had the greatest difficulty to refrain myself from embracing and kissing, one evening, as we sat together on a couch looking at photographs. A married lady tried to entangle me, but I guessed her nature and was careful. Having tasted the joys of dressing and going out in Canada, I was very anxious to get where I could indulge during week-ends, especially as my lodgings were very unsatisfactory. I stated my requirements to a London Agency without result, but at last I found an Agency run by two middle-aged ladies who took a sympathetic view, and tried to find me a suitable small flat, and a reliable housekeeper. I may say that I should never have contemplated such a step unless to indulge in dressing. I had been advertising for a lady housekeeper and made the acquaintance of an educated lady and this eventually ripened into friendship, but I felt the thin ice, and that residence in her flat would be very dangerous. She, however, understands my case now and is quite willing to help me do what I want to. The ladies at the Agency having found a

flat and a lady housekeeper I moved in (on a three months' lease), the distinct understanding being that I was not to be seen as a man, but dress on entering at night, and have breakfast alone and unobserved in the morning. (This rule was soon broken in the morning by the lady.) It was with feelings of pleasure that I contemplated the end of the day's work, and delighted, on entering my room, to find all my garments laid out, and, later on, the bed turned down and a dainty nightdress laid ready.

"My ambition being to live as a woman, not to 'dress up' or masquerade, it seemed quite right to go out. In fact the restriction of being confined indoors recalled the fact I wished to forget, *i.e.*, that I was a man dressed up. I went to Hyde Park frequently on Sunday mornings. On one occasion I met a lady friend there, and walked the length of the Church Parade after sitting watching the promenaders. My housekeeper and I were becoming friendly; I was sorry for her as she had had hard luck, losing her husband and being alone and not well off. She began by declining to go out with me, and begging that I would not go out, pointing out the great risk. While I realized the risk I ran when thinking of it as a man, yet the enjoyment was so great, and my femininity (so long clamoring for expression and life) developed so much that I was soon able to go out without anxiety or fear, except at the back of my mind a slight anxiety which was hardly fear. The pleasure I obtained was worth all the risk, which was no doubt very considerable, during the war when suspicious people were liable to arrest as spies. At the end of my lease my lady housekeeper suggested taking another flat and getting her furniture. Nothing unseemly had occurred between us, only I felt reluctant to embark on the new venture, but did so fully expecting a friend of hers to join us, and also because if I did not I thought I must give up dressing. I had by then given up the practice of appearing to my housekeeper only as a woman, partly because I grew to like her and took her out now and again to a theatre.

During 1916-17 I frequently went out on Sundays, sometimes to meet my friend, with whom I have been to many concerts, while I have been to Kensington Gardens and other parks, also to various large stores. My lady housekeeper later on tried to get me to drop my dressing, by a scare that detectives were on the watch, and I was induced to pack all my apparel and store it in the basement. I thought of paying the balance of the rent and clearing out, but as usual my sympathy over-ruled and I didn't have the heart to leave her. Her war-work later on brought on poor health, and she had to go away to sea-air. We gave up the flat, and I went into rooms, later to a suite of two rooms where I could again dress and

go out. My consideration for the lady, however, has led to her being talked about, and her feeling that I ought to marry her. I am fond of her and would like to see or make her happy, and married life has its attractions, in fact a nice home I greatly desire, but my masculine nature and desires are held in check by my feminine nature and I really shrink from matrimony and fatherhood although I am very fond of young children, especially girls of all ages. I had by now advanced to being able to go out freely although with some restraint and care, and yet the pleasure grew as I was able to more completely let my femininity dominate my physical self. I have walked or sat in Kensington Gardens carrying a sunshade, and thrilled with aesthetic—not sexual—delight, at feeling 'I am a woman.' No sense of risk was present. Yet there was a risk of police prosecution, compulsory resignation of my position, and disgrace before friends and relatives. Nothing counted in the aesthetic delight of allowing my feminine self to live. At this time, however, I had not reached the conclusions or opinions that I now have regarding myself. I had been attracted by the title of a lecture, 'The Creative Power of Thought,' and obtained booklets on it, and on 'The Power of the Mind.' I then began to realize that I had been building up my feminine nature, but felt that there must have been some sort of a foundation in my nature, other than a nursed desire, to cause it to grow through so many early years. It was not as if I had created the appetite by wearing the clothes; the appetite had come first. I sought for some explanation of my desire, and a Theosophist lady gave as her opinion that I had evidently just finished or was about to enter a female incarnation, while a leading male lecturer and editor of the Theosophical Society dismissed me with 'Obsession!' I had been collecting every newspaper picture I could, and articles thereon, of female impersonators and used to go and see them in vaudeville or Army Concert parties, await their entrance with a kind of tremor, sit and admire them, long enviously to be doing the same, and wish I was smaller and more feminine.

Vulgarity or burlesque in their acting displeased me, and the Malcolm Scott and Wilkie Bard women did not interest me. Neither did I like to see them take off their wigs nor raise a cheap laugh. But although the performance would leave me sad with a hungry desire and envy, yet I could never resist going. I have often thought that were I as perfect a girl as they in size, appearance and voice, I would never live as a man again, but adopt the stage as a profession, and the clothes and character for private life. For many years one of my special mental pictures of bliss has been lovely evening dress, bare arms, beautiful shoulders, back and neck, and a gorgeous opera cloak, and to be handed out of a luxurious car by a well-groomed

man, and wait in the theatre vestibule or hotel foyer, proudly conscious of my appearance. Christmas Day, with its beautifully fur-clad women and girls leaving church on a frosty morning, and their queenly presence in the home, has always made me long sadly for a transformation. Up to this point I had enjoyed women's garments as a means of getting into the character. When a lad I used to think, 'If I married a rich lady and she died I could take all her clothes.' To dress in a lady's clothes has always been more attractive than 'dressing up,' for the imagination of being *her* would be assisted.

I used to picture going to a beautiful house and undressing in the bath-room, having a scented bath and, leaving my masculine self behind, going into a lady's dainty bedroom and dressing in her attire, absorbing the character from her clothes and the environment, letting them raise me to my refined state. Then my ambition led me on to a gentlewoman's life (even with a male body), accepted by a kindred spirit as a woman, treated as such and admitted to the inner sanctuary of a woman's life and conversation and the usual intimacies as between two gentlewomen, regarding partial undress during daytime when changing frocks. Whereas I would not intrude, or wish to be subject to temptation as a man by being in a woman's bedroom, yet I wished for admittance into the restricted area, and to be treated as, and feel I was there as, a woman. Further realizations of the experiences of being a woman were beyond the realms of probability, and my previous experiences had been that women were often the cause of my departure from my ideal aim.

"My next stage was, however, a step further. One evening after leaving Hyde Park and the band, I walked to Marble Arch to get a bus and a man came up and spoke to me, walking by my side, and asked me to go for a walk. I felt indignant that he should presume to speak to me, and threatened to call a constable as he persisted. A rather nice young man was in the bus and he alighted when I did and overtook me, asking if he might see me home. I said I was nearly there, but allowed him to do so, and went for a little stroll a round-about way. It was a delightful sensation, receiving his attentions; he begged me to take tea next day in Town and wanted to kiss me on leaving which I desired but refused as it did not seem to be the act of a gentlewoman. I had no feeling that I was fooling him, only a pleasant thrill at the thoroughness of my feminine feelings.

"The next step upward was a sequel to another Hyde Park meeting. I sat on the outer edge of the seats around the band, under the trees away from the crowds listening to a waltz, and while enjoying it, picturing myself being whirled round in a ball-room, arrayed in a pretty gown. A good-looking gentleman of military

aspect walked by and repassed, and I could see that he desired to make my acquaintance. I left it to Fate, feeling I could not encourage him. He eventually sat down near me and opened with the usual small talk. When I rose to go, he asked to be allowed to escort me. I declined but he pleaded, so I allowed him, especially as I was feeling extra pleased with myself, having on my friend's long seal coat, and a smart French hat and veil. It was pleasant being assisted over the low rails and we walked towards Lancaster Gate, my enjoyment being of the most aesthetic kind. It was past dusk when we reached the other side, and I was going to leave him just inside the Park rails, when under a large tree he seized me and kissed me. I expressed the surprise I felt and said, 'How dare you?' —it made me tremble. He begged me to sit down a moment, apologizing fully, and I yielded, inwardly hoping for further experiences, yet keeping in the character of a lady and her proper behavior. I soon regained composure and rose to go, but under the same tree, quite shaded from view, he again seized me, and embraced me ardently. I struggled but yielded and we had a long kiss of passion, he pressing close to me, and showing how I stirred his passion, and I returning his pressure in my abandonment to the delicious womanly feelings and desires I was enjoying, only to push him away and say, 'What do you think of me?' He begged me to dine with him and go to his flat next day; I consented and fled. I was trembling from head to foot, and did so for an hour after until in bed. On this occasion my sexual nature expressed itself in the character I was in and I really felt physical desires. I had no erection although padded there, and in my breasts I felt a sensation which caused me to press in a spasm against him. The one drawback was his strong tobacco breath, and I felt I could not marry a man with such breath. To those who do not understand this episode may seem to be a sexual perversion, but to me it was not so much a physical as a spiritual experience, and made my desire to be a real woman much deeper, although handicapped by the wrong body, as I felt I could then think the thoughts and have the feelings which in a male are incompatible and cause sexual disturbances.

"That night I had a most realistic dream, in that I was enjoying co-habitation with my husband and awoke disappointed (lying on my back with legs apart) to find it was not true. On another occasion I dreamed a man was in bed with me and pulled my shoulder for me to turn to him, but I began to raise myself on my elbow to get up, saying, 'What are you doing in my bed?' when I awoke. As a general rule my desire to be, or live as, a woman is ever present, yet there were times when I would decide that friends, conventious, the law, and to a certain extent my physical self were

against it, but all these thoughts and resolutions would vanish into thin air, and the longing reappear as strong as ever at the sight of a well-dressed lady. To try on coats, furs, etc., had now lost its pleasure, the delight of putting them on as a man being much inferior to doing so as a woman. I had, before returning to England, tried to improve my bust, by massaging my breasts with olive oil, as my enjoyment is always greater when I know I look well, and natural busts would please me more than pads or improvers.

"At the end of 1919 I left England again, principally on private business, and resolved to try and enjoy a period of living as a lady continuously, thinking that perhaps realization might not be equal to anticipation and the result might be a less strong desire. I was nearly three months in finding a place where I could live the life—ostensibly to train for the stage—and at last went to the house of a retired man and his wife in a large city although my hostess was not the sort of kindred spirit I sought, in fact I used to feel she was less ladylike in character than I. They were both astonished at my appearance and my ease and naturalness, so much so that they felt no anxiety in introducing me as Mrs.—— a widow, and I sat down to meals and cards with any guests. A week after arrival a relative of theirs, an elderly retired doctor, came to live with them, and he remained in ignorance all the time but was most courteous. I used to assist with meals and in the kitchen and in making beds, and felt more of a thrill when making the doctor's bed than in helping my hostess make hers. A charwoman called every week and did cleaning and washing, and I used to do a large part of the ironing. Every day I used to go out and I visited stores, reading rooms, often had lunch out, called at the Customs to get a muff sent from England, and went to concerts, and regularly to church. I stayed just over three months and enjoyed it greatly, feeling quite at ease, and happy, except for the fact that I went out alone, and did not have the friendship of a woman who would accept me in the character I portrayed, so as to forget my body. My hostess used to repeat nice things callers said of me, and said herself that I was more lady-like than some of her friends. It was a sad day when business matters caused me to leave; I felt very strange and uncomfortable in men's clōthes, and, with a man's outlook on life, unhappy. I had to journey to another part of the country and it was over twelve months before I could again enjoy myself, the latter three being spent in vain searching for a habitation. I had found out how completely I was able to live as a woman, how I enjoyed it, in an aesthetic sense, and how thoroughly I could submerge and even practically forget my physical sex in my imagination that I was a woman or, as I

began to regard it, letting my real self live, so that instead of the conflict of two natures there was now peace and enjoyment.

"The next time I had another three months' 'life,' and in many ways this was the best of my experiences. By advertising I found a lady whose husband had deserted her, yet allowed her a monthly check. She lived alone in a small house and was a devout churchwoman. We became very good friends; she treated me as if I was a woman and I respected her confidence, for to do otherwise was foreign to my nature, and would have spoiled my enjoyment, and possibly ended the arrangement. We were alone together and kissed on retiring and in the morning, saying 'dear' in speaking, and she slept with her bedroom door ajar. I never entered it, but she used to enter mine during the daytime when we were dressing to go out. We frequently went to theatres and cinemas and I was out every day, rejoicing in the feeling and thought: 'I am a woman.' She confessed to me her desire to have a baby and I to her that I would too. Acting on an impulse I asked her to make me a maternity pad, which I wore for a whole day indoors, sitting about, and enjoying imagining I was pregnant. To many this may seem lunacy, or disgusting, yet my desire is always to get right into the character and think as a woman would, and feel like one. My departure, when she sold her house, was to steal away having said good-bye as a woman and not be seen as a man. For some days I suffered great depression and regret at the change. After two months absence I returned, and found a room but was unable to dress and go out for some months. Meanwhile I had obtained a position, hoping it would lead to a better one. A year after my last 'life' matters became bad, I was getting miserable, and frequently suffering real pain, for the sight of a well-dressed woman would often cause me to clench my nails into my palms, suppress a groan, sometimes a swear escaping my lips. I felt the injustice of things in that women with masculine natures were allowed to dress as men, and often say they wished they were men, yet the opposite was regarded with suspicion or derision. Many women with coarse natures and bad manners but good clothes were tolerated. Yet I, who could wear the clothes so much better, and give the impression of being a lady, was taboo, because of my bodily form which was hidden. 'Manners maketh the man'—'character and personality tells'—all were disproved by the fact that 'by their flesh ye shall know them.' I realized that the cases are different, and males must not be allowed to dress as women, the usual result being unsatisfactory from a moral point of view. Yet I felt, and still feel, that my real self has had to be subjected to my physical self, my body.

"My Christmas Day, 1919, was spent with my first host and hostess; the next I felt must be spent as a woman, so I took a room at the chief hotel and after breakfast dressed, went to church, lunch, etc., then retiring and returning to dinner as a man. As I was, by April, 1922, feeling very unhappy because my inner feminine self clamored for another chance to live, I consulted my doctor, who later on found me a home with an ex-officer and his wife and child, the lady having had a brother who had similar tastes (in England). The doctor anticipated that I should only dress at week-ends to obtain relief and he was quite in sympathy with this; but the opportunity to again live as I desired was too strong, also the objection to appearing alternately as a man and woman is to me great, and may raise suspicions as well, so I resigned my position which was distasteful to me and entered once more into my womanhood.

Although I should have preferred to go to a house where there were only one or two ladies I was prepared to overlook the drawback of the presence of a young lady boarder, for she had expressed no objection at me residing there. After having seen me in costume, however (purely as a matter of curiosity), she raised so-called moral objections and gave up her rooms. The ironical aspect of this, however, was that she was in the habit of keeping late hours and taking drives late at night with strangers and had confessed these things to her hostess. More and more I notice that it is the feminine physical form that is considered by the world to be the woman, behavior, personality, and character not being so important, whereas I look with scorn and disgust, or at least mild criticism, on some females, knowing how much better I could wear their clothes, conduct myself, and give an impression of a real lady. There are sweet natures in deformed bodies, and many so-called women are by no means feminine. My sense of delight and enjoyment at again being able to live in the character that appeals so strongly to me was very great and continuous. Instead of the struggle of two natures, and arguments and counter-arguments in my brain, causing weariness and frequently a sadness which lay like a weight upon my spirit. the continual feeling of envy of women and inner or mental realization of the actual feelings to be dressed as they, I experience a sense of happiness and joy which now and again surges up as I think: 'Now I am a woman.' Merely wearing feminine clothes and masquerading is objectionable to me, and the slightest hint or sign by anyone who knows, that they regard me other than as a real woman is like an icy draught, or a sharp pin-prick. I enjoy letting the clothes and my inner nature completely conquer the masculine side of my brain and all desires pertaining thereto.

Just as a clergyman is influenced by his surplice, a soldier by his uniform, or a nun by hers, so I am by *my* clothes. The transformation that takes place is really wonderful, for I often reflect sadly that I have no earthly chance of looking altogether like a woman. Yet my eyes and smile are regarded as truly feminine, and happiness shows itself and soon improves my appearance. During my few months' life—this time in the spring and summer—I made surprising advances in my freedom of movement. My hostess took me to a corsetière's and I derived great and lasting pleasure from an expensive and well-fitting pair of corsets which gave the feeling of smartness and helped in graceful deportment. We also went shopping to try on hats, and I experienced true feminine delight and abiding satisfaction on Easter Sunday in going to church in a pretty new mauve hat and mauve veil, a large bunch of mauve sweet peas in my waist band. Instead of being distracted and torn with envy of women and their clothes, I could kneel in true heartfelt thankfulness that I was able to 'worship in spirit.' I possessed pure aesthetic enjoyment, the delight of feeling myself to be a woman 'like you' and the delicious sense of comfort and elegance derived from *my* clothes, which do not result in a sense of sexual gratification, but rather of spiritual enjoyment, of mental delight and peace. Every trivial action, such as using a dainty and perfumed handkerchief, placing articles down gently, acknowledging the trivial courtesies generally received by women with a smile and soft 'Thank you,' all gave me as much pleasure as the opposite would give pain. Although I am fond of company, yet walking alone as a woman is very pleasant, and I used to go out daily, if not shopping, then to the sea-front, or in the parks, where silent enjoyment of my character was continuous, my only regret being that I had not a kindred soul, a woman friend. My hostess and her small son used to take lunch on the sands now and again and I frequently joined them, but nice as she and her husband were she never properly understood me. I practically went everywhere I wished to, but always with a sort of necessary caution not to run too great risks, to theatres, concerts, cinemas, tennis tournaments, and to a reception of distinguished visitors at a civic garden party in the park, where I was delighted to catch the eye of the Governor-General's wife and curtsy to her, being rewarded with a charming smile.

In the house I used to assist in preparation for meals, and in making beds, and in shopping. Though I never indulged in an extensive wardrobe I should like to, and would have if I saw my way clear to a more lengthy 'life.' Yet I used to be well-dressed and was very successful in summer attire (my first experience), though winter clothes with furs, etc., are far more effective in hiding defects. In a

comparatively short white flannel serge skirt (which I bought and tried on at a store, having it adjusted in length by the fitter), a pretty white petticoat and underwear, and a net blouse half screening dainty things beneath and revealing throat and neck, with white stockings and shoes, a silk sports coat and wide hat, sunshade, etc., I looked well and felt the greatest sense of pleasure when out or sitting at home reading, or moving about before and after meals. I have gone on the sands with a sunshade and sat for hours enjoying the sea, and the delightful sensation of being alone in the character I am in.

My doctor visited the house and took a meal with us, congratulating me on my appearance, and I called on him two or three times and saw him at his consulting rooms. He used, however, to advise me not to forget that I was Mr.——, but I impressed on him that I was able to practically forget Mr.—— in the enjoyment of being Mrs.——. He said he saw no reason why I should not dress now and again as a relief to what becomes an overpowering desire, but if I let it get hold of me to an undue extent it became pathological. I said I was far happier, my brain was at rest, and there was not the continual conflict, and intense longing, causing depression. We debated the subject often for lengthy periods, I contending that the ego, the inner self, should rule and not the physical self. Although he was prepared to back up his early advice to protect me, and my hostess, if 'discovery' led to any untoward incidents (which did not worry me, my enjoyment was too great to be deterred by thoughts of risk), he regarding me largely as a mental case, yet he suggested that it would be wiser if I and he consulted another doctor; to which I agreed. After he had prepared the consultant with an outline of my case, and details of public work, and references I had; I visited these two doctors one evening, having specially smartened myself, and en route buying a large bunch of sweet peas to wear in my waist band. I sat for two hours and a half, describing my case and answering questions of a most searching nature. I stated that it was my sincere desire to *be* a refined gentlewoman (not *any* female) and that although I realized all the drawbacks attending some women's lives, and had discussed the matter with an English lady who spoke of the illness, pains and drawbacks of women's lives, yet though I shrunk from pain and operations as a rule (a tooth extraction being terrible to my nerves) yet I would undergo a surgical operation if the result would be to give me a beautiful or attractive female form with full womanhood in a type that appealed to me. The only embarrassment I felt at the interview was that I had to speak of myself as a male, while in feminine attire and character.

My contention was and is that masculine women are recognized by the world as a separate type and their personalities (or peculiarities)

are allowed expression, in dress, mode of living, etc., suitable to their inner selves, not their bodies; they are free to coarsen themselves by living as like men as possible, yet are hybrids. I make a more successful transformation, hide my body as far as sex is concerned and my behavior is that of a refined lady. My doctor rather clings to the mental obsession idea; and suggested that it would doubtless be possible for them to arrange with the Chief of Police that I be not molested, but I demurred at being pointed out to detectives and others who would ignorantly regard me as being dressed up, for my pleasure would be greatly lessened. The consultant took my side often in argument and said it was the strongest case of dual personality he had known; he wanted time to consider and would see me again.

At the end of four months' life, my hostess received warning from a friend that I was known and being spoken about, and we supposed that the young woman, her erstwhile boarder, had seen me and was talking. I felt that it was wisest to give up for a time and consulted my doctor who was indignant at the fact being revealed. It was with very great sadness that I undressed for the last time one night, having previously bidden my hostess good-bye, and asked to be allowed to slip out in the morning. I had determined to go away for a couple of weeks to my sister's, but to return to them, as they would have been seriously hit financially had I left them. I slipped out into a world that was particularly distasteful to me, my collar choked me, my trousers oppressed me like bandages, my boots felt clumsy, and I missed the clasp of corsets, and the beautiful feel of underwear. When I returned, however, I suffered considerable mental and spiritual anguish. I simply could not face the household at meals and for a week or more used to get out on long walks, or remain in my room, later on beginning with breakfasts. My first evening meal was like a knife sticking into me, for I remembered—although my seat was moved by request. When my hostess rose to remove the first course my spirit wanted to do as before, and get up as a woman and help her. Instead of my own dainty movements and mental happiness as a woman, I had to act as a man to my great displeasure. I have lived it down somewhat but there is always the contrast between this life and the other, whether in the house or not.

"I consider that I am a dual personality of which the feminine self has very early expressed itself, and gathered strength, dominating my life, but my male physical self has been strong enough to prevent outward signs of effeminacy. In addition, the desires of the feminine have caused undue thought about, and love for, feminine clothes and life, and these have acted on my male sexual nature to

cause its development. Masturbation, when indulged in, and natural connection have been generally due to the feelings aroused by contemplation of the feminine state and clothes, in envy and not in a sense of sexual desire; also as a relief of the feeling of longing, rather than to create such feelings. I am a bundle of contradictions, a sort of Miss Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. I cannot simply dreamily contemplate the attraction of a feminine state, but the desires are always present in varying degrees, and sometimes enough to cause pain or deep depression. Were I living alone as a man with an attractive woman and were rash enough to go to her bedroom (unless a prostitute who would repel me) my feelings would be aroused, especially if she tempted me, partly because I feel inwardly that I would like to be in her place, and even during connection I have had a longing to be her. If going to her room to dress in her clothes, or already partly dressed and in the character of a woman, my femininity would keep my masculinity sternly down; for I know that I could not misconduct myself when in my clothes and character, for the sake of temporary physical gratification, thereby robbing a more lasting aesthetic and spiritual pleasure (together with the sensation of feminine sexual desires, mental and physical). I greatly desire to so thoroughly live as a woman that exposure in negligée in bedrooms when it occurs, will be regarded as natural and so I may feel that I am admitted as a woman to the inner sanctuary of woman's kingdom.

Regarding the clothes themselves I admit frankly that they are very, very attractive to me, and that I love wearing them. I should like to have a complete outfit of essentially feminine things, dainty French lingerie, smart corsets which give a delicious feeling of snugness, pretty shoes, and silk stockings, lovely petticoats and underskirts and smart gowns, hats, lovely furs and cloaks, coats, wraps of all kinds. Dainty accessories, such as hankies, hand bags, gloves, jewelry, perfume, sunshades, veils—all have a truly feminine lure for me. My one great desire is for a really good seal coat with shawl collar and large cuffs of skunk. To see one of these makes me very envious, and this frequently happens. Hats have a great attraction, too, and I love a veil. Now underwear is known to have an influence on men's passionate feelings, but with me, much as I love to see it on or in shops, yet my desire is to wear it. Except when shaving during my 'lives' I banish everything masculine, and I never see my head without a wig on nor expose my person below the waist. Dressing is a sort of ritual; I am really 'in the spirit' and see and feel myself to be a woman; it is pleasing to put on the clothes, especially the touch of a pretty blouse on bare arms and shoulders. The soft comfort of underwear, and clasp of corsets, the

caress of petticoats around silk-stockinged legs, the smartness of shoes, together with the delightful sensation from the graceful movements, and happy frame of mind, all combine to cause the most delicious aesthetic feelings of happiness and content, so that any sacrifice, if necessary, of such an animal passion as masculine feelings often cause, is not to be even thought of as worth weighing. The great desire is to be as much a gentlewoman in appearance, deportment, personality, thought and desire as possible, and whereas the details of clothes are forgotten, skirts becoming a part of oneself, yet the delicious result remains in a happy feeling which surges up now and again in the *Te Deum*: 'I am a woman.' When undressing at night I like to do so slowly before the mirror (should like a long-haired wig to sit and brush), but my feelings are simply one of peaceful happiness, in that my real self is living without conflict with my physical self which lies dormant and subject. In various stages of undress I proceed to the last, where I release undergarments from my shoulders and slipping on a dainty nightie, I let my things fall to the ground as a modest woman would, never revealing my deformities. Then in a pretty boudoir cap I sometimes sit and gaze in aesthetic satisfaction at my woman-self, stooping to enjoy the roundness of the slight breasts thus emphasized. Then to bed, only regretting that a loving husband, or a dear little baby is not to nestle near me.

I do not feel that my case is one of inversion. My masculinity is, however, conquered—a thing I cannot do when living as a man; I feel I am getting to be, if not already so, a sensualist, but when in the feminine state one nature only rules, and I have no desire to step out of it, any thoughts of masculinity being driven away. As a man I should scorn any homosexual relationship, even if imagining I was a woman. I have, however, allowed a woman to pretend to be a man to me, when desiring feminine sexual gratification, and I would wish to surrender myself to a nice man when a woman, but know that my ideal character would not allow such a lapse, yet the desire does not excite shame. I have not dressed since my last 'life,' although all my clothes are within daily touch, yet I long to do so if it meant a life, not just dressing up or putting on the clothes. To try on a lovely fur coat would only be an aggravation, yet to put it on as a woman and revel in its cosiness and enjoy the large cuffs, that is different. As a lady once said: 'I suppose you want to have a woman's experiences as well as dress in the character?' and I said, 'Yes, I do.' She understood when she said: 'What a tragedy your life is! How you must suffer!' And I do. Much as I desire feminine companionship and a nice home, yet marriage seems too great a risk. I cannot change my inner nature,

nor contemplate the continued crucifixion of my self by the agonizing and tantalizing sight of a beautiful or attractive woman, in clothes that distracted me, being a continual source of torment. I still hope to live the life my real self desires, and in which I can build up a better and finer personality and a purer soul to take to the Beyond, when this body remains behind."

R. L. sent me numerous statements and letters, but the foregoing narrative (to which a few slight additions have been made from others of his papers) seems to cover the whole ground and it is in entire harmony in all essentials with his other statements. He came to see me at intervals after his return from Canada to London, and the personal impression he made agreed with his own account of himself. He was a quiet, solid, serious man, with no obvious feminine physical traits, and no mannerisms that suggested a woman. One would have supposed that he was rather too largely built to make up easily as a woman, but it would appear that in none of his adventures in that part was he ever alarmingly suspected. In numerous photographs as a woman his feminine air and bearing seem unimpeachable. There is nothing of the rather provocative and meretricious aspect which sometimes marks homosexual men when in feminine costume; the face looks rather massive but is that of a calm, experienced, decorous woman, and the impression is entirely agreeable.

The part played by the sexual instinct in R. L. is of much interest, and characteristic of one of the types of Eonism. We see that it is held in balance, as it were, between his native masculine nature and his ideal feminine nature, pulled in each direction but unable to go to the full extent in either, for the ideal feminine nature prevents full enjoyment as a man, while to accept the sexual enjoyment of a woman though yet possessing a man's body would hardly befit R.L.'s conception of a lady's behavior. We see that there is a sense (though not the usual sense) in which we can say that R. L. is an example of dual personality. But to say that would not be to offer any explanation of his condition.

If we were to investigate him psycho-analytically, we might possibly find the influence of an infantile attachment to his mother. No attempt whatever was made to ascertain that influence, and there is nothing to show that he himself attached importance to it. So that it is all the more instructive to observe that his references to his mother, his recognition of her superiority, and his early championship of her against the irritable father, would agree with such an assumption. An infantile and always mainly unconscious absorption in the mother, on the part of a sensitive and sympathetic child, may well have furnished the point of departure for the attitude of Eonism

which early began to develop in R. L., and, in the absence of any strong sexual impulse, more and more tended to an absorption in, and finally an identification with, the social, maternal, and domestic aspects of womanhood. This seems the only key we can expect to find, or need to find, to the influences that have molded R. L.'s life.

In the next case, in a man of quite different intellectual, emotional and moral type, we see what may, I believe, be regarded as a profound if not complete form of sexo-aesthetic inversion.

R. M., age 66; man of science and letters, a fellow of various learned societies and engaged in official scientific work.

"My father (a business man) came of a healthy, prolific and long-lived family of farmers, and was one of eighteen children. My mother came of a mercantile family, which suffered from a severe form of hysteria, showing itself in some members of the family, but not in others, through at least five or six generations. My mother was one of eight children, of whom one son and four daughters lived to be married, and had children. Of the others, one daughter died unmarried at twenty-four; and one boy and one girl died in infancy.

"My mother and one of her sisters married in the same year; the former being thirty-one, and the latter thirty-five. But whereas the sister's husband was only a year older than herself, my mother (who was my father's second wife) was sixteen years younger than my father; and about two years after the marriages, the eldest children were born.

"The sister, who had set her mind on having boys had six children of which the two eldest and the youngest were girls, the others, two boys and a girl, died in infancy. My mother, on the other hand, who set her mind on having girls, had five sons, all still living, of whom I am the eldest.

"At the age of six months, I was frightened by a railway train, which passed before the window of a railway carriage at which I was being held up. I became so ill that my life was despaired of; I suffered much from convulsions, and could not walk until I was two. Still, my recollections go back distinctly and continuously to the age of three and a half, when we were staying at the seaside; though I have only isolated and disjointed recollections further back than that.

"We were brought up in great seclusion, for my mother among numerous heresies, had a prejudice against schools; and we were seldom allowed to speak to other children. However, older cousins used to come to the house, and talk and read to me, especially a

delicate boy six years older than myself, whose mother was dead, and who lived with us during most of my childhood; and who was like an elder brother to me.

"I was subject, till the age of eight or nine at least, to violent fits of hysterical crying, sometimes brought on by a mere trifle; I was generally put in a room by myself till the fit passed off. These fits were called 'freaks.'

"The earliest books I remember being read to me (*Sandford and Merton*, etc.), I accepted as real, and at one time (when about 5 or 6) kept on running to the door at every ring, to meet two boys out of one of these books, whom I expected to come to pay us a visit, and who specially interested me. At this time I was very timid, and could not bear to listen to such a story as 'Jack the Giant Killer.'

"I remember once thinking that I should have to marry my younger brother, because I did not know any one else.

"When I was able to read, at the age of 7 or 8, I read everything I could get that looked interesting. There was no supervision, except that a few books (mostly harmless enough) were tabooed as being 'too old for me.' But Pope's Homer's *Iliad* on the one hand, and the *Swiss Family Robinson* on the other were long my favorite books; and now I began to personally identify myself with my favorite heroes, and to insist on being called by their names, changing from one to another, as the fancy took me. Thus, I was for a long time Hercules; Fritz of the *Swiss Family;* or Basil of Mayne Reid's *Boy Hunters,* but always the oldest of the boy characters.

"I never thus identified myself with any girl, and would have been horrified at the idea up to at least nine or ten; but I believe I was quite as well able to sympathize with the girls in juvenile tales as with the boys.

"Occasionally I was a little sentimental. I was greatly impressed by the lines relating to Pasiphae in Homer, and also by the allusions to the beauty of the Anglo-Saxon women in Dickens' *Child's History of England.* I was always very amenable to suggestion. I once thought I ought to make a sacrifice in Old Testament fashion, and was seriously inclined to burn my crossbow; but not my long bow, which I thought I could not spare so well.

"I remember thinking that 'cutting off the foreskin' meant something like 'scalping' the forehead; and if I met a Jew, was surprised not to see the scar.

"I was always very anxious to try any new, and especially physical, experience. I was probably not more than five or six when my mother once told me that she had used soap-pellets during my illness; and I immediately insisted on her applying one.

"I was also curious to know what it felt like to be wounded in battle, to be tortured, or to be burned at the stake. This is a form of masochism not uncommon with young boys; but in one form or other it was almost permanent with me. I even felt it when I was about to have a tooth out. And yet I am very sensitive to pain.

"Of sexual matters I have nothing to record, except that once or twice one of the testes slipped up into the abdomen, causing me considerable pain and trouble to get it down again. We were told 'the doctor had brought us;' I was sorry he had not kept us, for the want of sufficient companionship and the dullness of our life made me very unhappy. Like most children, when I got a vague idea of something further, I thought babies might come through the navel; or that the navel had something to do with coition; and if I thought of the scrotum at all, I supposed it held urine. Among other things which appear trifles to parents, but often cause terrible suffering to children, we were kept so long in children's instead of boy's clothes that we were actually ashamed to be seen in them.

"Fairy tales were tabooed; but I invented the idea of feather-dresses for myself before I had heard of them.

"When I was about 10, I learned to swim, but was much disgusted at the sight of the men's pubes, which I had not seen before. I still dislike hair on the face and body, and even the mention of a beard or moustache in a book is disagreeable to me, though I wear them myself, to save the trouble of shaving. A year later, we were at the seaside, and I saw the whole of my mother's breast for the first time. It gave me a similar feeling of repulsion, which lasted some years, if I accidentally happened to see a woman's breast. (When younger, I had, of course, seen babies suckled, but had then paid no attention.) As regards men, the feeling wore off after I began to bathe regularly; for bathing drawers for men did not come into general use till about 1860, or rather later.

"When I was about 12, I found that if I ran very fast, I was sometimes obliged to stop from a strong necessity of making water, which feeling went off when I tried to do so.

"I was brought up a teetotaller from the age of eight, and though I abandoned teetotalism after eight or ten years, I have never been in the habit of taking more than a glass of wine, or wine and water, in the course of the day.

"About the age of 12 I began to feel much interest in the differences of the sexes, of which, however, I had no real idea before I married. Then I met with the Eastern story of the prince who was changed into a woman by drinking from a magic spring, and whether it was suggested by the story or whether the idea arose independently, I am not quite sure; but I began to think that it

would be very nice to be changed into a girl for a time, to see what it was like. Gradually this idea became regret that I had not been born a girl, but unaccompanied at present by any longing to take the place of any particular woman; and accompanied for many years, as it had been preceded, by an almost uncontrollable longing for a life of travel and adventure, which I never had any opportunity of gratifying except within very moderate limits, and for which I was wholly unsuited. Of course the two desires were quite incongruous.

"When I was between 14 and 15, I used occasionally to draw back the prepuce to look at the glans, and twice had an emission of semen. I had not the least idea of what it was; and just about my fifteenth year, I fell into masturbation; but happening at that time to look into Rees' *Cyclopædia,* I stumbled across an article respecting it, and connecting it with what I was doing, struggled against the habit as much as possible, and never yielded to it in excess. As the "inversion" had then already commenced, it cannot have been seriously affected by it, one way or the other.

"In the following year I had for the first time a passing fancy for a girl play-mate; but it never went beyond that stage.

"At this period the desire to be a girl was not very intense; but it was still present, accompanied as it generally has been, by the wish to go through the experience of having a baby. Again, my reflections on sexual subjects were not limited to marriage, but to speculations on abnormalities, such as hermaphroditism and castration. The latter never appeared to me as unnatural or revolting, but only as a curious and perhaps interesting experience, and I should have subjected myself to it after the death of my wife, if I could have carried it out without detection.[1] Hammond mentions a case in which a man wished to be castrated that he may be more like a woman. Such a feeling is perfectly intelligible to me. After my wife's death, I often slept with all the organs tucked back between my thighs, out of sight and reach from the front. I have very rarely had erotic dreams, it has surprised me that I have very seldom dreamed of myself as a woman.

"When I was about 19, I fell seriously in love for the first time with a very young girl; and enjoyed two days of delirious happiness, arising simply from the idea of being really in love; such as I never experienced before or since. But my mother opposed it,

---

[1] Eonism has sometimes actually led to self-castration. Thus Tange and Trotsenburg (*Sexual-Probleme,* June, 1911) have described the case of a married man, a good husband and father but regarded as peculiar by those who knew him, and in reality a transvestist, who thus mutilated himself; but his persistent dissimulation rendered it difficult to elucidate the case psychologically.

and I found the girl was much younger than I thought; so the affair gradually flickered out, without my ever having spoken a word of love to her.

"The 'freaks' had ceased when I was about 10 or 11; but I was liable to violent fits of anger, if greatly upset, which sometimes left me ill for a day or two. I succeeded in overcoming this feeling; but at the loss of the 'righteous indignation' and power of taking my own part which were absolutely necessary to protect my own comfort and rights in the world. Besides, having sufficient sympathy and insight to see both sides in a dispute, I am equally liable in any doubtful case to be imposed upon by either cajolery or bullying, and am often 'afraid to strike' when it is my clear duty to do so, for fear of unfairly 'wounding' my adversary. Consequently I am always liable to be grievously imposed upon, or even talked into doing against my will what I know to be contrary to my own interests. Nor can I often think at such times of what I ought to say or do in the circumstances; and I am quite unable to meet a sudden and unexpected attack or change of front. I reproach myself greatly for this afterwards, for when it is too late I see clearly what I ought to have said and done. This weakness is the most painful (and perhaps the only really painful) accompaniment of my 'inversion'; and it may possibly have no necessary connection with it.

"When I was about 20, I met a young foreign lady at the house of some friends she was visiting. She was a very bright, lively girl, with a light complexion and dark hair, which I have always preferred; and we soon became as good friends as if we had known each other all our lives, instead of meeting as strangers and foreigners. I believe I attracted her as much as she attracted me; and there was not an unkind word between us at any time; and though we married soon afterwards, we were never happy apart for an hour; and if we could get away together, it was like a fresh honeymoon to the last. She departed after we had enjoyed nearly thirty years of married life; by no means free from sometimes serious trouble; but as between ourselves, idyllic. We had one son.

"We both thought that the first sight of each other undressed might be repellent, but we neither of us experienced any such feeling. Instead of this, much as I loved her, I also envied her very much, and the innate and instinctive longing to be a woman myself became greatly and permanently increased. Nothing would have pleased me better than for us to have gone to sleep, and to have waked up in each other's bodies, for a time at any rate.

"Unnatural as it may appear, when our son was born, the thought that I could not go through the experience myself, or even be with my wife at the time caused me the most acute suffering I ever

elt in my life, and I did not get over it for many months.[1] On such occasions I always sympathize greatly with the mental sufferings of the husband, not the physical sufferings of the wife.

"A year or two later I was affected with hernia on both sides. That on the right side the doctor called inguinal, and it has given me more or less trouble ever since. The left one he called indirect; and I have scarcely felt anything of it from the beginning. He told me it was unusual for two forms to exist on opposite sides; but I may say that I know nothing of the cause, and that the right side was affected some weeks or months before the left.

"And here I may note that there is a slight tendency to lateral hermaphroditism, the right side being more masculine than the left. On the right side the beard is considerably stronger; and though there is very little hair on the chest, or indeed on the body generally, what little there is, is mostly on the right side of the median line; and the right breast is a little smaller and less firm than the left. The shape of the pelvis seems equally masculine on both sides.

"But on the other hand the right eye is much weaker than the left; it was never strong enough to read by at the best of times, and at present hardly reaches No. 2 of the test types, while the left eye goes up to 5 or 6, and is still strong enough to read good print with a good light without glasses for a short time. But my eyes are quite too sensitive for me to be able to hold them open for examination with a light.

"I forgot to say that when I was a child I was much troubled by a sensation as if everything was going into my eyes (a weakness inherited from my mother); and I constantly saw films, but had no other hallucinations. I should add here that I have never been able to whistle; and though the uvula was operated on when I was about twenty-six, I don't know that it had any effect beyond stopping the constant annoyance of tickling in the throat, from which I had suffered for some years. I have never had the least inclination to smoke.

"After my wife's death, I felt her presence with me for some years; but it gradually seemed to fade away. Greatly needing the sympathy of a wife, as well as a congenial companion (for I seem to understand and sympathize much better with women than with men) I seriously considered the possibilities of a second marriage, but several reasons led me finally to abandon the idea. The young lady who has been most

---

[1] This feeling may be more common than is generally supposed. Karen Horney states that when she began to analyze men, after previous experience with women, she was surprised at the intensity of their envy of childbirth and motherhood, as well as of the breasts and the act of suckling (*Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, Oct., 1926, p. 330).

attractive to me since the death of my wife married lately. I do not feel jealous of her or her husband, but feel as if I should like best to be her daughter. In any case, I hope to have my wife as my lover or my sister in some other life, according to whether she is a man or a woman.

"When I was about 57, I was grossly abused and insulted by some unworthy persons who were under great obligations to me; and experienced great mental suffering for a long time afterwards. Whether it had any connection with what I am going to narrate, I do not know; but about two years after this, there seemed to be something like an alteration of sexual polarity. I felt like a woman born out of her sex, and was affected by the most passionate longing to be a woman. I could not look at a pretty girl without envying her, her beauty and her womanhood, and would gladly have changed places with almost any woman from fifteen to forty-five who was in the least attractive to me.

"These feelings seem to have stimulated the breasts, which had previously been almost as flat as a child's, for they now began to enlarge very slowly; but also very steadily; and sometimes they seem to alter almost daily. At first nothing could be felt under the nipples but a small hard detached nucleus about the size of a pea. This gradually enlarged, and then seemed to become dispersed and diffused, and was succeeded by a thickening, at first under the nipples, and then above; connected with a band (at first hardly thicker than a thread) a little below the armpit. Lastly there was a thickening beneath the nipple itself. Then the whole circumference of each breast became firm and thickened, and it was not till this process was completed (after perhaps three or four years) that the breasts have begun to protrude a little in front. They continued to enlarge slowly.

"The growth of the breasts was occasionally accompanied by a titillating sensation in any part which was about to enlarge; also a throbbing feeling in the whole, and a feeling of inflammation could often be induced by a voluntary contraction of the muscles. The development of the breasts was not accompanied by any atrophy of the male organs, as sometimes occurs when it is the result of an injury to the head (I remember once having a bad fall on the ice on the back of my head when I was a boy of nine or ten, but don't suppose this had any effect on my constitution). These remarks chiefly apply to the left breast, which has always been rather larger; there is little corresponding sensation in the right, but it enlarges more slowly, and probably sympathetically—the nipples have scarcely enlarged at all, and there are no signs of any fluid secretion.

"At present the breasts are beginning to feel increasingly like a woman's which is accompanied by a strange feeling of greatly increased physical comfort and well-being. If I had an opportunity, I should like to try on a woman's clothes, though I have no very special attraction for women's dresses or their ordinary occupations —especially stays; and also put a child to the breast, to see if it would draw milk. The acme of physical human happiness often appears to me to be a woman suckling a healthy child. With the growth of the breasts, the painfully intense longing for womanhood has somewhat subsided.

"A woman's body appears to me to be far more beautiful and interesting, and even much more natural than a man's; and its physical drawbacks would be a cheap price to pay for the pleasure of living in one. The male organs appear to me ugly, inconvenient, and almost unnatural. I am fond of children, and perhaps my feeling towards them may resemble those of a woman. I should like to be a woman in order to enter utterly into their lives as one of themselves.

"All of my brothers are more or less bald, but though I am the eldest, my hair is still very good for my age, only thinning a little in the front. I may add that I am not intuitive, and no judge of character, and am clumsy with my hands.

"I am still greatly attracted by beautiful women, but my instinctive feelings towards them are always more those of envy than desire or jealousy; and I always envy a woman in proportion to my love and admiration for her. Still, there are many good women, for whom I feel sincere regard, and even affection, who are not in any way physically attractive to me, and towards whom I feel neither desire nor envy.

"Fortunately I was never thrown among vicious companions, and was too timid and refined to fall into evil courses, though I might have done so, had bad companions tempted me. Perhaps, too, my physical passions were weakened by the tendency to inversion.

"My wife and I used sometimes to change clothes, though her's were much too small for me. But I may repeat, I do not know that I have any special fondness for women's clothes or women's occupations.

"Intellectual women of some force of character are most attractive to me, perhaps as a counterpart to my own weak and easily influenced character; I am not usually attracted by weak, delicate, fair 'feminine women.'

"As regards myself, I do not feel the double sex to be an evil (except for the weakness of character which may or may not be connected with it), but rather an advantage, as enlarging my

sympathies. I do not suppose it is possible for one sex to understand the other, without their being mixed in sufficient proportion to give them a real fellow-meaning. I consider it most probable that the sexes are always more or less mixed in varying proportions in every man or woman, one or the other preponderating.

"The peculiar psychical affection which I have described might be called aesthetic inversion. It is dealt with by several living novelists, especially Frank Richardson in *2835 Mayfair*.

"It differs from ordinary inversion in that those who are affected by it appear (at least in most cases) never to be attracted by men, but only by women. There is no tradition, so far as I know, of anything resembling inversion in our family.

"These people are generally devotedly attached to some woman; and love and honor her so much that they feel as if they themselves were born out of their sex, and naturally in a kind of uncomfortable exile.

"I have written the foregoing account in all sincerity. The condition is no mere fancy, but has continued and indeed increased during almost the whole of a fairly long life."

The foregoing narrative, written by a man of scholarly habits, and highly trained in scientific accuracy of observation, was placed in my hands some years before the writer's death. Not long before this occurred I submitted it to him for a final revision, which resulted in no essential changes. During this period I was in frequent correspondence with R. M., both on the subject of his anomaly and on other topics. Owing to circumstances I had only one opportunity of meeting him. The personal impression he made upon me corresponded with that conveyed by his letters and his narrative. There was no outward suggestion of femininity, but there were present in an extreme degree the indications of the timid, retiring, sensitive disposition which is sometimes seen in men devoted to a scientific career and is apt to be associated with neurotic tendencies.

He was described by his son (a physician who, when in accordance with his father's request this narrative was eventually shown to him, admitted he knew nothing of his father's Eonistic temperament) as "a man of great erudition, and most gentle, thoughtful, and unassuming." One could well believe in that absence of "grit" of which he himself complained. Except for this and for some slight nervous muscular tics, no abnormality was suggested. How far a more careful exploration would have revealed more significant changes must remain doubtful. R. M. had frequently expressed a wish for a physical examination to be made, and an appointment for this purpose had been duly arranged. Then occurred his sudden illness, due to acute nephritis preceded by a more chronic form of

the disorder, resulting shortly after in death. It seems improbable that the examination would have revealed any conditions to which great significance could be attached, for some degree of gynecomasty is far from uncommon. At the same time there was absolutely nothing in R. M's attitude towards himself and his anomaly, or in his general mental condition, which reveals any delusional state. The utmost that can be said is that he was inclined to suspect that some very minor physical anomalies might possess a feminine or hermaphroditic significance. But he was anxious to submit these points to the judgment of those more competent in such matters. We see here what the Freudian would term a "complex," but it is not a paranoic delusional system.

The condition presented by R. M. seems to me to be Eonism, or sexo-aesthetic inversion, in perhaps a complete form. In that form it brings home to us the unsatisfactory nature of the term "transvestism." The element of cross-dressing was, indeed, present, but in so slight and unessential a degree as to be almost negligible. A man of intellectual tastes and of deep feelings, dressing had never been a matter of great interest to him, and there was no soil for any pronounced impulse of cross-dressing to take root in. The inversion here is in the affective and emotional sphere, and in this large sphere the minor symptom of cross-dressing is insignificant. The subject was a man of exceptional intellectual culture and of exceptional sympathetic sensitiveness. He possessed marked feminine affectability. He cannot be regarded as an example of aesthetic inversion in its most usual and typical form. But he seems to me to present it in its most highly developed form.

When we attempt to classify or to account for the cases here brought forward the task is scarcely easy. We may well assert that they illustrate that universal bisexuality which is now so widely accepted. We see that R. M., as well as R. L., perceived this, and it was also pointed out by Näcke. But if we proceed to co-ordinate these cases of sexo-aesthetic inversion with ordinary sexual inversion, now often regarded as most easily explicable by this same organic bisexuality, manifested through some constitutional hormonic irregularity, we encounter difficulties. We may be inclined to regard aesthetic

inversion as a slighter degree of the same sexually intermediate state of which we find a more advanced stage in sexual inversion.[1] But a little consideration shows that that is scarcely correct. In the narrow sphere of the sexual impulse itself the Eonist shows indeed but little if any approximation to the opposite sex. But in the wider non-sexual psychic sphere, on the other hand, he goes far beyond all the most usual manifestations of sexual inversion. The two conditions are not strictly co-ordinate. They may rather be regarded as, so to speak, two unlike allotropic modifications of intermediate sexuality. Sexual inversion when it appears in Eonism would appear to be merely a secondary result of the aesthetically inverted psychic state. Eonism, when it appears in homosexual persons, is perhaps merely a secondary result of the sexually inverted psychic state.

Raffalovich[2] has remarked that one is struck by the moral inferiority, the superficiality, the immodesty of the effeminate invert. This remark, whether or not it is true of the effeminate invert, rarely applies to the Eonist. On the contrary, we are frequently impressed by his moral superiority. Like the fetichist, he never flaunts his peculiarity in the public eye, concealing it from all but sympathetic observers who number perhaps only one or two in a life-time. His code of morals is usually the accepted code, held perhaps rather more firmly than usual, and if, as may sometimes happen, he seems to discern a homosexual tendency in himself, he is genuinely distressed. There is little likelihood that he will ever become, as sometimes happens to the effeminate invert, a prostitute.

This is not, indeed, a point of view which always commends itself to psycho-analysts. There are some psycho-analysts who when they see acknowledged signs of homo-

---

[1] Sadger, from the psycho-analytic side, repels the idea that transvestism can be regarded as a stage of inversion, and Moll, from a different standpoint, refuses even to regard the anomaly as an intermediate sexual stage. Hirschfeld, who champions the doctrine of intermediate sexual stages, is still inclined, as I am, to regard Eonism as primary in the heterosexual and secondary in the homosexual.

[2] Raffalovich, *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, p. 93.

sexuality, accept them, as most other people do, as the signs of homosexuality. But when they see the reverse, even a strong antipathy, they accept that also as a sign of homosexuality, the reaction of a suppressed wish. "Heads, I win," they seem to say; "tails, you lose." This is rather too youthful a method of conducting mental analysis. We must, therefore, hesitate to follow Stekel who would thus account for the Eonist's frequently strong dislike of homosexuality, and considers that the Eonist is an invert, whose inversion is transferred from the body to the garments that are its symbol.

Thus, on a common basis, we seem to be presented with two organic conditions which are distinct, do not easily merge, and are even mutually repugnant. A large proportion, perhaps the majority, of sexual inverts have no strongly pronounced feminine traits, and even so far as they possess them not infrequently desire to slur over or disguise them. The majority of sexo-aesthetic inverts, on the other hand, are not only without any tendency to sexual inversion, but they feel a profound repugnance to that anomaly.[1]

In the two transitional cases I have brought forward there could not be said to be even a question of sexual inversion. In pronounced cases it only comes into question to be rejected. A. T. (as also R. L.) had latterly indeed come to feel that the sexual experiences of a woman were needed for the complete gratification of his state of feeling. This is, however, clearly a secondary development of his aesthetic inversion, and it is a development which the subject himself views with terror. Moreover he is not in fact in the slightest degree sexually attracted to any person of his own sex. The idea is merely an idea, and though it might possibly become an obsession it seems highly improbable that it will ever be carried into practice. In R. M.'s case, although here aesthetic inversion is carried so far, there has never been,

[1] Hirschfeld (*Die Homosexualität*, 1914, p. 233) refers to a male transvestist who remarked that "transvestism and inversion are two diametrically opposite dispositions," and to another who declared that he felt contempt for inverts and effeminate men.

even imaginatively, the slightest homosexual temptation. After he had devised the term "aesthetic inversion," he was himself rather inclined to reject it for "psychical hermaphroditism," on the ground that the use of the word "inversion" might suggest a connection with homosexuality which he would regard as highly repugnant.

Psychologically speaking, it seems to me that we must regard sexo-aesthetic inversion as really a modification of normal hetero-sexuality. Assimilation in dress, Crawley remarks, even from the ethnographic standpoint, "is a form of the desire for union." It is a modification in which certain of the normal constituents of the sexual impulse have fallen into the background, while other equally normal constituents have become unduly exaggerated. What are those two sets of constituents?

In normal courtship it is necessary for the male to experience two impulses which are, on the surface, antagonistic. On the one hand, he must be forceful and combative; he must overcome and possess the desired object. On the other hand, he must be expectant and sympathetic; he must enter into the feelings of the beloved and even subject himself to her will. The lover must be both a resolute conqueror and a submissive slave. He must both oppose himself to his mistress's reticence, and identify himself with her desires. This twofold attitude is based on the biological conditions of courtship.

In civilized human courtship there is a tendency for the first and aggressive component of the sexual impulse to be subordinated, and for the second and sympathetic component to be emphasized. This tendency was set forth many years ago by Colin Scott as the "secondary law of courting" by which the female (who is already imaginatively attentive to the states of the excited male) develops a superadded activity, while the male develops a relatively passive and imaginative attention to the psychical and bodily states of the female. This "imaginative radiation" and "development of the representative powers," is favored, Colin Scott points out, by the restric-

tions imposed by civilization, and the larger mental capacity involved.[1]

This secondary component of the sexual impulse, the element of sympathy and identification, may be said to be connected, as Colin Scott seems to have recognized, with an aesthetic attitude. It is worth while to insist on the connection for it may furnish a deeper reason than I have yet suggested for applying the name "aesthetic inversion" to a condition which, as the reader will by now have perceived, is to be regarded as an abnormal and perhaps pathological exaggeration of the secondary component of the normal heterosexual impulse.

The Eonist is frequently refined, sensitive, and highly intelligent. In this respect T. S. and R. L. and R. M. are typical. The Eonist has developed and exaggerated this secondary impulse of courting at the expense of the primary more aggressive impulse. (Carried to the extreme this tendency may become masochism, and we see in T. S.'s day-dreams a slight masochistic disposition.) But this impulse corresponds to the impulse which various modern philosophers of aesthetics regard as of the essence of the aesthetic attitude, an inner sympathy and imitation, an emotional identification with the beauti-

---

[1] Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2. It may be noted that Dr. Sabrina Spielrein (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, vol. iv, 1912, p. 483) independently confirms Colin Scott's view of the more primary nature of this imaginative attentiveness in women. There are, she says, two directions of ideas in the lover: "In the first, one is usually the subject and loves the outwardly projected object; in the second one is changed into the beloved and loves himself as object. In the man, to whom belongs the active part of capturing a woman, the subjective ideas prevail; in a woman, who has to attract the man, the refluent ideas gain, even normally, the upper hand. Herewith is connected feminine coquetry; the woman is thinking how she can please 'him'; herewith is connected also her greater homosexuality and auto-erotism [Narcissism]; changed into her lover, the woman must to a certain degree feel masculine; as the object of the man she can love herself or another girl who is such as she would wish herself to be—of course always beautiful. I once found a feminine colleague much worried over a succession of envelopes she was addressing. She could not repeat the handwriting she had achieved in the first. On my asking why that pleased her so much, she suddenly realized that that was how her lover wrote. The need for identification with the beloved was, therefore, so great that she could only endure herself as being like him."

ful object. Even though we reject this resemblance as an adequate basis for a name to designate the anomaly, it still seems that the aesthetic tendencies of this impulse cannot be ignored. They help to explain, moreover, why, as Näcke long since remarked and as my cases show, it so often happens that the Eonist is an artist or a man of letters. William Sharp, who published various well-known books under a feminine pseudonym (Fiona Macleod), which was long believed to stand for a real woman, was an artist with the temperament of an Eonist and well shows how almost identical the aesthetic attitude is in the two cases. We are told in the biography by his wife that "scarcely a day passed on which he did not try to imagine himself living the life of a woman, to see through her eyes, and feel and view life from her standpoint, and so vividly that 'sometimes I forget I am not the woman I am trying to imagine.'"[1] R. M. thought he found traces of Eonism in Renan and Rossetti, and he referred to Frank Richardson's novel, *2835 Mayfair,* as dealing with it. Hirschfeld has stated[2] that Richard Wagner was the type, even physically, of one variety of transvestist, and that it ought not to be doubtful to anyone that he was in his own life a transvestist, after reading his "Letters to a Dressmaker," surreptitiously published years ago by Daniel Spitzer.[3]

To me it is more than doubtful. The letters to the dressmaker show no indications of Eonism, even in the narrowest sense of cross-dressing. Wagner simply wants his garments made of silk and satin, cushions of similar material, and light fabrics of beautiful colors—he is very particular about the precise color—around him as he works. We are in the presence, not of an Eonist, but an artist who, after an early life of hardship, was at length able to gratify the repressed cravings of his

---

[1] Mrs. W. Sharp: *William Sharp*, p. 52.

[2] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Bd. xxiii, 1923, p. 13.

[3] *Briefe Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin*, Vienna, 1906. They were written in 1864-8, stolen from the dressmaker, and later found at a dealer's. See L. Karpath, *Zu den Briefen Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin: Unterredungen mit den Putzmacherin*, Berlin, 1907. Also, Heinrich Pudor, "Richard Wagner's Bisexualitat," *Geschlecht und Gesellscheft*, Bd. ii, Heft 3.

physical and psychic sensitivity. Beethoven, it is true, liked to compose in an old dressing-gown. But Haydn, who in youth had suffered from living in dirt and rags, insisted on being elegantly dressed before he sat down to compose. It may be said—I have often said it—that in genius, whatever the actual sex, there are elements alike of the man, the woman, and the child. This was emphatically true of Wagner. We may even agree with Dr. Pudor that a feminine element is of special importance for the artist as musician, since "music implies embodied receptivity." But while this brings the artist near to the Eonist, and helps to explain why the Eonist is sometimes also an artist, it will not suffice to identify them. Similarly, Ruskin and Rossetti cannot be regarded as Eonists, although both of them, even on the physical side, may have presented feminine traits.[1]

It is this sensitive impressionable artist's temperament which often leads the Eonist to believe that his peculiar nature has been moulded in childhood by the special circumstances of his early life. We may certainly believe that such circumstances have sometimes been influential. This may be noted with special frequency of the mother's attitude towards her child, and Sadger's cases, also, show the influence of the mother and of love for the mother. It is frequently recorded that the mother took an unusual pleasure in encouraging or emphasising the child's tendency to adopt the ways of the other sex. In T. S.'s case this influence was exerted in a reverse direction; she concentrated attention on the child's feminine traits by her repulsion to them. These are the two opposite ways in which it is possible for a mother to help to mould her child's character in this direction.

The philosophic students of aesthetics have frequently shown a tendency to regard a subjective identification with the beautiful object as the clue to aesthetic emotion. They hold that we imaginatively imitate the beauty we see, and sympathe-

---

[1] I may note that Moll independently concludes that the evidence fails to prove that Wagner was a transvestist, Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, p. 585.

tically place ourselves in it. Our emotions, as it were, beat in time to its rhythm. Lotze and R. Vischer worked out an aesthetic doctrine of inner *Miterleben* on such lines as these. More recently, Karl Groos concluded that the play of inner imitation, inner *Miterleben,* is "the central phenomenon of aesthetic enjoyment."[1] Lipps, again, is a distinguished exponent of imitation and of what he calls *Einfühlung* as the explanation of aesthetic emotion, and he has most elaborately set forth his doctrine. It is very interesting, from our point of view, to note that,[2] while Lipps on the whole regards imitation and *Einfühlung* as going together in aesthetic feeling, he stops short (where the Eonist does not stop short) at the threshold of sex and declares that here we must make a distinction. We cannot, he says, explain the appeal of a woman's beauty by imitation, for a man does not, for instance, desire to possess a woman's breasts. Yet all beautiful forms, he holds, owe their beauty to *Einfühlung,* and this has nothing to do with the sexual instinct for which the specific form of the opposite sex are objects of a possible real relationship. The aesthetic enjoyment of a woman's figure thus shows clearly, Lipps concludes, that the conception of *Einfühlung* is different from that of imitation (or *Nachahmung*).[3]

Here we may perceive a deeper reason than we have yet reached for describing the psychological anomaly we are here concerned with as aesthetic inversion. The subject of the anomaly is not merely experiencing an inversion of general tastes in the sexual sphere; he has really attained to a specifically aesthetic emotional attitude in that sphere. In his admiration of the beloved he is not content to confine himself to the normal element of *Einfühlung;* he adopts the whole aesthe-

---

[1] K. Groos, *Der Aesthetische Genuss,* 1902, e.g. Ch. V.

[2] See T. Lipps, *Der Aesthetische Genuss in die Bildende Kunst,* 1906, Ch. I.

[3] T. Lipps, *Grundlegung der Aesthetik,* 1903, vol. i, p. 147. It may be remarked that Lipps entirely dissociated aesthetic emotion from sexual emotion. Groos (*op. cit.,* 248) considers that we cannot escape the conclusion that the artistic enjoyment of markedly sensual situations belongs to the aesthetic sphere. Lipps (*op. cit.,* p. 148) thinks that it is decadent to involve the sexual instinct in aesthetics.

tic attitude by experiencing also the impulse of imitation. He achieves a completely emotional identification which is sexually abnormal but aesthetically correct. At the same time we may carry this conception beyond the aesthetic field into that of the psychic life generally. Such a conception has, for instance, been worked out by Prandtl. "Every 'you,'" says Prandtl, "every person outside myself, proceeds from a splitting up of myself, and is part of my own me."[1] The Eonist thus becomes simply a person in whom a normal and even quite ordinary and inevitable process of thought is carried to an undue and abnormal length. He has put too much of "me" into the "you" that attracts him.

Physically, it would appear, this secondary and aesthetic element of the sexual impulse tends to assert itself abnormally in the form of aesthetic inversion in those men in whom the primary and more "virile" element of the sexual impulse is defective. In some cases, though not in all, there is a lack of physical robustness. The Eonist frequently shows feebleness of physical sexual impulse. This is not always found but it is remarkably common and is illustrated by T. S. as well as C. T. Näcke regarded it as so common that he proposed to divide the subjects of this anomaly into three classes: The heterosexual, the homosexual, and the asexual.[2] Such a division, however, hardly meets the situation. The absolutely asexual are probably rare, but the heterosexual are often only feebly sexual. The Chevalier d'Eon himself seems to have shown this characteristic; he was attracted to women but not strongly sexual. The Eonist is more often than not married, and most tenderly and sympathetically devoted to his wife; but he attaches little importance to the sexual act, is sometimes inapt for it, and much pleased if his wife is willing to forego

---

[1] Antonin Prandtl, *Die Einfühlung*, 1910, p. 115.

[2] Hirschfeld (*Sexualpathologie*, vol. ii, p. 144) finds that 35 per cent. of the transvestists he has known were heterosexual, 35 per cent. homosexual, 15 per cent. bisexual and of the remaining 15 per cent. most were "automonosexual," or content to find complete satisfaction in the change of clothing itself; a few, he thinks, were perhaps of asexual disposition.

it. Sometimes early masturbation has been carried to an excess conducive to lowered vitality. In the case of A. T. we find a precocious auto-erotic sexuality which was probably a significant factor in the development of the aesthetic inversion. In the very complete case of R. M., a highly sensitive temperament was marked by a lack of self-assertion, an inability to hold his own in conflict with others, an undue suggestibility, which was to the subject himself a source of life-long misgiving. In most cases of aesthetic inversion it would appear probable that the sexual impulse as a whole is somewhat below the average in intensity. But, in any case, it is certainly inharmonious, atrophied on one side, hypertrophied on the other.

Kiernan suggested that aesthetic inversion may sometimes be due to arrest of development. In this way Eonism would have some resemblance on the psychic side to what we find in eunuchoidism on the physical side. Eunuchoidism is the convenient name suggested by Griffiths and Duckworth for a congenital or pathologically acquired approximation to the artificially acquired condition of the eunuch; many complicated and obscure names have been devised for it, but Tandler and Grosz reasonably regard the simple name proposed in England as the best.[1] In this condition we see the operation of underfunctioning glands of internal secretion, producing not only defective developments of the primary sexual character, but also a general tendency to persistence of the infantile condition. The sexual impulse usually remains normal in direction, though it is weakened and may be altogether absent.

The psychic characteristics of Eonists sometimes resemble those found in eunuchoidism, and sometimes there are physical eunuchoid characters. Early environmental influences assist, as we have seen, but can scarcely originate Eonism. The normal child soon reacts powerfully against them. We must in the end seek a deeper organic foundation for Eonism as for

---

[1] Tandler and Grosz, *Die Biologischen Grundlagen der Sekundaren Geschlechtscharaktere*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 61-8. B. Onuf, "A Study of Eunuchoidism and its Various Aspects," *American Journal of Dermatology*, Nov., 1912; Stefko, *Zt. f. Sexualwiss.*, Feb., 1927, p. 350.

every other aberration of the sexual impulse. The very fact that the mother of the young Eonist so often shows an abnormal attitude of feeling towards the child should serve to indicate to us that the child has probably inherited an anomalous disposition. The heredity of the Eonist, as also Hirschfeld has noted, seems generally sound, though, as he cautiously adds, that may not exclude a neurotic disposition. Actual inheritance of the tendency seems not usually to be traceable, though it is sometimes; I may note that it is possible that T. S.'s father had a latent impulse of this kind and near the end of his life, when in a delirious condition, he endeavored to put on his wife's clothing. Perhaps the chief reason for asserting the organic basis lies in the so frequently feeble character of the Eonist's physical sexual impulse. It is thus that, in Hirschfeld's view, we may fit this anomaly into the frame of intermediate or transitional forms of the sexual disposition, and regard it as a form of feminism[1]; though why the "feminine strain should so operate," he remarks, "that in one case hermaphroditism should appear, in a second gynecomasty, in a third inversion, and in a fourth transvestism, at present escapes our knowledge." To me it seems probable, as I remarked some years ago, that the real physical basis on which this and the related psychic peculiarities arise may be some unusual balance in the endocrine system, inborn and sometimes, it may be, inherited, whence the resemblance, already noted to eunuchoidism, which has been found associated with disease of the hypophysis.[2] It is also instructive to consider the varieties of partial hermaphroditism. It would seem probable that Eonism, in which the physical signs, though often distinct, are less marked involves a much slighter disturbance in the balance of the play of hormones and chalones, and the path lies open for its modification by suitable gland implantation. It falls short of disease; it is, as Näcke said, simply a variety, though, one may add, an abnormal, in the strict sense a pathological, variety.

---

[1] Lelewer (*Deutsch. Med. Woch.*, No. 18, 1918) believed he had found in the blood serum of a transvestist substances usually found only in the ovary. See also Placzek, *id.* No. 36, 1927.

[2] See Blair Bell, *The Sex Complex*, 2d Edition, 1920; also Paul Kammerer, *Geschlechtsbestimmung und Geschlechtsverwandlung*, 1921, and F. A. E. Crew, *The Genetics of Sexuality in Animals* (1927).

II.

THE DOCTRINE OF EROGENIC ZONES.

Modern writers on sex often make mention of "Erogenic Zones." Yet they seldom formulate the significance they attach to the term, and even of the origin of the term itself and of the nature of the fact it seeks to express, they often seem to know nothing. Liebermann, in a lecture to the Berlin Medical Society of Sexual Science and Eugenics on "Erogenic Zones in relation to Freud's Teaching," stated that he knew nothing of the term except that it is "apparently of French origin."[1] One has even seen it attributed to Freud! It seems worth while, therefore, to attempt to trace in its main lines the origin of this term with its attached meaning. It is the more worth while to do this since no one seems to have pointed out that we owe the term "erogenic zone" to a misquotation, to a lapse of memory.

In the general sense, and without reference to the sexual feelings, this phenomenon has been known from the earliest days when exact medical observations began to be made. It was termed "sympathy." The doctrine of "sympathy" has indeed been traced back to Hippocrates and Galen, but it may suffice to take it up in comparatively modern times. Willis, in the seventeenth century, helped to make clear by his precise observations of the nervous system through what mechanism of the body "sympathy" works, while a century later, in 1764, Robert Whytt (or Whyte as the name is spelled on the title page of his work), the distinguished Scottish physician, in his epoch-marking work, *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Diseases Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac and Hysteric,* first dealt comprehensively with "sym-

[1] Hans Liebermann, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft,* Jan. and Feb., 1915.

pathy," richly illustrating the phenomena from literature and his own experience. At the outset he discusses "that general sympathy which prevails throughout the whole body," with many examples of it, as well as "a particular and very remarkable sympathy between several of its organs." He gives of these a great number of instances, but none that involve the sexual emotions That sphere, however long familiar to folklore and to daiiy life, was still far below the dignity of science. A few years later, the great John Hunter in his Croonian Lectures ou Muscular Action (1776-1782) furnished an admirable definition of "sympathy" as "the action of one part in consequence of an application being made to another part," and he distinguished three different modes, not, however, widely dissimilar, by which "sympathy" in the higher animals may work. But Hunter, like his predecessors, never touched on that erotic field in which "sympathy" is so beautifully illustrated, and down to the present his successors have been chiefly occupied with the non-erotic field of synaesthesias, synalgesias, and so forth. It is an instructive example of the persistency with which even scientific investigators, throughout the ages, have rigidly maintained the observance of the ancient tabu on sex. This observance is still more pronounced when we approach the next stage in the development of the doctrine we are concerned with.

We arrive, in this stage, at Charcot who may be said to have taken up "sympathy" at the point where Whytt left it, and given it greater precision. Here we are more particularly concerned with hysterogenic zones (*zones hystérogènes*), such zone being a region which, Charcot found, on pressure initiated, or immediately artested, the hysterical spasmodic attack. It was not really a new observation; Willis and Boerhaave long before, and especially and more recently Brodie, had recognized the phenomenon. But it was Charcot who in 1873 brought it into prominence and first gave it a name in his *Leçons sur les Maladies du Système Nerveux*. He was here concerned only with investigating ovarian hyperaesthesia; later, in 1879, he recognized that it was not only the ovarian region that could

be hysterogenic, but that such zones might be widely dispersed and even of different orders, cutaneous, or mucous, or visceral.[1] There is not the slightest reference to sexual phenomena here, or to any analogy with sexual phenomena; indeed the whole subject of the sexual emotions in Gilles de la Tourette's comprehensive and detailed treatise only occupies a page or two. That was altogether in accordance with Charcot's prepossessions on this subject. He refused to admit that anything so degrading as sex could be present, even when it seemed the most obvious key wherewith to explain the phenomena. Hysterogenic zones, it is fairly clear, may be regarded as a simulacrum, or a compensatory substitute, or a morbid transformation of what later became known as erogenic zones, but to this the Charcot school remained completely blind.

At length, two years later, we reach the region of sex. In 1881 Ernest Chambard, Laboratory Director of the Asylum of Sainte-Anne in Paris, and, it would seem, a physician of some distinction in his time though his name is now seldom mentioned, published a book on hypnotic phenomena entitled *Du Somnambulisme en général: Analogies, signification nosologique et étiologie.* It is a book which reveals a considerable degree of original ability and power of observation, while the cases are freshly and interestingly studied. There is, however, only one passage (p. 65) which here specially concerns us. "There exists," he says, "in the normal state, and especially in women, on the surface of the skin a certain number of regions, comparable to the epileptogenic centers of M. Brown-Séquard, to which the name of erogenic centers (*centres-érogènes*), or some such analogous name, might be applied. Among these centers some are constant: such are, independent of the dermo-mucous covering of the external genital organs, the mucous surface of the mouth of the womb, the inner side of the thigh, the inguino-crural and ilio-inguinal regions, and especially the nipple; others are less constant and vary from

[1] The doctrine of hysterogenic zones according to the Charcot school is clearly and fully set forth by Gilles de la Tourette, *Traité de l'Hystérie*, "Hystérie Normale," 1891, Chs. VI and VII.

subject to subject; they are especially found in the anterior cervical region, the sides of the neck and in the palmar region. These centers are the points of departure of special sensations and reflexes, some bearing on the nervous apparatus of organic life, some on the nervous apparatus of the life of relation, but all concordantly rendering the genital functions obligatory and instinctive. Excitations practised here under certain conditions produce in fact not only a voluptuous sensation but those various muscular actions which prepare, determine, and accompany the venereal orgasm. These excitations must be light and rapid. Thus deep pressure on the inguinal region produces no effect, or perhaps pain, while rapid and superficial contacts suffice to determine in some subjects a well-marked voluptuous sensation. Great irregularities may be noted in the distribution of these centers, not only in different subjects but in the same subject at different times; for the mental state plays a large part in the intensity of the sensations and reflexes which they set up; if too often excited a center loses its sensibility, and under the influence of repeated excitation another appears where it had not existed before." Chambard gives the case of a hysterical girl in whom such centers were extraordinarily hyperaesthetic, even a breath on the palm, when she was in hypnotic sleep, sufficing to cause complete orgasm.

This passage, in which the erogenic aspect of general nervous activity was for the first time set forth precisely and named, is remarkable alike for the accuracy and the comprehensiveness of its statement; it not only presented a sound view of the phenomena, but they were distinctly, and for the first time, set forth as normal, however liable to exaggeration in disordered nervous conditions. Even today it may still be accepted as an accurate statement of the matter. Yet it may long have been passed over, since the volume in which it appeared seems never to have attracted much attention, if it had not been noted by Féré. This distinguished physician and investigator, who was then much occupied with hypnotism and who later wrote the best manual in French on the sexual instinct, was in close touch with the Charcot school and familiar

with the doctrine of hysterogenic zones. He could not, therefore, fail to note the analogy, which Chambard seems to have overlooked, between these "erogenic centers" and Charcot's "hysterogenic zones." In the *Archives de Neurologie* for 1883 (Tome VI, p. 131), in the course of a paper dealing with experiments on hysterical subjects under hypnotism, Féré wrote: "In some hysterical subjects there are at certain points of the body regions (*zones érogènes*) which are not without analogy to hysterogenic zones, and simple touching of which in a state of induced somnambulism determines genital sensations sufficiently intense to produce orgasm." He refers in a footnote to Chambard and he mentions the case of a woman who experienced a copious flow of mucus from the vagina when the upper part of her sternum was touched. A little later, in 1887, in *Le Magnétisme animal* (p. 112), which Féré wrote in conjunction with Binet, we find a reference to the same phenomenon—termed the *zones érogènes* of Chambard—as occurring in some hysterical subjects, and it is added that it only occurs during total, not partial, somnambulism, that it may be transferred by the magnet, and that it is only experienced when evoked by a person of the opposite sex. Again, a few years later, in *L'Instinct Sexuel,* Féré introduced a reference to *zones érogènes* in almost similar words, except that he here recognized that the phenomenon could occur in the normal state. These statements of Féré were less accurate and complete than those of Chambard on which they were ostensibly based, but it was evidently through Féré, and not directly from Chambard, that the term and the idea have become commonly recognized. This is indicated by the fact that Chambard (who had Brown-Séquard in mind and not Charcot) never spoke of *zones érogènes* but of *centres érogènes,* while Féré, consciously or unconsciously influenced by the analogy of Charcot's *zones hystérogènes,* silently modified the term, though still, quite innocently no doubt, attributing to Chambard his own modification. We need not complain, for the modification thus introduced by Féré is an improvement.

In English, it is probable, the first reference to "zones érogènes" occurred in the translation of Binet's and Féré's book, *Animal Magnétism*, in 1887. Here the term appears as "erogenic zones." It was in this form, consequently, that the word was introduced in 1891 into the great *Oxford Dictionary* with the meaning "that gives rise to sexual desire," and the quotation from the translation of Binet and Féré; it is added that the word is from the French *érogènique*, a surprising misstatement to find in so elaborately organized a reference work, for it need scarcely be said that the word devised by Chambard and since always used in French is *érogène*. Whether the word was used in English during the next ten years I am unable to say, but when in 1903, in the third volume of my own *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, I had occasion to translate the term *zones érogènes* I was not familiar with any English form, having forgotten Binet's and Féré's book which I had read long before, and I adopted the term "erogenous zones or, as I now prefer, "erogenic zones." The English psychoanalysts have sometimes put forward the form "erotogenous. Whether this is a form to be preferred I leave undecided.

In Germany, it is probable that the first references to this subject (though the term is not used) were made by Krafft-Ebing in one of the numerous editions which he put forth so rapidly and hurriedly of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Thus, in the tenth edition, published some years after Chambard's and Féré's books, we find the incomplete and inaccurate statement that under pathological conditions in hysterical subjects, as shown by Chambard and others, regions of the body round the mammæ and genitals may become hyperaesthetic, but that normally in men the only hyperaesthetic zones are on the surface of the genital organs and pathologically the anal region. Bloch supplied a much more accurate and comprehensive account of the matter a few years later, in 1903, in his *Beiträge zur Aetiologie des Psychopathia Sexualis* (Part. 11, p. 192), taking it up, apparently, from my *Studies* rather than from Chambard's book. "All the senses," he here states, "can deliver synaesthetic stimuli to the sexual act, whereby not only

are many erogenic zones formed, but often some special and at first only synaesthetic stimulus gradually becomes essential to complete enjoyment and often itself suffices." Bloch quotes Mantegazza's dictum that "love is a higher form of the sense of touch," and refers to the important extragenital erogenic zones at the mouth and the breasts, but he insists that all the senses possess this synaesthetic action, so that we have a multiplicity of erogenic zones, and such synaesthetic stimuli become of enormous significance in relation alike to normal love and to its perversions. This view of the matter is entirely sound, the only question being whether we should follow Bloch in the extreme extension of the term "erogenic zones" to all the senses, instead of confining it (as, following Chambard and Féré, I had done) to the sense of touch and especially to the body surface.

In 1905 Freud published his notable and widely influential little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, and here first adopted and made wide use of the doctrine of erogenic zones, which fitted admirably into his own dynamic theory of the erotic mechanism. Whence he derived the idea he fails to state, but it was set forth in more than one of the books which he refers to with approval in his essay, notably in Bloch's *Beiträge*. He was also influenced by the paper in which Lindner of Budapest in 1879 had first suggested, on the ground of a significant observation of his own, that thumb-sucking, or in a wider sense *Ludeln*, in young children is a sexual process.[1] Freud deals with erogenic zones, like so many of his predeces-

[1] It is well known that this view of Lindner's and Freud's is widely disputed. Thus Löwenfeld, a sagacious and discriminating investigator of the older school, cannot agree (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 5th ed. 1914, p. 9) that the infant's expression proves suckling to be a sexual satisfaction, a more probable explanation being that, as in the adult, it expresses simple well-being. Even finger-sucking, which he recognizes as sometimes having sexual significance, in most cases cannot be so regarded (Löwenfeld here agreeing with Moll and Bleuler), but is a manifestation with various significances according to individual constitution. This dispute, however, becomes relatively unimportant when the psycho-analyst is content to assert the presence of *pleasure* in such actions, without reference to what is later specifically known as sex pleasure.

sors, mainly on a pathological basis; erogenic zones, he remarks, and hysterogenic zones have the same characters, and psychoanalysts have since insisted that erogenic zones, being spots of diminished resistance, in hysteria inevitably become hysterogenic zones. But Freud clearly implies, also, that they are part of the normal process of sexual development. Accepting *Ludeln,* or actions of the nature of thumb-sucking, as typical, he states that the erogenic zone is "a region of the skin or mucous membrane where stimuli of a certain kind evoke a pleasurable feeling of special quality." Certain parts of the body are "predestined erogenic zones." But any part may become an erogenic zone, and Freud, following Bloch, is prepared to regard all the sensory organs, notably the eye, and indeed all parts of the body, as possible erogenic zones, though he is careful to insist that the skin is the erogenic zone par excellence.

In early life the pleasure derived from erogenic zones is an end in itself though at the same time a method of education; the first or auto-erotic stage of libido in Freud's view is that in which the sex impulses have no object and their aim is under the rule of the erogenic zones (a view which would justify Chambard's use of the term "center"); after puberty more truly sexual ends emerge, and then the formula for the function of the erogenic zones is that "they are used so that the fore-pleasure, alone gained in earlier life, may now be employed to gain a greater satisfaction." The significance of the zones is that of "by-apparatus and surrogates of the genital organs." As such they are liable to become unduly active in the psycho-neuroses, and especially in hysteria, where the sensibility of the genital region retires into the background and the erogenic zones may take on a compensatory heightened sensibility. Freud also pointed out that the quality of the stimulus is important, especially if it is rhythmic, and also if it involves a warm temperature.[1] He applied his own personal vision

[1] Löwenfeld (*Ueber die Sexuelle Konstitution,* p. 42) would add wetness as sometimes favoring the action of the skin as an erogenic zone, especially in neurotic subjects, and he refers to the influence of hot baths in stimulating sexual feelings.

to this question of erogenic zones, he investigated them more searchingly and penetratingly than had before been done. Although he found the doctrine and incorporated it in his system, rather than invented it, so that it subsists independently whatever value we may attribute to that system, it seems largely to Freud that we must attribute the general current acceptance of the idea, and of the name, of erogenic zones.

At the present time the existence of erogenic zones is generally accepted, but there is some difference of opinion as to their extent and significance. It may be worth while to mention the opinions of two of the chief authorities, outside psychoanalysis, in the field of sexual psychology. Moll describes erogenic zones as "areas of the surface of the body whose stimulation gives rise, directly or indirectly, to voluptuous sensations," and states that they are often found in early childhood, especially in the anal and gluteal regions, but not often elsewhere, though in adults they are numerous, and varied in different individuals; he omits, perhaps significantly, any reference to the oral region in infancy.[1] Hirschfeld deals more systematically with the subject. "The special proximal sexual sense in human beings," he considers, "lies not in the oral zone or the genital zone in particular, but in the skin generally," and he adds that some skin contacts, which have now become conventional greetings, or expressions of sympathy, as of hand and cheek, may originally have been erotic. It is the kind of feeling, and not the particular spot, Hirschfeld insists, which gives the erotic character, although special spots are favorable to this kind of feeling. He distinguishes eight such spots as peculiarly adapted to be erogenic zones, four possessing hair and also appealing to the sense of smell (head, chin, armpit and pubes) and four with mucous surface (mouth, nipples, genital region, and anal region), of these the chief being the nipple, and Hirschfeld adds that it was a connoisseur in love who in the *Chanson de Roland* said that a man loves with his heart and a woman with the point of her breast.

[1] A. Moll, *Sexual Life of the Child* (English translation), p. 91.

Hirschfeld mentions as secondary erogenic zones the palm of the hand, the sole of the foot, the finger tips, the toes, the knees. the elbows, and the sacral region; he might have added the ears.[1]

Freud has become inclined to admit no limits to the zones of the body which may become erogenic, just as there are no limits to the zones which may become hysterogenic. The general tendency is, however, to limit the term to the skin and mucous surfaces of the body to which it was first applied and which Freud himself regards as the chief seats of such zones. That limitation seems to me desirable and convenient. Theoretically, it is true, we may say that the other sense-organs, such as the eye, which are modifications and developments of the original skin surface, are erogenic zones when they transmit voluptuous sexual emotions. But it is undesirable, as well as inconvenient, to apply to a higher sense-organ a term which was devised for the special conditions of a more primitive sense-organ.

However that may be, it has seemed worth while to trace briefly the origin and development of the idea and the name because it is doubtful whether the significance of the erogenic zones in sexual psychology is even yet fully appreciated. Notwithstanding the original clear statement of Chambard, the question has chiefly fallen into the hands of investigators who were primarily interested in the pathology of the psychoneuroses, and have insisted mainly on the exaggerations and perversions of which the erogenic zones may form the basis. It has not been always clearly emphasized that these zones constitute an important part of the normal sexual process, and that they play a legitimate part in the natural art of love.

---

[1] M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, vol. iii, pp. 28-29.

III.

THE HISTORY OF FLORRIE AND THE MECHANISM OF SEXUAL DEVIATION.

We are familiar today with the methods and the results of that process of psychoanalysis which the genius of Freud first reduced to a definite technique. We must not forget, however, that both the method of psychoanalysis and its alleviating results have in a less clearly formulated and less deliberately conscious form long been abroad in the world. To recognize that fact is not to diminish, but rather to increase, the importance of psychoanalysis. As Freud and all who follow him rightly insist, the need for a careful attention to technique largely depends on the intensity of the resistance offered by the subject of psychoanalysis and the rigidity of the internal censorship which has to be overcome. When the subject is highly intelligent and fairly unprejudiced, not hysterical or otherwise definitely morbid, and able to feel confidence in the judgment and good opinion, if not actual sympathy, of the investigator, and, at least, is in possession of an adequate medium of self-expression, it may come about that, though the task still needs time and patience, the resistance is less even from the outset, and the censorship relaxed. It is not indeed abolished. In the present case I was careful to play as passive a part as possible, and to avoid the risks of suggestion; but it was sometimes necessary to throw out a question, which was always put in a casual way as regarding some quite innocent and harmless subject. It might then happen that the subject, without the slightest embarrassment or violence, quietly put the question aside as though it were of no concern to her, that I refrained from any comment, and that subsequently she spontaneously showed that the subject thus put aside was of vital bearing on the case. Such a method of investigation naturally takes time. In the

present case the period covered was three years, during which numerous interviews took place, and over sixty written communications, some of considerable length, reached me. While not unwilling to make oral communications the subject was much more accomplished and instructive with a pen.[1] It is on the material thus accumulated that the present paper is based. It is not brought forward as a demonstration of technique and still less as a criticism of technique. The method adopted was the best available under the circumstances,—and, as it turned out, adequate,—for as the subject lived in a distant city continuously frequent visits were out of the question, even if I had been prepared to propose a strictly Freudian technique, to which, moreover, it is improbable that the subject would have easily lent herself.

Some years ago a lady who had chanced to read some of my books wrote to me over her own name enclosing a lengthy narrative by a married lady who assumed the name of "Florrie" and described her obsessions with the subject of whipping and her impulses to auto-flagellation. The narrative was sent as likely to be of psychological interest to me, but Florrie described her distress and her anxiety to be cured, although not aware that I was a doctor. There was no indication that the

[1] I may remark here on the fairly familiar fact that a woman usually finds it more difficult to describe her intimate sexual feelings than a man. This is usually attributed to modesty and reserve, an inadequate explanation since a woman is, to say the least, as ready as a man to reveal objective sexual facts not involving the description of her intimate feelings. Certainly there is the shame felt in expressing anything which, it is thought, may be regarded as shameful, as any sexual feeling in a woman is by some regarded. But beyond this there is the real difficulty of the absence of a medium of expression for feelings which have never been put into words before, so that they can only be brought out under pressure, slowly and piecemeal, and even in the end remain bald and vague. When, however, a woman possesses an adequate medium of expression the result may be quite different. It is significant that all the women, and they are fairly numerous, from whom I have received really precise and instructive records of intimate emotional experiences have, without exception, had some training in literature or journalism, though they may have lived in various environments and different parts of the world. They have by no means lacked modesty and reserve, but they possessed an adequate medium of expression, and when at last the need arose, they could translate their intimate experiences into it, with results at least as interesting and instructive as any man's record.

lady sending the narrative was herself identical with Florrie, and I refrained when replying from making the identification, which was soon spontaneously made, though my correspondent continued to retain the fiction of Florrie in case any letter should go astray. In my reply I asked for further information, explained that the case was not quite so unique and terrible as Florrie believed, and offered advice as to various ways by which some relief from the conditions described might be obtained. Florrie expressed much gratitude for my advice and for my attitude towards her state, assuring me of her anxiety to follow the counsels I had given. Before long she proposed to come and see me, and in a few weeks—not without experiencing shyness and hesitation in approaching the first person to whom she had confided her intimate experiences—she duly appeared.

Florrie appeared as a robust and rather stout woman, her matronly appearance being to some extent belied by a somewhat girlish, slightly timid expression which, however. still remained compatible with a complete and quiet self-possession. She is 5 ft. 6 ins. in height without shoes, 178 pounds in weight (clothed); and, in circumference of the body at the crest of the hip bone 40½ ins., 45 inches at the level of the nates and 25 ins. round the upper, 18 ins. round the lower, part of thigh. The breasts are of moderate development. The hair and eyes are of medium pigmentation, the complexion good, the teeth excellent. Menstruation is normal though slightly painful and she has to avoid undue exertion at this time. Her age then was 37; she had been married for some years to a man about twice her own age; before her marriage she had been an accomplished artist, and also a writer of articles on art and other topics; she wrote well and her articles were published in high-class magazines. She had studied art abroad and travelled considerably, but she had never entered Bohemian circles. Born in a well-to-do family, she had been brought up strictly and conventionally, and had always lived a quiet and protected life in the domestic circle of her relations and a few friends, mostly of intellectual tastes, who had never regarded her as in any

way peculiar or abnormal; apart indeed from her secret obsessions, she appeared to be, then and always, the "practical commonsense sort of person" she termed herself, so that she was all the more worried by aberrations which seemed to her a kind of madness. She had not confided her obsessions to anyone, with a partial exception which will be duly recorded, not even to her husband.

Florrie is the child of healthy parents, and on both sides the health of the family generally is good, though among her uncles and aunts there had been one or two cases of insanity. At least one member of the family was a man of high intellectual distinction. There was probably a slight strain of anomaly in Florrie's father, but Florrie had not been conscious of this. She herself had always been healthy and robust, full of physical and mental energy, though latterly she had complained of a tendency to lassitude, irritability, headache, and, as she imagined, some heart-weakness, these slight symptoms being, however, mainly due to absorption in her imaginations and the worry thereby caused. Since being haunted by this craving she had become lazy, and during the past year fatter, and felt that she had declined mentally, morally, and physically.

Florrie was brought up as a child among her brothers. She was not inquisitive about sex matters and cannot remember that the children ever discussed their physical differences; nor did they ever play any games involving personal display. While a healthy child, and never subject to any but trivial illnesses, she was shy and always strictly taught to refrain even from romping because that might display her underclothing; for this reason she was not allowed to disport herself on the see-saw since the boys next door might see too much. She thus gleaned that there was a certain mystery and secrecy to be observed; she regarded it as quite proper, since certain natural functions were always attended to in private. When about six years old she was once left alone in a wing of the house where some workmen were being employed. One of them, a lad of sixteen or seventeen, came up to her as she sat on the floor quite alone, and tried to raise her petticoats, ask-

ing to look up them. She repulsed him, as a "rude boy," with much childish indignation. When, baffled by the closed drawers, he tried force, she screamed and he desisted. She was too ashamed ever to tell anyone.

As a child she was from time to time whipped by her father for childish naughtiness. She loved and respected her father and accepted the punishment, painful as it was, as being in the order of things, though she would have resisted it from anyone else, especially a woman, even her mother. She now realizes that this punishment was unnecessarily severe, and that as she was not a troublesome or rebellious child, milder methods would have been easily effectual. An ignorant and foolish governess who favored her brothers and disliked Florrie was the cause of the mischief. When the little girl failed to please her, she would become furiously angry, shake her violently, and finally drag the child, now violently resisting and screaming, up to her father's room. Her appearance condemned her, and her father, without asking any questions, would assume a fierce expression, thus still further frightening the timid and already terrified child, take down a small lady's riding-whip,—possibly imagining that being small it was less painful, though really, Florrie remarked, the most effectively painful weapon that could be selected,—and order the child to go to his dressing room, the room from which noise was least likely to be heard. Having locked the door, he would stand over her, raising her clothes, gripping her by the back, and making her bend forward until her drawers were stretched tight. Then he would apply the whip, the more vigorously the more the child screamed and begged for mercy, and threatening in angry tones to whip her till the blood came, though the pain was so acute that she could not help screaming. Then he would send her back sobbing to the governess, who always greeted her with the remark: "If you don't stop sobbing at once, I shall take you upstairs again." But much as she dreaded a repetition of the performance, she sometimes could not stop sobbing for an hour. There may seem to be a rather abnormal cruelty in the father's attitude, though it must be remembered

that he cherished all the old-fashioned notions concerning the treatment of children, and it is likely that he regarded himself as merely carrying on a proper and necessary tradition. Florrie bore him no ill-will, and when afterwards he would kiss her and hope she would be good she felt truly thankful. "I can remember now," she writes, "the curious feeling of shame and shyness when I met him afterwards, turning away and wanting to hide my red face because I was so ashamed of having been whipped, then a thrill of delight when he took me in his arms." But the governess she never forgave, and when ten years later she chanced to meet her, she avoided even shaking hands. These whippings finally ceased when Florrie was sent to school.

I have narrated these incidents in their details (though with fewer details than Florrie herself), all of them significant, because we here come upon the main clue to the chief manifestation of the sexual impulse which has so far taken place in Florrie's life. Intense, vivid, and enduring as these childish experiences were, however, it is only in the course of the present investigation that Florrie came spontaneously to see that there was any connection between her early experiences and the later experiences which were yet in substance identical, or that there could be any association between whipping and the sexual impulse. Such failure to see an obvious connection may seem surprising, but in mental analysis one is used to such failures. "I cannot describe my feelings of shame, mortification, and above all, the wish for concealment, they were so intense," she wrote. "Nothing would have induced me to mention the subject to my girl friends, and my brothers were good enough not to allude to it. I feel ashamed of it to this day, and even now could not tell any ordinary person. I could not know then why I felt it so shameful and degrading, and even now I cannot always analyze truthfully, but I am inclined to think the almost abnormal shame was due to the fact that the punishment was inflicted on the buttocks, with me a sexual center. I should not have felt so utterly ashamed of a box on the ear, or being whipped on the hands. It was a sort of sex shyness and shame."

In addition to this poignantly emotional group of infantile experiences, destined to become the unconscious germ of a later psychic flagellational impulse, we have to record another group of at first sight unrelated experiences—less intense but more chronic and more the subject of childishly intellectual speculation—centering in the function of urination. It should be stated at the outset that Florrie never suffered from true nocturnal enuresis. She remembers sometimes as a child dreaming that she was urinating, and on rare occasions she actually wetted the bed, but this may happen occasionally to quite normal children. Her earliest impressions in connection with urination probably lie too far back to be recalled nor were they made permanent, like those of whipping, by pain and terror. When about five or six, however, she distinctly remembers being taken for a country walk by her nurse, and before they approached the destination, a friend's house, her drawers were unbuttoned and she was held over the grass. Nothing came, and the nurse fastened her up again, repeating the performance ten minutes later with the same result, whereupon the nurse began to scold. The third time she was very cross and smacked the child's bare bottom until Florrie yelled; still sobbing and protesting, she was held out again, and a considerable stream flowed on to the grass. She still recalls kicking and struggling, and crying out "I can't! I won't! I shan't" as well as her surprise and mortification at hearing the rushing sound that announced that, nevertheless, she was doing what she was refusing to do. The nurse was triumphant at her conquest over the child's obstinacy, and subsequently adopted the same method when she considered it necessary. Of recent days Florrie has perceived here an early blending of the ideas of urination and whipping. There were others. She notes that the very sight of the whip used to produce, from fear probably, a desire to urinate. Once, after being whipped, she returned sobbing to the schoolroom and a sudden stream flowed on to the floor, which she was too agitated to heed, though it evoked threats of another whipping from the governess.

As often happens in childhood, the function of urination occupied much of the place in Florrie's mind which at a later age is normally occupied by the functions of sex, of which she had no knowledge and never heard. She was not tortured by curiosity about the opposite sex because from infancy she had been accustomed to see her little brothers urinate and so there had been no mystery. At an early age, about seven, she was given a bedroom of her own, and was discouraged from going into the boys' room. But she vaguely remembers that they played a sort of urinary game, putting their hands in the liquid without disgust. (There was not, then or later, any special interest in the act of defecation, though when she had reached the age of thirteen and was trying to puzzle out how babies are born, she thought it must resemble the act of defecation.) Such games, she felt, ought to be kept a close secret. If any attempt had been made, however, to play with what she regarded as the urinary parts she would have revolted, but no such attempt was ever made. No childish friends made any sexual advances, and being brought up very strictly, and surrounded by nurses and governesses, there was, in any case, little opportunity. In spite of punishments, much care was lavished on her, and she had expensive toys and frocks from France, though she would much have preferred to play freely with her brothers. In the winter the family lived in a town, in the summer in the country. It was chiefly during the summer that Florrie's interest in urination was cultivated, especially out-of-doors. The ordinary use of a vessel gave her no extraordinary pleasure; it was too closely associated with the routine of the nursery. When the act touched the forbidden its pleasure was always heightened. She enjoyed the sight of her brothers doing it out of doors and envied them the superior advantage of a specially constructed organ for that purpose. "My earliest ideas of the superiority of the male," she adds, "were connected with urination. I felt aggrieved with Nature because I lacked so useful and ornamental an organ. No teapot without a spout felt so forlorn. It required no one to instil into me the theory of male predominance and superiority.

Constant proof was before me." Still, in the country the act was always natural and delightful, and she found special methods of adding to its enjoyment. The choice of quaint and unexpected places added a good deal. Nothing could come up to the entrancing sound as the stream descended on crackling leaves in the depth of a wood and she watched its absorption. Most of all she was fascinated by the idea of doing it into water. "When I was in my bath I remember distinctly wondering if it would be possible under water or whether the water all round would prevent this performance. I finally indulged in the experiment, and bubbles (if I remember rightly) came to the surface. I was delighted. I also thought it would be pleasurable to do on to the water, and to hear it going in. I went so far as to try the experiment with a little girl cousin when the nurse was out one evening. I artfully impressed upon the child the necessity of doing it. She replied she didn't want to. I tried to coax her by offers of sweets and toys, but in vain. Children are so suspicious and fortify themselves against the unexpected. In this case the child was accustomed to the ministrations of the nurse and could not understand my officiousness. I was only a child myself (about eight) but I distinctly remember my vexation. I had always been fond of her and she wouldn't please me. Yet she was too young to be shy; it must be a kind of inherited feeling. (One sees the same trait in young girls, and always most in the ignorant; also in the suspiciousness of country people when asked to pose for a moment for an out-door sketch, while children run away. The unusual startles them.) To return to my tiresome cousin, I became so annoyed that I told her she *must* do it, and began to unbutton her drawers. The only effect was a fearful howl which I feared might be heard. But my mind was made up. In spite of struggles and kicks and attempted bites, I led her to the bath. Then a fresh outburst when she found that she had to do it in an unusual way. I had intended to hold her over the bath, but she struggled so violently that I finally contented myself with making her sit on the edge, and in this position she did (intentionally or not) a good stream to my delight. I

watched it with gratification tinging the water below, and was sorry when it ceased. Then I lifted down the tiresome child who continued to sulk and of course told the nurse, whereupon I was chidden for letting her do it in the bath. All this is stamped on my memory. It must be uninteresting to an outsider, but it was a distinct episode of my childhood."

Florrie's youthful investigations of urination, both in others and herself, were hampered by the peculiarities of childish knickers. She remarks that it may seem a trivial thing to mention, but that she is sure it was significant. Those unfortunate garments constantly interfered with her experiments. Except when dressing or undressing there was no freedom, and even then it was usually checked. There was, however, one way in which she managed to defy everyone, for, as she now looks back on it, she regards it as intentional. She distinctly recalls wanting very much to urinate when out for a long country walk, but refusing to say so. This could go on for a long time, until, being unable to hold out any longer, she would let it come without any preliminaries of unbuttoning and squatting. "I can distinctly remember the strange and delicious sensation of this forbidden delight, and also my puzzled feeling that it came-standing. It came in such a torrent that it filled my drawers like air in a balloon and remained there a little time before it could soak through to betray me, though the fact that I had to stop walking helped to give me away, and I was hauled home. Sometimes, however, I escaped unobserved, and nothing happened except that I was left sore with the wetness."

Florrie again and again spontaneously recurs to what she now regards as the great significance of the child's drawers, not only as bearing on her own later psychic evolution, but as influencing the ideas and conventions of women generally. "It was not only a source of annoyance to me that I had to unfasten my drawers and then squat down for fear of wetting them in front, but the flap at the back, which must be removed to uncover the posterior parts during the act, accounts for my early impression that in girls this function is connected with those parts. It seems a trifling thing to notice, but in the world

of clothes our ideas, when we are quite young, are colored by those unphysiological facts. The first distinction in sex that impressed me—the one great difference in sex—was that boys urinated standing and that girls had to sit down. I regarded that as a fundamental distinction of great importance, and never doubted its necessity. To this day I know of grown-up women who simply exclaim in horror at the notion of standing up: 'But I couldn't! It can't be done! How unnatural!'[1] Last year I saw when at Portsmouth a novel 'urinette' for ladies, a quite new, up-to-date smart arrangement, without a seat; one had to stride across a boat-shaped earthenware grating. Ladies went in, and came out again with horrified faces. They simply *couldn't* they said! There is thus a deep-rooted impression among women who have never made any close observation that the urinary organs are differently placed in women, and that this is a chief sex difference. I am sure I harbored the idea for a long time. It seems to have been another source of my juvenile notion of the connection between urination and whipping. This could never happen to a boy, who is brought up to know a clear distinction. But in my case both these experiences were associated with the unbuttoning of my knickers at the back. The fact that my earliest feelings of shyness were more associated with the back than the front may have thus originated. These things seem trivial but are significant."

It has been necessary to present these childish experiences in some detail, for we herewith see constituted the infantile germs which in their psychic development were to play so large a part in later periods of Florrie's intimate psychic life. There yet remains for consideration the soil in which these two germs grew and gathered strength, the soil without which they would probably have perished. This soil was furnished by day-dreaming.

---

[1] It may be mentioned that there is nothing "natural" in the feminine custom of squatting to urinate, and among some peoples, while the men squat, it is the custom for the women to stand, as it was (according to Herodotus) in ancient Egypt and (according to Giraldus Cambrensis) in Ireland.

As a child Florrie was much attached to day-dreaming, but she cannot definitely recall any day-dreams that belong to an earlier age than eight or nine. They never led up to masturbation, or to touching herself, or to any other physical procedure, and were never accompanied by any conscious physical excitement; this was not due, then or later, to any deliberate restraint from masturbation; she had never heard of it, and she never experienced any spontaneous impulse prompting her to attempt it. The whole process was entirely mental, and though she thinks there must have been accompanying physical sensations, these have left no abiding memory. Day-dreaming has, however, throughout, been an important sedative influence in her life (even allaying, she states, any tendency to worry or perturbation) and she is assured that, notwithstanding all it has led up to, it has yet greatly contributed to her physical and mental well-being. At one rather early period, indeed, she feared it might be a sign of insanity, for it seemed to her so odd to experience this impulse to imagine without a purpose. She now plainly discerns that, unknown to herself, there was a purpose, that day-dreaming has a sex origin and is an automatic psychic attempt at sexual relief. As is usually the case, she regards day-dreams as belonging to an extremely private and secret sphere, not easily to be divulged, and then only to a sympathetic hearer, for it is, as she expresses it, "rending the veil from the holy of holies."

The earliest day-dreams are only vaguely recalled. Throughout they always centered in whipping or in urination; it is not clear which came first, and at an early date they tended to be united. When whipping predominated she was the passive subject, in day-dreams of urination the active subject. (In the actual dreams of urination in childhood she was the actor, a normal condition.) An early type of day-dream, and the favorite form, dealt with naughty conduct for which she was whipped in very tight drawers; in this day-dream the feeling of tightness and pressure was more prominent and important than the idea of whipping, and this feeling was in front rather than behind; she now considers, no doubt correctly, that it was

associated with a full bladder. (In this connection she refers to the sexual attraction for some persons of the idea and the reality of tight-lacing.) She notes also that in her day-dreams she took delight in the very sense of humiliation which was so painful in real life. In the day-dreams the unsympathetic by-stander became shadowy and unreal, it was her own shame that became most important. She had no day-dream in these early days of anyone wanting to give her pleasure, but only to cause her pain and shame. As she now rightly realizes, this delight in shame was an early form of sexual pleasure.

She enjoyed books in which whippings were described. But at the age of thirteen, when menstruation began, her power of imagination increased, the day-dreams grew more vivid, and can be recalled in detail. At this age a favorite day-dream, with numerous variations, was connected with the idea of a school where girls were treated very strictly. "None of the opposite sex figured in these dreams," she writes, "nor did I then suspect their undoubtedly sexual origin. My particular horror of others knowing that I had been punished led me to imagine the whipping, with which the day-dream always began, as taking place before the whole school. I was either leaning on a desk or bent forward in the middle of the room. Sometimes the whipping took place in tight drawers which pressed on the bladder or sex parts. Sometimes the drawers were unbuttoned and I was exposed to view with great chagrin and shame. I read in a book that at some girls' boarding-schools in the olden time, it was the custom to undress the victim and put on her a chemise reaching only to the waist; thus attired and mounted on a servant's back she was whipped before the whole school. This was a new idea for my day-dream and included much extra shame. In addition to the whipping it was announced that I was to urinate before the whole school. I think the idea originated in the fact that I was sensitive and ashamed about that function, and also that I had done it actually sometimes after being whipped. So I went through the whole episode, taking a shuddering delight in having my clothes stripped off and the punishment chemise put on. I experienced

agonies of shame as I was led thus exposed into the school-room. I was hoisted on the back of a strong country girl who wore a dress very much open at the back and neck, so that I remember realizing the sensation of sitting on her shoulders with a leg on each side of her neck, and my parts pressing against her soft neck and back. While I indulged in this day-dream I lay in bed with my face downward and this may have induced the sensation of a nice warm neck. After I had pictured to myself a dozen strokes of the birch, and my wriggling condition of pain, curiously mingled with gratification, I would imagine that I was slipping down and that someone came and pushed me up from behind, the hand under my bare behind giving me a most pleasurable feeling. Then I would lean forward against the warm neck and imagine that I was relieving myself there and then, unbidden, taking delight in the trickling of the warm stream against the bare flesh. Other forms of the day-dream included having to urinate against my will, an idea that gives one a curious sense of gratification." She never connected these day-dreams with sex; men and boys never at this time entered into them, only very stern members of her own sex, sometimes, however, half-fabulous creatures, bad fairies, who were punishing her and seemed to control her existence. It was not till about the age of fifteen that men entered the day-dreams, always in a very paternal and authoritative way, evidently, though this seems not to have occurred to her, in the image of her father. But at about this age the day-dreams seem to have begun for a time to recede into the background.

The presence of the school imagery in these day-dreams was doubtless due to a change in her own circumstances. At the age of thirteen she had gone to a boarding school. This age was indeed an important epoch in her life. It was the year in which menstruation began, although this eruption of the physical sexual life seems to have made little conscious impression. (It may be noted that she was informed by a girl friend that the menstrual flow comes from the urinary passage, a belief, adds Florrie, which her informant, now a married woman with children, still holds.) It was also the year of her

first religious experience, and there was a second phase of religious enthusiasm at the age of sixteen, a phenomenon which may be regarded as quite normal; in Starbuck's curve of the age of conversion in girls the chief periods of climax are precisely at the ages of thirteen and sixteen. In Florrie's case, however, religious interests and experience scarcely attained to the acuteness of conversion, although she desired and sought that consummation. "I remember kneeling and trying hard to get the feeling that the moment had come," she writes. "I was told it would come all at once, and I should suddenly feel it. But I never experienced that kind of religious orgasm, and I felt that something must be lacking in me since others realized their fondest hopes. I spent a lot of time in thinking about spiritual things, of the mystical union with Christ, and as I look back I think this religious day-dream took the place of sexual day-dreaming." She adds: "I think the love of religion is truly of a sexual character because it is usually marked by a great reticence, the sort of secrecy one has about sexual day-dreams; a kind of shyness, even shame, makes one unwilling to refer to one's most intimate experiences. Anyhow that was how I felt." Although the religious day-dreams proved no permanent substitute for those of the earlier type they gave a serious blow to the latter, which between the ages of thirteen and sixteen seem to have died out. This must be regarded as normal.

Although Florrie's early day-dreams vanished and although menstruation was normally established, there was no manifestation of sexual emotions or of sexual interests. There was nothing in her life to stimulate such emotions or interests. No one talked to her on such subjects. She was completely ignorant, and no one made love to her. When a little later she had sentimental attachments they had no physical side. At school everything was "high-class" and "ladylike"; the education was of an old-fashioned and paltry character, but the girls were watched like convicts. They never discussed sex subjects. Florrie remained completely ignorant and not very inquisitive. At a later school the girls would flirt in a harmless way with boys and write notes, but Florrie took no interest in this. Up

to the age of thirteen she believed that a gipsy brought babies; then she was told that women bore them, and she believed that it was in their bosoms. The suckling of babies interested her and when she first saw it at the age of nine it caused strange sensations ("sort of thrills"). It seemed to her very indecent and made her feel shy. She thought it was just like urinating in public. Again, at the age of sixteen, she experienced the same sensation, though she has never had any homosexual feelings; on this occasion when a mother was retiring from the room to suckle her baby, one of the company begged her to remain: "Why not here? Why should we object? It is Nature." Florrie remembers reflecting over this argument, and wondering what the company would think if she raised her skirts and did a stream on the floor, calling it "Nature." It is interesting to observe here the significant fact that urination occupied in Florrie's mind the place of the typically natural function. It may be noted that her strong feeling of shyness in relation to the act of urination still continued. She disliked accomplishing it in the presence of another girl and was sometimes unable to do so. This shyness remains to the present day. She dreads sleeping with any other woman because she would hate urinating before her. This shyness, as she now realizes, indicates that the sexual feelings are involved. It is further indicated by the fact that she feels differently to men. "The shyness would disappear to a certain extent," she writes, "before a sympathetic member of the opposite sex. A kind of shame, really strongly felt, would still remain, but this would add to the pleasurable feeling; for it is in the breaking down of reserve that one gets a sex feeling. To pass the barrier before anyone to whom I am indifferent is a great trial. It may seem absurd for a woman to be more shy about this before another woman than before a man; but such is the fact, and I now think that this alone proves the sex factor in urination. It becomes, as it were, a kind of sex act." In this matter, also, Florrie expresses a feeling which is quite commonly felt by completely normal women.

We have seen that the establishment of puberty brought no development of the specific sexual sensations, and that neither

were the experiences of religious emotion deep or permanent. Art, and intellectual interests related to art, constituted the channel along which Florrie's energies chiefly ran during adolescence and later. She displayed a real taste, if not aptitude, for painting, and she worked hard. She attained a considerable degree of accomplishment and used to exhibit. As she began to travel abroad with her family to Italy and elsewhere she devoted much time to the intelligent study of pictures and sculpture. She enjoyed going on sketching tours. At the same time, she was beginning to take an interest in social questions, and at the age of sixteen had already become an enthusiastic adherent of women's suffrage. With the development of these absorbing new interests and activities, her day-dreams, alike on flagellistic or vesical themes, faded into the background.

At the time, however, when the period of adolescence came to an end, when Florrie was just about twenty-one, an incident occurred which re-awakened her interest in urination on a new side. It may seem a trivial incident, but in Florrie's memory it stands out as "a feat of great audacity," and it has so much significance in her psycho-sexual development that it may be well to narrate it exactly in her own words: "We were living in the residential part of a large English town and I was paying calls. At the last house I had stayed half an hour and as I then experienced a great need I determined on quitting the drawing room and being shown out to ask the maid if I might retire. This was all settled nicely in my mind, but it never came off. When I rose to go, my hostess expressed a wish that I should see her conservatory, and we all went into the garden accompanied by the son of the house. It followed naturally that I had to make my exit from the garden directly into the road. By this time further delay had made matters worse. I felt that I could not wait any longer. There were no shops near, only houses, and I could not find any sheltered spot. I at once realized how utterly impossible it would be to squat down, so I determined to make the attempt standing, though I felt very nervous and doubtful as to my probable success.

There was no rain to help matters, and the pavement was white and dry. I was afraid to stand in the gutter for fear of attracting attention, but I stood on the extreme edge of the curb and looked down the road as though I was expecting somebody. No one was in sight, and I determined to be as quick as possible, but to my mortification it wouldn't come. I suppose I had put off too long. At last, after waiting what seemed to me a tremendous time (although probably only a few seconds!), I felt it beginning to come. For fear of detection I had refrained from standing with my legs a little apart, and the result was that a great deal went into my drawers and soaked them straight off. Afterwards, the stream penetrated, and came with terrific force on the pavement, and terrible were my feelings when I saw it meandering from under my skirt and running down the pavement instead of into the gutter. To help matters I placed one foot in the road and was covered with confusion when I saw three persons approaching. I remember shutting my eyes, as though if I did not see them they would not see me! I was rooted to the spot, I felt detection was certain if I moved, and I was sure as they passed that they must have heard the sound, and seen the stream. As soon as they had gone I moved on and came to another turning. Here I found a house for sale, and as the gate was open into the garden it immediately occurred to me that I had by no means finished, and I hid near a bush, whilst apparently engaged in surveying the house. I was now on grass and felt fairly secure. I was standing up, and for the first time realized that it was a nice sensation, and a delight to do it like this. Several persons passed, but that rather added to the charm, since I was secure. A first experience is not forgotten. After that, and finding that it was quite possible to achieve this feat without much difficulty, I had other experiences."

Before discussing the psycho-sexual significance of the long series of incidents of which this was the first—so vividly remembered and narrated after more than fifteen years—it may be necessary to point out that it was not really the first occasion on which Florrie had urinated either in the standing

ı or in the street. This comes out in another communica-
which Florrie is specially describing the feelings of
y and shame associated with this function.
ı remember, even as a child (five or six) that it gave me
, of shock when I did it standing. It seemed so horribly
ious and bold. This idea was confused in my childish
with the other idea,—that I was doing something wrong,
ich was the case, since I did it right off without waiting
ısual preliminaries, thus wetting myself. But there was
ys also a feeling at the back of my mind that it was wrong
self, just as crawling on all fours was wrong, although the
ght of children. Children confuse the conventional with
right, just as grown-up persons often do. As I grew older
ould not overcome this idea. I remember at the age of fifteen
ring occasion to do it standing one night in the dark out of
ors. I simply couldn't wait any longer, but not seeing any-
e about I thought I might venture. I dared not squat down,
ıd felt sure it could not be done standing; I had faint recol-
ctions of my childish exploits in that direction, but thought
aguely that children were different. (No one had ever told
ne of women doing it this way, nor had I ever seen it done.)
, wondered how the experiment would act, or if it would act at
all! I remembered standing in the gutter and waiting, hoping no
one would pass. I was afraid they would guess my purpose,
especially as I was obliged to stand with my legs somewhat
apart for fear of splashing my clothes. I thought it would never
come, and when it did I shall never forget my abashed feelings.
I would have stopped it if I could, but when it once began it
would not cease. In my alarmed state of imagination it seemed
to make an appalling noise which I felt sure could not fail to
attract attention if anyone passed. Not only was I fearfully
afraid that the rustling sound would attract attention, but from
under my clothes there emerged a stream which ran rapidly
along the gutter, betraying me! I splashed my stockings in my
haste, and tore away just in time as I saw a man coming along,
feeling very red and abashed, and wishing that I had found
some dark corner where I could have squatted successfully. In

trying to analyze my sensations I think the most prominent lay in the shame that came from standing, and the consequently greater distance the stream had to descend. It seemed to make the affair important and conspicuous, even though clothing hid it. In the ordinary attitude there is a kind of privacy. As a small child, too, the stream had not far to go; but at the age of fifteen I was tall and it seemed to give one a glow of shame to think of this stream falling unchecked such a distance. (I am sure that the ladies who fled in horror from the urinette thought it most indecent for a woman to stride across an earthenware boat on the ground, a leg on each side, and standing there to pull up her clothes and do a stream which descended unabashed all that way.)

"Of course as children all that one knows of that mysterious thing called sex shame, is attached to these functions. After one has grown up this early association of shame still remains inextricably mixed up with real sex feeling and, in my belief, is, more truly, an inseparable part of 'sex feeling.'"

It will be seen that while these early experiences illuminate the later psychic development they represent a different stage of feeling. They correspond to the feelings—in some part natural, in still larger part conventional—which most inexpert normal women experience when they are suddenly compelled to adopt a device of this kind; it gives little or no pleasure, beyond that of the relief to an urgent need, and is put out of mind as quickly as possible with some feeling of shame. But at the age of twenty-one Florrie's adult personality had become constituted, and in her special psycho-sexual constitution this experience took on a special character. The emotions of modesty and shame and reserve, very strongly rooted in Florrie, and her firmly implanted traditions of conventionality and right, excited to the extreme by this audacious act, were transformed into a climax of pleasure and triumph, with a resulting satisfaction far transcending the gratification of a vesical need. The act of urination under such circumstances becomes a simulacrum of the sexual act. It is a kind of vicariously auto-erotic manifestation. At the same time it was to some degree an

untransformed urolagnia. That is to say that there was, accompanying the act, definitely a consciousness of pleasure which she now regards as sexual, adding on one occasion, when spontaneously pointing out the sexual character of the pleasure, the significant remark that "the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensation." But there was at this stage no conscious sexual emotion. The act of urination was, in the main, a symbol of the sexual act.[1]

In connection with this urolagnic character of Florrie's experiences, reference was made to the excitation of the sexual emotions of modesty and shame which was associated with them. As will have been seen, she experiences these emotions strongly, and in a high degree in connection with the act of urination. There is, therefore, in these public episodes all the gratification of a risky adventure with the possibility of "delicious shame" (an expression of Ouida's) should the effort to avoid detection fail. "The nervousness is awful," Florrie writes, "especially when others are in sight and there is the awful dread that they may see or hear. On such occasions, too, the stream always seems of double force." "It is such a strong *personal* feeling that one has over it; someone may have heard or seen, and an awful feeling of shame overtakes one. For some women this is literally the last act they would do in public or before an unsympathetic person. If this feeling of shame were lacking," she significantly adds, "the erotic feeling that is connected with the act would be deadened." An episode from Florrie's experience may be quoted in illustration:

"The most awkward case I remember was on the summit of a mountain. The ascent was made with a party of others, and I could not escape. I tried several times to turn a corner to contemplate a view in solitary enjoyment, but it never came off. Someone always followed. Finally, on the summit, I could hold back no longer, and as all were contemplating the

[1] I have elsewhere in these *Studies* (vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 59 *et seq.*) pointed out that urination may be regarded as a nervous explosion comparable to the process of sexual detumescence and may to some extent act vicariously for the sexual orgasm.

(1) snow-clad range opposite, across the valley, I started, in fear and trembling, a terrific stream. There were two men quite close, and I was not only afraid they would hear it, but from under my skirts in front and running down the steep path a stream made its way to my horror, for I had thought the earth would absorb it.

(2) In desperation I kept pointing out things to see, hoping to engage their attention otherwise, but it was an awful moment, and even now I can hardly believe that the incident escaped observation. I managed to stop before the bladder was really empty, but it was awful when I quitted the spot—the dry rough ground only relieved by this artificial stream! I only breathed freely when well down the path and out of sight of it

"In towns I generally take refuge on a doorstep or in a doorway where no one is likely to enter. I did this once on an early closing day when the shops were shut, and thought how lucky I was since no one would enter or come out. Although the shop I chose was closed the blinds were up and the goods displayed. So I looked in, but my attention was in reality absorbed in an entirely different manner. It was some time before I could persuade myself to begin, and then I started cautiously, but even so I was alarmed when I saw the stream flowing rapidly down the passage, over the step and on to the pavement. Rain was coming down, but it did not even seem to mingle with the rain on the pavement as I had hoped, to my probably distorted vision seemed a distinct and obvious stream, a thing apart from all else, which could not fail to betray me, while the sound it made as it descended on the pavement of the passage seemed loud and distinct. Suddenly someone pushed past me and said something. I could not catch the words, but made quite sure that they had an allusion to myself, and I felt I was detected. But no! it was merely an apology for passing to look at something beyond, and before I could decide what to do the intruder had come and gone, and I verily believe that I remained undetected, though when I came to move it was obvious what had happened. In the country there is less risk and more pleasure on the whole; but a certain

amount of audacious joy comes to one in a city, born of the feeling that there are others near; they may know nothing about it, but one has a sort of daring pleasure in wondering and thinking: 'If they only knew what I am doing, how aston-

astonished they would be!' But the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensations." The psychic state thus described might be termed a kind of disguised exhibitionism.

There is a feature of the act of urination, frequently found in the case of women (though rarely in men), which further increases its resemblance to the act of sexual detumescence, and

that is its tendency to be uncontrollable when once started. Florrie was well aware of this tendency, though not conscious of any parallelism herein with the sexual orgasm, and attaches great importance to it in heightening the pleasure of her vesical adventures. "I remember," she writes, "standing in a country lane, ostensibly searching for blackberries, and being caught by a passer-by. There was no escape; I was in full swing. I shall never forget my sensations. The stream seemed to be drawn from me without my consent, and *yet with even more pleasure than if I were doing it freely.* [The italics are Florrie's.] This curious feeling—that it is being drawn away by some unseen power which is determined that one shall do it—is an entirely genuinenine pleasure and a subtle charm. Real control seems gone; one feels it *must* come even though the whole world were present. One would stop if one could—a sudden footstep, a shadow falls, 'Oh, *do* stop!' one says to oneself, 'there's someone coming!' But no, it is not to be. The inexorable force wills otherwise, the stream continues to flow unabashed, and the gentle compulsion is pleasing. It is a curious and fascinating experience which assumes a magnitude that is intensified every second. There are moments when this becomes a positive delight, although one may be overcome with shame that one allowed oneself to begin. It was an effort to start. All the audacity and shame were concentrated in that vital moment (sometimes difficult from sheer nervousness)—that pause as though Nature hesitated before taking the irrevocable step, and

then that feeling. 'Oh, it's coming!' and the breathless start. After that nothing seems to matter. One is no longer responsible and can give oneself up to pure enjoyment. One doesn't want to stop really and one revels in the idea that one cannot, though sometimes shame and fear are so mingled that pure delight cannot exist. But even then there is a fierce charm in the torrent that binds one to its will by a mighty force."

The episodes of this urolagnic type just narrated have not been dated because they have occurred frequently after the first experience, without greatly varying in character, and Florrie soon acquired skill in conducting them ("though I cannot say," she remarks, "that even with open drawers I always managed successfully to escape quite dry"). But the act never became a compulsion nor the thought of it an obsession. It may be suspected that it has sometimes been carried out when not absolutely necessary, for Florrie is not ordinarily affected by any tendency either to polyuria or to vesical irritability, conditions that are both apt to be associated with urolagnia. But if that is so Florrie was not aware of it; she simply regarded these incidents as due to a physical need, occurring in a public place, and when satisfied producing mingled feelings of shame and pleasure. It is only lately that she has realized that the pleasure is of a sexual character.

At the age of twenty-one, when these experiences began, Florrie had reached full physical and mental development and was enjoying excellent health. She was already above the average in size and weight (weighing at this time 140 pounds), robust and active. She was working at her painting and at the same time her mind was opening out in various directions, and she was becoming eagerly interested in social and literary questions.

She still had no conscious sexual preoccupations, and was completely innocent of sexual knowledge and sexual experiences. At the age of twenty-two she was for a short time slightly troubled by what she thinks may have been ovarian neuralgia. A friend, who was anxious to help on a young doctor, induced her to go to him to be "examined." She had

not the slightest idea what this meant, but lay on a sofa and felt something hurting her. She was horrified to learn afterwards from her friend that the doctor had inserted his finger and she wondered how this could be possible without a preliminary incision. The friend assured her that it was good to be examined as "it made it easier when one married." This cryptic saying filled Florrie with wonder, but she was too shy to ask what it meant. She was told she had slight congestion of the womb. It quickly disappeared and she has never had any other sexual trouble of a physical character.

About this time, when staying with friends, there was a man of about thirty-five, also visiting at the same house, who showed a liking for her. He used to take her on his knee and kiss her. This gave her no more pleasure than if done by a woman and aroused no sexual feeling. But during the same visit a notable incident occurred. A little girl of six, who was very fond of Florrie, proved troublesome, and her mother resolved to birch her. Florrie, to her own surprise, made no protest or attempt to save the child. "She was, I could see," Florrie remarks, "profoundly affected at being punished before me, and remembering my own childhood I ought to have saved her. Instead of that, I felt positive enjoyment when she was hoisted on to the table, her clothes turned over her head, and the birch well applied. She kicked and screamed, but I felt rooted to the spot. I couldn't interfere. It had for me a strange fascination." The significance of this incident will be revealed by the subsequent history.

For the most part Florrie was so absorbed in study, in art, in the widening of her intellectual horizon, that she gave no thought to love. There was, indeed, an affection of an exclusively sentimental character, and lasting for two years, for a professor whose lectures she attended. He wrote touching letters and one day kissed her. She was pleased at this mark of affection and believes that if he had then proposed an elopement she would have agreed. But her senses were quite untouched. Even when one day in a cab he opened her blouse, took out her breast and sucked the nipple, she believes she felt

no sexual pleasure. She declined an invitation to come to his bedroom in her dressing gown and nightdress when in the same house with him, as she was sleeping with her sister, and she also had a vague idea that such a visit might lead to pregnancy. But she had no keen disappointment at missing what the professor described as "a lover's embrace." She eventually found out that this man was married. The whole episode left no deep impression. We now, however, approach a highly important epoch in Florrie's life.

Even from the age of sixteen, when she became a keen suffragette, Florrie had believed in the equality of men and women. In theory she regarded it as a worthy ambition for a woman to imitate men and to seek to eliminate all that is feminine. With this she had a horror of man's dominancy and a hatred of his "cruelty" to woman in the past. And nothing filled her with such seething wrath as the knowledge that in the past, and sometimes even in the present, men beat their wives. She could not even speak of this subject, her emotions were too strong. As to the word "obey" in the marriage service, she regarded it as an insult to the whole sex, though in spite of this purely mental defiance, her disposition, as she admits, is really much more to obey than to command.

At the age of twenty-five Florrie wrote an article which was published in a leading Review, dealing with the ethics of force; in a well-reasoned and comprehensive way she marshaled and criticized the arguments in favor of the rule of force, and argued against militarism, and against all exaltation of merely physical strength, as opposed to progress as well as to the instincts and interests of women, who have passed the stage when brute force appeals to them. Her views, as she herself expresses it, were an external crust plastered over her real self. We now approach a new stage in Florrie's development. From the period of adolescence she had lived on the surface of consciousness, responsive to the normal influences of her environment, and reacting to this on the whole normally. But they had not touched her deep, personal impulses repressed beneath the surface of consciousness. Now these concealed

and arrested impulses began to stir, to surge towards the surface, and to seek such devious paths of expression as they could find.

At the age of twenty-eight, still cherishing her abstract hatred of man, she chanced to read an article by a man on "Why Man rules Woman." Here all the old-fashioned conventional arguments on the natural duty of a man to master a woman were crudely set forth: "In the good old days a man proved his superiority over a woman in no uncertain fashion. If she betrayed any symptoms of rebellion he simply took a lash and instilled into her a more satisfactory train of thought; she accepted the lesson meekly and loved him all the more. The good honest laborer who bestowed upon his wife a sound thrashing is rarely extolled by his fellowmen as a redeemer of the rights and privileges of mankind. It is a sad fact, but nevertheless a true one, that the more a man beats a woman the more she admires him." Florrie read and writhed. Others had also read; there was a storm of protest and feminine rage. Much of this was so silly and illiterate in expression that a new and unexpected impulse arose in Florrie. Merely to annoy the feminine protesters, for the sake of argument (so it seemed to her), she entered the ranks of the letter-writers against the women who refused tc let men rule, upholding instead the original writer who advocated ohastisement. Under different pseudonyms in several letters, she used her literary ability to argue from history and experience that it is well for a just and educated man to possess the power to chastise a perverse wife, and that, far from resenting it, she loves and respects him as never before; done moderately and in love it was not only harmless, but was beneficial, calculated to restore peace when everything else had failed. Then other women, following her example, also wrote on somewhat similar lines. It seemed to Florrie when she wrote these letters that she was playing a superficial intellectual game. But when we bear in mind her earlier history we shall realize, as she later realized, that she was obeying a deep instinct, which came into consciousness in

the only way in which at this stage it could come and be accepted.

That there was really a deep impulse here at work is shown by the accompanying revival of day-dreaming which for more than twelve years past had ceased to occupy her. The day-dreams were now of more adult character, but exclusively devoted to whipping. They now chiefly depicted wives whipped by their husbands. Instead of disgust and horror at man's tyranny over woman, Florrie found herself beginning to like the idea, to feel that it would be pleasant to be in subjection to a wise and good man who would thus correct her. The humiliation naturally had a charm, and wife-beating no longer seemed so dreadful a thing, nor men such monsters.

Without in the least suspecting that they had any sexual origin, Florrie now invented stories with whipping as the climax, stories of disobedient and ill-tempered wives who were thoroughly thrashed and so reformed. The husband, it will be seen, had taken the place of the mother or school-mistress of the young girl's day-dreams. "In imagination I saw an ill-tempered wife just stepping into a cab to run away when up comes the furious husband, dismisses the cab, quickly escorts her upstairs to the bedroom, and locks the door. Then he opens a drawer, takes out a short, flexible riding whip, and in spite of her cries and entreaties, forces her face downward on to the bed, pulls up her skirts, strips off her drawers, and then whip! whip! on the bare buttocks, flanks, and calves, until she kicks and screams with pain, imploring him to desist. But he only leaves off when she has been well punished. She then sobs and is penitent. Sometimes I made him tie her wrists and ankles. The whipping was not too severe. But the thought that this was frightfully indecent gave me a wicked thrill; and finally that he could make me endure physical pain, even this was attractive." This first adult outbreak of interest in whipping and flagellatory day-dreaming was severe while it lasted, and she could think of nothing else, day or night. But in two months the day-dreams faded away, and the series of flagellational letters, the writing of which gave her the same relief

as day-dreams, was brought to an end. During this period, it is interesting to note, she was moved to take photographs of her own nates, not, it seemed to her, out of admiration of her body, but to enable her to realize the imagined scenes. But though there was no conscious sexual influence, Florrie's views of the relationship of men and women and her general social ideas were modified.

A year or so later Florrie became engaged. There seems to have been no question of deep affection on her part. She had no thoughts of a sexual nature, and she never day-dreamed of her *fiancé* whipping her. She simply wished to marry in order to avoid being an old maid. This engagement was broken off. But at length, at the age of thirty, she married a physician, about twice her own age, of high character and amiable disposition, much esteemed in the city in which he practises. There was no question of passion on either side, but he has always treated her with great kindness, and she cherishes much regard and affection for him.

There have been no marital relationships. By the time she married Florrie had begun to realize for the first time, as a result of accumulated hints and mysterious remarks from various sources, that there is a physical act in marriage. Concerning its exact nature she was still ignorant. Some people hinted that it was very pleasurable; others described it as "horrid," and one said that "it makes you feel lower than the beasts of the fields." In view of this conflicting evidence Florrie consulted a girl friend who was astonished and incredulous at her ignorance, and replied: "Everyone knows; Nature teaches them." But Florrie felt that Nature had not taught her.

"I guessed" she writes, "it was something painful since I had read in Restoration Plays of the bride's screams the first night, which everyone expected to hear, and that the next day her brothers and others taunted her with not being able to walk properly, and made her show off for their amusement. (I thought this very horrid and was glad those days were past.) Then I had heard of brides fainting, and altogether I couldn't make out where the pleasure came in, since it seemed full of

woe for the bride. I wondered why any girl wanted to be married, and came to the conclusion that they put up with the conjugal act as one puts up with having a tooth extracted. I even once propounded to a girl friend the theory that it would be nice if one could live with one's husband as a brother. She seemed astonished, and said: 'But it wouldn't be marriage!' The truth was that my sex instincts were dormant, and though I was capable of sentimental affection towards men I did not think of them as sexual beings. So when I married I made up my mind with a kind of heroism to endure whatever happened. I dreaded it, yet I was prepared for it. It never once occurred to me that a bride ought to have some anticipation of pleasure. I had, too, been brought up to think any advances on the part of a woman meant immodesty and indecency. I had always regarded a bride as a passive instrument for the use of the man—something he enjoyed like a mince-pie or a glass of champagne. I was unaware that *she* enjoyed any pleasure, beyond that she was giving to the man. I had a vague idea that she was supposed to be dying to have a baby and he could supply it. But the desire for the baby did not possess me. I consoled myself by thinking that greater warmth might follow my initiation into the mysteries. I wondered if others were like me. A lady had told me that her mother had said to her as a bride: 'Good bye, and remember that whatever you have to go through your mother had to go through the same.' That was all she had to tell about it."

On the wedding night her bridegroom dallied with her a little, complained much of the springy nature of the bed, and finally turned over and went to sleep, not waking till morning. Florrie felt relieved and slept also. Days and nights passed, and her husband made no further allusion to this subject. Florrie followed his example, considering that it was not for her to make advances. Yet she thought it rather strange. There had been no violent love on either side at the outset. As time went on, and they grew fonder of each other (they have continued throughout to be much attached) the husband made an attempt at coitus. It failed. She lay quite still, as he

told her, but when the attempt was unsuccessful he blamed her and said it was due to her coldness. She was grieved, but felt there was nothing she could do in the matter. All further attempts were unsuccessful, although erection and ejaculation occurred, and the husband recognized that it was hopeless. He fondles her lovingly, and he appreciates the way in which she accepts the situation without making allusion to it.

In a photograph taken shortly before marriage Florrie appears at the age of thirty as a bright, attractive, fully developed woman. She is plump, but though the hips are pronounced there is no superfluous fat. During the four succeeding years she continued on the whole to pursue the same work and interests which had occupied her before marriage; gradually, however, her mental life began to be overcome by an increasing lassitude, and she found herself losing interest in her old pursuits. She no longer had the same impulse to work or to paint. She attributed this in part to the fact that she was no longer living in the bracing climate she had always been used to, but in a relaxing atmosphere. There may have been an element of truth in this. But it is probable that a more fundamental cause lay in the subconscious sphere. In any case, six years after the first attack of what Florrie terms the "whipping craze," there came a relapse, this time in a much more intense, serious, and prolonged form.

She first noticed that she would wake up in the morning feeling perturbed and irritable, although quite calm when she went to bed. She is habitually good-tempered, but on these occasions she would get up feeling an imperative need to quarrel with someone and a wild explosion of anger would burst forth, the victim usually being a servant. These outbursts distressed her greatly; she could not understand them, although later she vaguely divined their sexual significance. To us they may be intelligible if we know that anger is sometimes a transmuted form of latent sexual energy, and an explosion of anger a kind of vicarious detumescence.[1]

---

[1] I have discussed this point in *Studies*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 172 *et seq.*

Suddenly these fits of temper were entirely replaced by day-dreams of whipping. Yet, even on the surface, there remained a connection. Whipping in the day-dreams was regarded as a punishment for bad temper, a kind of restraining force. It even had a calming effect. Referring to a later stage than we have yet reached Florrie writes: "I do so long for someone to whip me when I feel in a bad temper!" She mentions also that once, when she felt on the verge of an outburst of anger, she whipped herself rather than victimize anyone else, and so obtained relief. "Whipping," she remarks, "acted like a soothing bottle to a fretful child." When the day-dreams were temporarily suspended she would often be irritable and cross, although she felt she ought to overcome this feeling. It is clear, however, that all through this phase Florrie was not consciously aware that it was relief she was seeking. When the idea was at last suggested to her she recognized its truth, but it seemed new.

The day-dreams were in substance identical with those of the earlier period before marriage. But they were now more varied, more intense, more vividly realized, more absorbing. "Sometimes," Florrie writes, "I have pictured myself as having eloped with a groom and derived much enjoyment from a day-dream in which this coarse cruel man ill-treated me. I picture myself sick of him, loathing him and his coarse surroundings. Then I picture his growing exasperation, his intolerance of 'fine lady' airs and graces, his complaints, and at last his threats to whip me. My fury and indignation know no bounds. The thought of this at *his* hands is intolerable, but yet in my day-dreams it gives me a horribly fascinating, pleasurable, creepy feeling to be roughly handled by this odious man. I know that in reality it would be intolerable, for, as a matter of fact, I hate and loathe common men and feel as if I should scream if they were to touch me with their coarse hands. But in this awful day-dream I have a fiendish delight in the triumph of the man's sheer physical force, in being held down forcibly while he applied the whip unsparingly to my bare flesh. The feeling that

I couldn't get away, that I was really hating and loathing the enforced whipping, heightened the sensation."

Florrie had chanced to come across a little low class weekly paper which was full of letters from correspondents about whipping. It would seem, indeed, that this chance had had something to do with arousing her renewed and excited interest in the subject. It also led her, as in the earlier period of flagellational obsession, to write to the papers on the subject. This time, however, she wrote to papers of high standing, and in a more daring manner, while her literary skill ensured the publication of her letters. She found that this occupation momentarily eased the obsession although it was all the time steadily increasing in intensity. Dozens of letters were written in this way, and published in more or less prominent quarters. She who had been so convinced an opponent of force in human affairs, and so vigorous an advocate of women's rights, became the opponent of the suffrage and argued that women should be the slaves of men.

She would, for instance, join in discussions on the Marriage Service of the Anglican Church and write as follows, over the signature "A Contented Wife," in a leading religious newspaper: "We have daily proof that loving submission is by no means regarded as slavery by the average woman. Husbands (in England at least) are not tyrants, and we feel this slight put upon them by the suggestion that the word 'obey' is disagreeable to us. We have the instinct of obedience, and in all things lawful are glad to exercise it. As a married woman I, in company with others, protest against this absurd objection to the word 'obey.' Husbands, in my opinion, would do well to assert themselves more than they do, and a little more discipline in the home might check the modern tendency to gambling" In other letters she plainly advocates "mild chastisement" by the husband as "women respect physical punishment much more than anything else." Of course these letters called out a flood of other letters from indignant feminine correspondents. That was the time of the Suffragette agitation and Florrie entered with spirit into the discussion as an enthusiastic advocate

of the physical chastisement of suffragettes committing outrages. "Our chief virtues," she wrote, "are the outcome of the discipline we received in the past, and now that it is removed women are beginning to revolt." In this connection Florrie had a fright. She sent to an important newspaper, in all seriousness, a day-dream of a suffragette who, caught in the act of committing an outrage on property by other women, was spanked until she promised never to do the like again. The letter attracted attention and was copied into other papers; lawyers and professors wrote to defend the cause of the suffragette; it was proposed to get up a subscription for the "victim"; the Police tried to trace the affair. Finally the public concluded that it had been hoaxed. "Really," as Florrie writes, "nothing was further from my thoughts than a hoax or a joke. My only aim was to give myself a nice (as I now recognize) sexy feeling. Thus may one be carried away by the terrific impetus which literally makes one do things against one's will. At the time I wrote it I thought I meant it all, but I couldn't trace its source. I had a vague idea it wasn't my real self to write such a lot of insane nonsense—diametrically opposed to all I had written and advocated in my earlier days when my brain was at its best. But it gave me immense satisfaction."

Florrie was extremely ashamed of these letters and could not bear the thought of anyone knowing she wrote them. The impulse to write them entirely ceased immediately after she came under my observation and found a more wholesome channel of self-expression.

Florrie's excitement in her obsession was now wound up to such a pitch that she felt she must give actual realization to the pictured sensation of her day-dreams. This was a definitely new stage in her development. Hitherto the day-dream had been an end in itself. We may remark, indeed, that Florrie had already for more than ten years past shown an aptitude, even demanding courage, to put imagined scenes into action. It is true that her vesical exploits had seemed to her to be only due to the call of an imperative physiological need. But the desire to feel the actual sting of the whip now seemed an equally

imperative need. She had reached a point where she could think of nothing else but whipping and had continually to lie, whether in bed or on a sofa or on the floor, face downwards, imagining that she was being whipped. The primary object was to secure relief by attaining the practical physical culmination of these imaginings. She tried in succession a hair-brush, a slipper, a strap, a razor strop, a small stick, a birch. These were not altogether satisfactory. At last she found an implement, apparently a lady's small riding whip, which was exactly right. It was of Russian leather with silver mounts, thirty-six inches long, whalebone covered with gut, and a knotted tip. This gave more pain than anything else, at first almost more pain than she could bear, though it never drew blood. She would apply it after breakfast, first removing her drawers. This whip —though the first time she applied it she thought she must be mad to do so absurd a thing which she had never heard of anyone else doing—became her fetich and the very sight of it soon gave her a pleasurable sensation. (When she read that it was the custom in Russia for a bride to have a silver mounted whip in her trousseau she thought that the best part of the ceremony.) Now this whip corresponded exactly to the whip with which her father whipped her as a child. Yet, strange as it may seem to those who are unacquainted with psychic analysis, it was not until a later period, when she began to study her own history, that Florrie realized that the whip she had once dreaded, which for many early years had fastened itself on her mind as an object of sacred terror, had now re-appeared unrecognized to become a beloved fetich. It may appear yet stranger that even when at length she had recognized in her fetich the whip of her childhood she still failed to see, until the idea was clearly brought before her, any emotional connection between the experiences of her childhood and these experiences of adult age.

The whipping was a satisfaction to her, but it brought no climax of relief. She would sometimes whip until she was exhausted, but still without any relief. She had, however, no clear idea as to what kind of result was to be expected. As she afterwards realized, she was trying, without knowing it,

to produce orgasm. But she was supremely ignorant. The prevalent idea in her mind was that there would be some satisfaction if blood came. (We see here the germ of sadism, of algolagnia, which is often equally innocent.) Her thoughts were entirely astray from the sexual sphere, and she was further deceived by a craving to be whipped also on remote parts of the body, arms and legs, palms of the hands, anywhere in fact except on the breasts and abdomen.

But though no orgasm was consciously desired, and none took place, the intensity with which Florrie realized these day-dreams, and the emotional excitement which accompanied these whippings, are evidenced by the fact that she now for the first time discovered that as a result of day-dreaming and whipping the vulva was bathed with mucus. She had not noticed this in the earlier phase of day-dreaming before marriage, and she now began to realize, for the first time, that day-dreaming must be connected with sex. This was a revelation, but it had no influence, in one direction or the other, on the course of the phase she was passing through. It seems to have led her to place the hand to the vulva while applying the whip and about this time she learnt for the first time of masturbation through reading Dr. Nichols's *Esoteric Anthropology* (at one period almost the only popularly written manual of sex which reached respectable women); it was the first book on sex she had seen, and she here learnt for the first time that mucous discharge accompanied sexual excitement, and first heard of the clitoris. But her manipulations seem to have been slight, only faintly pleasurable, and in any case orgasm was not thereby induced.

With these accessory developments the day-dream grew still more potent and was still more assiduously cultivated. It brought a certain amount of soothing and relief, it enabled her to overcome her fits of irritable temper, but the obsession continued to be interminable, because she never reached a point of adequate satisfaction, even with the aid of the actual whip. The day-dream assumed various forms. Sometimes Florrie would imagine that she had just returned from the theater in low dress, and was getting up a quarrel with the Man, a rather

indistinct person, never anyone in particular, but a vague husband, and always very anxious to assert his authority. The quarrel would not arise from any love of quarreling, but wholly because she wishes to provoke him to strike her. Finally, white with rage at her exasperating conduct, he jumps up, pushing back his chair, and seizing one bare arm violently slaps the other. When he has finished with that arm he starts on the other arm, and then on her back until her skin is red all over, and at this point she experiences a "sexy" feeling. She imagines the Man's attitude towards her to be that one would have to a small child whom one slapped, corrected, or petted with a safe sense of proprietorship. It would give her a delicious feeling to think that he claimed her as his own, to do what he would with, to say what he liked to. The sense of being thus possessed, the fact that the Man *dared* to whip her, was a supreme attraction. This was intensified if the day-dream proceeded, and he dragged her upstairs, sobbing and protesting, kicking and biting, until, landed in the bedroom, he locked the door. Anger and terror were now mingled with strange delight in a relationship so intimate and so daring. The whipping, although severe, and with a tendency to grow severer, was never felt as ever bordering on cruelty, although sometimes the pain was almost past endurance. When it was over Florrie felt reduced to a state of sobs and penitence, with a greater love and respect than before for the Hero who then ordered her about, and made her do things she disliked. Florrie's phantasy, it will be seen, was taking on a masochistic tone. In all these day-dreams the hero was the master and she the slave; he was on the throne and she grovelled at his feet. "If," she writes, "you add to this picture a whip instead of a sceptre in the hand of the King, you get a fair idea of my erotic conception of the relation of the sexes." She could never understand a man wishing to be whipped by a woman; "it seems unnatural and horrid."

A day-dream of an Eastern harem would much excite her sexually. Its luxury or magnificence made no impression on her. The idea that fascinated her was that the women are in bondage, slaves to one man—who is free—and that idea was

overpowering. At this time Florrie liked reading the narratives of Europeans' visits to harems, and was impressed by their general failure, as it seemed to her, to comprehend the Oriental standpoint.

It must be understood that Florrie had no desire to be treated with *cruelty,* and in her day-dreams the hero was never inspired by cruel motives. Any callousness on his part would not be tolerated. He is always really fond of her, and if he seems to be cruel he means it for her good. This was the case in all Florrie's whipping dreams. They were not a form of cruelty (she hates all forms of cruelty and has very strong feelings about cruelty to animals) any more than they were, consciously, a form of voluptuous enjoyment. They were always associated with the idea of punishment. The day-dreams thus remained intimately connected, little as she herself was aware of the fact, with that core of infantile experience in the early whippings inflicted by her father.

The hero certainly lacked respect, and that, indeed, was a word which in her more sexual moments Florrie hated. At such moments she felt—shocking as the admission seemed to her—that to be treated without respect would be a delicious sensation, even in its savagery. There were limitations, indeed. She could not, for instance, imagine herself enjoying the lack of respect of a vulgar common man who kicked her or gave her a black eye. But she would sometimes in day-dreams imagine a sort of satyr man, wild and uncouth and uncivilized, who possessed a greater fascination than the typical knight. "One sees these queer satyrs," she writes, "in early Renaissance paintings, and they pursue nymphs, and people say, 'How horrible!' But they somehow typify the primitive forces of Nature, crude physical force with a touch of cruelty. Hideous and barbaric, they yet represent something that is lacking in life. I am quite sure that the nymphs liked the fauns, and it gave them a lovely sexy feeling when a satyr dragged off an unwilling nymph. But it is only in day-dreams that the satyr-man exists. In real life this embodiment of physical strength without brains is by no means fragrant of woods and streams;

more probably he reeks of onions, beer, and perspiration." Usually, however, the attitude of the Man to the woman in Florrie's day-dream has been that of the father to his child. She wanted to be treated like a naughty child. Even when in earlier years she used to write in favor of women's rights and against man in the abstract, she was always conscious of that apparently contradictory feeling. She could not then account for it, and its presence rather annoyed her.

When Florrie adopted the use of the whip as an aid to her day-dreams she attained a much higher degree of satisfaction than had before been possible. She was able to realize her day-dreams in imagination to a much greater extent. But the satisfaction was far from complete. The process was by no means the actualization of her day-dreams, for auto-flagellation had played no part in them. These dreams were normal to the extent that an attractive hero always played the essential part. Thus her method of satisfaction still left her craving for a congenial man to apply the punishment. It was natural that her thoughts should turn to her husband. He knew nothing whatever of her constant obsession and she never at any stage confided to him her ideas and feelings on this subject. But she made a few mild attempts to induce him to play a part in some degree corresponding to the hero of her dreams. These attempts were a complete failure. He felt too much love and respect to be able to bear the idea of hurting her, however slightly, even in play, nothing beyond a gentle pat, and treated a matter, which, had he known it, was absorbing all her vital energy, merely as a joke. She found, moreover, that the touch of his hand, in sexual manipulation, failed to produce any erotic excitation whatever. Her thoughts then turned in another direction. It so happened that in the course of her incursion into newspaper and letter-writing on the subject of flagellation she had come in touch by correspondence with a man, of lower social class than herself, who was without doubt the victim of a mania for active flagellation. Their interests were so congenial that they had carried on a considerable correspondence on the subject. This man, whom we will call N.,

had written verses on whipping which he sent to Florrie for her opinion. In one of his letters he stated that it gave him an erection to read about whipping and he desired to know if his letters on the subject made her wish to "tickle" herself. At first Florrie could not make out what he meant, but at last it dawned on her; then at length she definitely realized that N.'s desire to whip, and her own desire to be whipped, were both sexual. This correspondence doubtless still further stimulated her obsession. In any case, it continued to increase. When tired of whipping herself every morning (after breakfast) she would lie on the bed face down and think about whipping and long for a man to whip her. Sometimes she would throw herself on the floor or on the sofa, always face down, with this craving, while the vulva became more and more bathed with moisture. She would try to bestir herself actively in other interests, but was powerless. She would begin writing articles on art and other subjects, as of old, but the imagery of her dreams would come before her, her thoughts wandered, she could not fix her attention, and had to lie down on her face and indulge her dream. Her husband had gone out for the day; she was left to her own devices, and she could not escape from her obsession. Then she would write to N. and he would respond, describing whippings that were largely imaginary, but which gave her what she described as a "ghastly pleasure." She grew to dislike society, though when staying away from home with friends the obsession was relieved; but even then it would return at night, and if there was a library she would find herself hunting for any book that might touch on the subject that fascinated her. She could read Boccaccio unmoved, but when she reached the Ninth Day with the story of Giosefo beating his wife she would become excited, and the vulva grow moist. She could not see the "Taming of the Shrew" without longing for Petruchio to beat Kate. Shops where whips were sold and exhibited in the windows offered more attractions than any jewellers' or milliners'; she would stand before them gloating over the display and experiencing what she came in time to recognize was sexual feeling; once she walked two

miles merely to see such a shop. This condition she had fallen into caused her much alarm. She would sometimes say to herself: "You are awfully mad; I am sure you will end your days in an asylum." Then she would regret the passing of the time when asylum patients were flogged and yearn for those past ages when men chastized women without scruple. But there were such men even today as she began to realize (although her husband regarded the matter as a joke), and N. was dying to do it.

Finally Florrie agreed to meet N. The meeting was arranged to take place in a strange city, midway between their respective homes, where N. took a room in a hotel, ostensibly for the night. Florrie found him a powerful and fairly attractive man, intelligent and genial, though not refined or well-bred, with nothing about him to suggest cruelty, and much of her own age. He had no personal attraction for her, though she considered him "a fascinating barbarian," and she felt no impulse of trust in him; it was solely the common and complementary obsession of flagellation which brought them together. When they entered the room and he locked the door, she began to feel alarm and put her hand on the lock, but he dragged her away saying he was not going to stand any nonsense, and as she had not come there to be "respected" she made up her mind for the worst. N. was much excited from the first, tremulous and perspiring. He wished to tie her down but to this she objected, and he placed her on the bed face downwards, pulled up her clothes, unfastened her drawers, and pulling her thighs apart, carefully examined her and began to tickle the vulva. She did not relish being handled by the man's coarse hands and remonstrated that this was not in the bargain, but he made a coarse reply and proceeded to fondle and rub her nates. There was no question of coitus. At last he took a birch which he applied unsparingly, touching up the tender spots inside the thighs. Then he used a thin small riding whip (like her own fetich) which made her smart horribly, and it seemed to delight him to see her writhing. He would pause between each stroke to watch her terror at the expectation of

the next, though she never dared to utter a cry, rather to N.'s disappointment, for he would have liked her to resist and scream. She merely laughed nervously all the time, though the pain was acute. He also took her between his legs, bending her over his left knee in a grip of iron, and using the birch with all his might. No blood came, which also disappointed N., who explained that he took special delight in the sight of flowing blood. Florrie was, however, covered with black bruises, and the marks of the whip showed for a fortnight after. "I wanted it, I craved it, and I got it!" And she added: "It was a terrific relief too. I enjoyed it thoroughly." The relief was so great that for months afterwards she was able to refrain from whipping herself altogether, and the obsession was never again so overmasteringly powerful, although there were still times when it was continuous. She felt "horribly ashamed" at this episode. She was a well-bred and cultured woman, one, moreover, who had sought to raise the status of her sex, and, as she herself truly said, she was "proper and sedate, so shy and stiff with men they would never dream of taking a liberty," and she could not fail to feel ashamed at the recollection of that "awful ceremony." "I really felt that I was mad to countenance such an indecent proceeding, but I was goaded on by a desire of such intensity that it overcame all other feelings." Yet it was significant that there was a fascination even in the humiliation. "If," writes Florrie, "a woman has the real whipping obsession she gradually comes to delight in the thought of her own degradation and physical suffering. It is hard to analyze, it includes so much. To begin with, when the man locks the door and approaches her with the whip she feels no delight, but cowers, perhaps trembles, and looks at him imploringly like a cowed dog about to be whipped. She shudders at first and half regrets her longings. This of course adds zest to the man's feelings. Then the exposure which follows, dreaded, liked, and yet repulsive to a sensitive woman strictly brought up. The shame, confusion and mental agitation are almost worse than the physical pain. Then he holds her down and the pain begins. Most women can endure a fair amount

without flinching—I can—but it seems that the man feels no satisfaction as long as the whip produces no emotional disturbance, even though the skin be covered with weals. It was only the last six cuts that were becoming more than I could bear, stinging cuts on the parts which were sore from being already lashed. I called out in vain protest. Strange, but true, one's keenest enjoyment (if so one may call it) is when the strokes are given in defiance of one's wishes and have passed the limit of endurance! The man, too, feels his keenest thrill in those cruel strokes, not heeding cries, but taking extra pains to give a cut on the thigh where it is most tender. He *begins* by hesitating—he *couldn't* hurt one, he is timid. But the more he whips the more he wants to go on; weals don't satisfy, he wants blood. He knows it causes pain, but he must go on. When it was over, my man said he would like to tie me up and use the 'cat'! He was quite exhausted with his exertions, though he took his coat off before he began. So you see the gradual development from mild day-dreams to this final exultation in man's physical power over woman."

It was at this stage, less than twelve months after the episode with N., that I first came in contact with Florrie. Then and for some months later she was in much the same condition resulting from that incident. She was, that is to say, relieved from the most acute form of her obsession, yet always haunted by it, always restless and craving for gratification, yet always discontented with her craving, dissatisfied with herself and with what she felt to be the decline from her old self. She was not hopeful of improvement, though believing that under some conditions a cure might be possible, and it was not with that object she had written to me, but rather with the idea, after reading my study of "Love and Pain," that I might be interested to know of her case.

"As the outside world sees me," she wrote at this time. "I am just an ordinary normal woman, fond of my people and my husband, and leading a good moral, if somewhat quiet, life. If I have had to yield to circumstances in the planning of my life, no one knows it—or cares. The fact that I have wasted

my time most awfully, and deteriorated lately, is not evident to them. Of course I feel disgusted with myself sometimes. Now I am trying to free myself from my errors! I still think, and know, that to love any man is for me to be his slave. It would give me sexual delight, thrills of pleasure, to be ordered about and punished. Equality would have no sexual charm whatever. To be treated like a child, to feel that the loved one possesses even one's body, to beat at his will, to feel his superior strength gripping one—it is all delicious. Of course there might be disadvantages, and one might weary of it, but, oh! what a woman suffers when she cannot indulge her particular sexual perversity! My brain has become powerless and my physical health lessened. I wish I could cure myself. Perhaps it will pass. I earnestly hope so, for it embitters my existence. My friends are of the intellectual variety, and I have never mentioned the subject to anyone but N., and I knew of his tendencies beforehand."

From this period on, although progress was slow, Florrie never again spoke so pessimistically about herself. It was an immense and immediate relief to be able to face her condition, to talk about it, and to know that her case was not unique nor her fate hopeless. "I have felt better," she soon after wrote, "since I know others have suffered in the same way, and don't feel quite such a lunatic as when I thought I was the only one in the world." "It is because no one seems to trouble about these things," she wrote again, "that they bulk so largely in life, affecting the health, and the temperament generally. The more one bottles it up the more explosive it becomes." A considerable degree of relief was thus attained, and the tension, though not removed, was lessened. She sought to distract her attention from the craving for actual flagellation by directing it into other though mostly related channels. A period of experimentation followed. She succeeded to some extent in diffusing her impulses, and in the diffusion gradually, naturally, spontaneously, she brought them nearer to normal courses. The obsession came back in force at intervals, especially at the menstrual periods, and then she just had to roll on the floor and

shiver with longing. She found some relief in simple day-dreams in bed, not usually followed by self-flagellation, in which she would lie face downward and imagine scenes of women seized by force and held down while men and boys performed coitus, afterwards whipping well. This introduction of the idea of normal coitus was new and spontaneous, and these day-dreams produced local sexual excitement, but not orgasm which, so far, she had never experienced. There was, as these day-dreams show, some shifting of ideals towards the normal center, with the beginnings even of pleasurable sensations in that center brought out by manual touch, not strictly masturbation, which somewhat earlier she had once or twice attempted, both roughly and gently, without the slightest result. At the same time the sight of the whip fetich lost something of its attraction.

At this point a notable stage was reached in Florrie's sexual evolution. Hitherto she had never experienced the orgasm. Imperfect connection with her husband, erotic reverie, actual flagellation, attempts at masturbation, none of these ever led up to actual orgasm, although there had often been a high degree of sexual erethism with much mucous discharge. She had come to the conclusion that she was one of the women she had heard of who never experience the orgasm. At this period, however, early one morning, just after the end of the menstrual period, experiencing vague sexual feelings, her thoughts recurred to the whip which she had not used for a long time She tried one or two strokes; it cut her painfully and she felt nothing but the pain. So she lay down on her face and thought over things. *Why* had whipping such attraction And why should that particular part of the body so enjoy being hit? She pondered, and gradually it came to her ("things are always so slow," she remarked, "such ages in dawning when they have to do with sex, so far as I am concerned") that if she was so sensitive to these blows on the outside perhaps, even without whipping, she might feel some sensation by penetrating further inside, though any approach towards the rectum, which she felt sure had nothing to do with her sensations, had no

attraction. She placed her hand, however, between the nates touching the anus and extending to the vagina, moving about a little, and tried to imagine it was a man's hand. "All at once my thighs and legs began to twitch and move in an involuntary manner, my heart began to beat more quickly, and waves of warmth seemed to pass up my body to my head. The vulva seemed to distend terrifically, and become springy, so that my bottom was sent up and down as if I were on springs. Then followed curious sucking-up sensations at intervals, contractions that seemed to want to draw in something. I had by now removed my hand, but the feeling went on just the same. At last (after a few seconds, I suppose, really) it was all over, leaving wetness, and I was rather frightened, like a child that has accidentally set off an alarm." But she repeated the experience three times in succession, with nearly the same result each time, and then got up, very white, and rather shaky. She realized that, for the first time in her life, in a totally unexpected way, a way that seemed to her rather horrid so that she was never tempted to repeat it, she had experienced the orgasm.

This manifestation of the orgasm is a fact of great significance. We see that Florrie's gluteal obsession had a genuine physical basis, being associated with a corresponding sexual orientation, natural or acquired, and probably both, in the direction of the anus. We realize how deeply implanted in the organism are these complexes which, to the superficial observer, often seem to be entirely psychic, mere vagaries, arbitrary and capricious, the result of accidental external circumstances.

At the same time it must be realized that this manifestation of the orgasm, although occurring under abnormal conditions, yet marked a real stage in the progress towards normality. On previous occasions she had frequently whipped herself until exhausted, yet never produced orgasm. But after this incident, on one occassion, when the flagellatory obsession was abating, and she had not whipped herself for some months, there was a temporary recurrence of the old longing and she applied the riding whip one morning. For the first time in her experience this application produced definite sexual feelings followed by

orgasm, though not of the intensity reached in the experiences just described. It must be added that, although Florrie had never experienced the orgasm in connection with the anus or any other region before the occasion described, she had at a somewhat earlier date experienced a slightly sexual feeling on the insertion of an enema nozzle, and had afterwards tried this as an experiment, thus producing a distinctly sexual sensation by pushing it in and out, a more distinctly sexual sensation, she remarked, than that produced by the insertion of a vaginal syringe. Another incident may be mentioned, in connection with an increasing sexual sensibility of the vulva region, to indicate Florrie's slow approach towards the normal state. Sometimes, especially in the morning, as the obsession of whipping became rarer, she would now feel an intense longing to rub herself against something. This troubled her, though she recognized that it was a substitute for the desire to whip herself, but as it persisted she tried to relieve it, at first by riding astride a bedstead, a pillow, or other object. Then by much thinking she spontaneously devised the idea of a round india rubber ball to secure the desired end; she obtained one, rather larger than an egg but round, and stuffed it into the vulva, finding that it produced contractions at once, with much wetness, and a very soothing effect. "I felt pacified, like a baby that is given a teat to suck! It stuck in of itself, and when I walked upstairs produced a lovely soothing sensation, but I only allowed it to remain about ten minutes, as it caused so much wetness, and I had my doubts as to whether I was doing a very nice or proper thing. I am not in the habit of doing such things to myself, but on this occasion I was mad to relieve the longing."

About two months after Florrie had for the first time experienced the orgasm there occurred her first real erotic dream, with orgasm during sleep.[1] "It came to me just as I was going

[1] I may remark that this succession of events is in accordance with what I have elsewhere stated (*Studies*, vol. i, 3d ed., p. 197), that it is the rule for women to experience the orgasm in sleep only after it has been experienced in waking life, a statement which has been criticized on insufficient grounds.

off to sleep (after having already been asleep once) and I was not sure at first whether I was awake or asleep. I lay face downwards on grass somewhere and a snake coiled itself round and round my naked body, and as it closed round me and drew me tight I had a delicious sensation. I knew it was a friendly snake and that it wanted to be nice to me, and I liked it in consequence. It is not now clear to me whether there were not two snakes, but I distinctly remember seeing one in a man's hand. He put it down between my legs, and it crawled up with a somewhat jerky movement, and I was not surprised at all when I felt it entering my body. Instead of horror it gave me a lovely sensation, and the part that was outside I clasped between my thighs. It seemed to occupy a great space inside me, but I dreaded the moment when it would withdraw itself, and was just wondering what would finally happen when I suddenly awoke. I tried to cherish the illusion that the snake was there, but finally awoke properly and realized that one arm was fastened under my body and tightly clasped between my thighs. The vulva was contracting spasmodically. There was no revulsion of feeling, but the thought of the wriggling, writhing thing working its way up inside me gave me a delicious sensation. It was a long time before I shook it off. Now writing this and thinking of snakes I still feel no horror. But I hope I shan't see one at a picture house or anywhere for I am afraid it would excite me. This was the most definite sex dream I ever had and was simply luscious." Florrie comments that she cannot remember dreaming of snakes previously, but had been reading of snakes the day before. She had seen snakes in the woods in France and their flexibility and writhing movement have a fascination for her. She connects this flexibility with her old preference for a pliable whip over a stick. "A snake is something like a whip,"[1] and to picture a writhing snake makes a sexual appeal to her. The snake, it need scarcely be said, is a recognized symbol of the penis, but

[1] The snake is, indeed, a symbol of the whip, and of the ancient Serb hero, Prince Kralyevich Marko, it was said that, when mounted on his steed, a serpent served him as bridle and another as a whip.

it has a greater resemblance to a whip, and thus naturally became identified in Florrie's subconscious mind with her own erotic symbol.

In this tentative and experimental period of transition there was, however, an interest which began to assume a certain stability, and became, in a sense, a substitute for the interest in whipping. This was an interest in the act of urination. It was not, as Florrie's history will have shown, a new interest, but one of early appearance, which had never quite died out, and now, with the recession of the interest in whipping, it became prominent. It may be defined as a mild form of urolagnia, and it is important to understand that it never became, as the passion for flagellation had been, an almost uncontrollable obsession, and never led, like the flagellatory mania, to those violent impulses and torturing apprehensions which had marked her auto-flagellatory phase. As Florrie herself recognized, while of a more peculiarly intimate and private character, it was also more nearly normal than the flagellatory obsession; it brought a certain measure of relief, and it indicated a real progress.

Before describing this new phase, however, an incident must be narrated which definitely brought to an end the dominance of the earlier craving. Whipping had not lost all its fascination, but it had ceased to be an uncontrollable obsession dominating the whole personality, and leading to acts which might well have become dangerous for Florrie's mental integrity as well as her social position. She was able to write: "The whipping craze seems to have evaporated for the present after raging for four years, and I suppose I ought to be glad. I don't know that I am exactly. I miss it in a way. It has left me as sexy as ever but in a vague and more general way." The reality of the progress made was, however, at this period put to the test. At the moment when she thought the obsession was subsiding altogether a letter unexpectedly arrived from N., full of enthusiasm over flagellation, the craze for which possessed him more than ever, and indicating that he had never met anyone so well suited to share in that enthusiasm as herself. At once the dying flame flared up into new life. She felt

ashamed of herself, she tried to escape from the reviving ardor, but in vain. He wanted another interview. She had no liking for the man, even hated the idea of his coming near her, or touching her with a whip. Yet for a moment the impulse was overmastering, and she wrote to agree to the interview, which this time was to be at her own house. The moment after she posted her letter she regretted it. She recalled all the progress she had made of late, the new standpoints of knowledge and self-control she had been reaching, her realization of the merely abstract, primitive, and animal nature of a sexual gratification obtained through whipping, however intense and pleasurable it might be, and her new recognition of sex feelings as too intimate and personal to be connected with anyone for whom she felt no love and respect. Florrie thus speedily recovered her self-command, revoked her first hasty decision, and wrote again to N. to explain that she could not, after all, grant him the interview, and no longer even desired it; so far as she was concerned all that was at an end. As soon as this second letter was despatched the revived obsession died down as suddenly as it had sprung up. This was a tremendous relief to Florrie. She felt genuinely grateful and glad. That, she thought, was the end of N. So far as her obsession was concerned, that was the end of N. But it was not the immediate end on his side. On the day and hour first appointed and afterwards cancelled, N. appeared at the house to Florrie's consternation. She explained that she had written to ask him not to come. He denied receiving the second letter (though later he inadvertently quoted a sentence from it) and still further agitated Florrie by raising his voice in excitement and demanding that at all events she should appoint another interview. At this point an afternoon caller was heard ringing the front door bell, and it became necessary to smuggle N. out of the drawing room immediately. He refused to leave the house. At this critical moment Florrie's feminine resourcefulness and presence of mind asserted themselves. She remembered an isolated, unused room at the top of the house, cut off by a separate stair-case, and to her great relief N. consented to follow her there. There she locked him

in, after he had nervously asked her to assure him that he was safe. When her visitor in the drawing room had finished her call Florrie at once flew up to the locked room where she found N. in a rather frightened state, she was not clear why, and after some difficulty, still refusing to agree to any further interviews, —though she was by no means feeling very brave—she succeeded in cajoling him down and let him out through a back door in the garden. That was the last she saw or heard of him. His fascination was completely lost. He had succeeded in making himself both contemptible and ridiculous.

The urolagnic interest, like the flagellatory interest, was, as we know, rooted in Florrie's experience as a child when the two were in origin combined. The emotional reservoir, so clearly associated with the sexual sphere, which her childish whippings stimulated, was that of fear, and the bladder played the most prominent part in the fear reaction, on one occasion at least producing urination directly her father began to whip her. But that early common root will hardly suffice to explain why it was that the urolagnic element developed at this stage to take the place of the receding flagellatory element. Let us look into the matter a little more closely. We may then find that there are links of connection apart from that early common origin.

Florrie herself, who became so acute an analyst of her own experiences, pointed out the significant fact that in a woman there is invariably a mental association,—an association which has no existence in a man's mind,—between the nates and the act of urination. The little girl's drawers must be unfastened behind to permit of the act being accomplished and the grown woman must raise her clothes behind for the same act; even when, as is now so often the custom, she adopts the standing attitude in private, she usually raises the clothes behind, though, as the stream tends to take a forward direction, it would be more convenient to raise them in front. Thus, throughout life, in a woman's mind there is an association between urination and bared prominent nates. Custom, as Florrie emphasizes, compels a woman to bare and protrude the nates and sit

for the purpose of urination, and when there is nothing to sit upon to squat, although, she adds, "as far as decency goes, it might be much more modest to turn one's back to any stray passerby, and raise the skirts in front, towards a protective bush; but this would be contrary to habit—and savour of a man!" Even when, as we have seen to be the case with Florrie, the practice of urination in the open without raising of the skirts is adopted, the prominence of the nates may still be asserted, for, as Florrie discovered, the act is best performed in this attitude when bending forward slightly and so protruding the nates. She had noticed this in women abroad and referred especially to a peasant woman she had once come across, with her skirts raised over her head, wearing no drawers, and bending far forward. "She was standing at the wayside and might have been picking flowers by the attitude, but for the upturned clothes, and the perfectly visible stream that descended with great force, splashing up and running off the grass to make a rivulet in the road." Florrie notes also having seen an exactly similar scene in a French engraving of the early eighteenth century. But this attitude is not only practically advantageous, it was also, in Florrie's experience, in itself a pleasant attitude, evidently because of the prominence it gave to the nates. "I remember many years ago trying it for the first time," she writes. "I was out with a party for a picnic and was too shy to suggest retiring, so it occurred to me that I might do it unnoticed if I pretended to pick flowers. I managed fairly well but splashed my dress in front. Unfortunately it showed, and I had to pretend I had got into some water in a ditch, and was fearfully embarrassed. But I remember distinctly that it gave me such a pleasurable feeling to do it stooping forward, much nicer than standing upright,—a more sexy sensation. I don't know how to explain this unless it is somehow vaguely and unconsciously connected with the bottom. I don't know how it may be with others."

There was, however, another favoring influence in this change of interest in Florrie's mind. The urolagnic day-dreams —although the urination interest and the whipping interest had

become apparently separated in her ideas for so many years during which the former had considerably receded followed closely, so far as her recollections can be trusted, on the flagellatory day-dreams, at the time when she had clearly realized that these latter were sexual. But the latter prevailed not only by their elements of fear, anger, love of force, and desire for pain, but also by their appeal to touch. In urination she missed this sense of touch. It is probable, as she herself believes, that the urolagnic interest would not have become in any sense a substitute for the flagellatory interest if she had not accidentally discovered a mode of considerably heightening her delight in it by introducing the sensation of touch. She had not been in the habit of touching herself except with the whip, and such experiments as she had made in that direction by friction of the clitoris had yielded little result. She was, therefore, considerably surprised when on first making the experiment of allowing the stream in the act of urinating to gush over her hand she experienced not only a warm and pleasant sensation, but a decidedly sexual feeling, still further heightened if during the act the urethra or vulva was touched, although at other times such a touch would be without effect. This seemed to explain to her why it was she had long vaguely felt how nice it would be for someone to touch her there just as she was about to begin, especially "when the baldder is full and just dying to do a stream."

This experiment was prompted by the idea of trying to realize the sensation of someone else urinating upon her, an idea which she was now craving to realize as she had formerly craved to realize the idea of being whipped by a man. As it proved so successful, a new and powerful impulse was given to urolagnic day-dreams. On these lines Florrie's day-dreams now advanced rapidly. At the outset, as she herself remarked, the mere idea of urinating before a person of the other sex itself seems shocking, even to be discovered in the squatting position in a wood seems terrible. But the fascination of the situation grows ever more urgent, and ever bolder attitudes and situations are pictured in imagination, to be further elaborated

under the stimulus of the delicious sensations they arouse. In the conflict between shrinking modesty and reserve on the one hand, and these daring imaginations, the urolagnic impulse produced the same fascination of horror which accompanied the auto-flagellatory day-dreams.

There is yet another point to be mentioned in regard to this transformation of Florrie's phantasies, important as bringing out more clearly the fact that the transformation represented a real stage of progress towards the normal condition in other respects than in its greater harmlessness. It was more definitely heterosexual and more intimately personal. This also Florrie herself perceived and recognized as a new and additional attraction. In urolagnic phantasies she was able to realize a close and more intimate relationship with the hero of the day-dream than was possible by whipping. "I felt instinctively that more would depend on the man himself. One could be more indifferent to a man who used a whip than to a man who urinated on one."

Florrie added some remarks on what seemed to her the natural connection between urination and the sexual emotions, a connection often overlooked. "Even day-dreams always make me want to urinate, as well as being with one of the opposite sex I like, though I might not have the slightest inclination before. I don't know of course what others feel about it, for I have never heard, but I think most people vaguely feel that they would like more than they think they ought to say. When, as sometimes happens, a girl imagines in her ignorance that the sexual act consists in a man urinating on her, and this fancy persists in after life when she knows better, as a special liking, then I affirm that it is not entirely liked as a symbol only. Of course it is a form of erotic symbolism, and might disappear with the experience of normal coitus, just like the desire to be whipped, for the love of 'substitutes' is strengthened in those who are debarred from natural relationships. But for my part I think it a natural liking, intimately connected with the sexual feelings, and it seems chiefly prejudice which makes some people think otherwise."

With regard to the hero of Florrie's day-dreams, it may be remarked here that he was not a real person, but vague and imaginary. This was invariably the case in all her earlier periods of phantasy, and usually but not quite invariably in the later stages. This was a natural progression. Children do not normally weave their phantasies round real persons; they make them up, create them. Florrie's day-dreams in childhood and adolescence were a continuation of infantile phantasies, and they showed therefore the same normal absence of real persons. But in adult life, when the day-dreams again emerged, the preservation of this anonymity of the hero was more deliberate. Although the charm of the day-dreams lay largely in the emotional relief furnished by their shocking audacity, modesty and reserve yet prevented her from going so far as to take the liberty of introducing a real person into the hero part. "I can never get over the feeling," she writes, "that it seems like taking an unpardonable liberty with a real person to make him play a part like that. Day-dreams are such tremendously *real* things, that it seems even greater sacrilege than if it happened in real life. A moral embarrassment, probably far greater than in actual life, seizes me, and I *dare* not make another act as I should wish. It may be because my life has been lived so much among thoughts and intellectual ideas generally (or perhaps it is my 'psychoneurosis'!) that they take such a startling reality. I argue with myself that it can't possibly hurt the Person, especially as he will never know, and mightn't care even if he did, and that after all it is only a creation of my brain. Yet the fact remains I deny myself many nice day-dreams that would bring relief because I have this strange moral objection to involving another. Once or twice, I admit with shame, I have made delightful use of a real person in a rare day-dream, but awful qualms of repentance have followed. Yet it is a great relief, greater than the Abstract, so much more deliciously real. In my case, it could never be an absolute stranger I had casually seen, as in a railway train; that seems to me not only appalling impudence, but makes no appeal. It must be someone I know, like and respect and

secretly adore." What real person was introduced into the part on these rare occasions Florrie never mentioned and was never asked. It must be added, however, that her scrupulosity in this matter—unreasonable as it may seem—was entirely normal. As the purely imaginary day-dreams of the infantile stage take on a more adult form they fall more and more into line with real life. That is an approximation to the normal. But it is also normal that precisely because the day-dreams are thus brought close to real life there should be the same scruple as real life would bring of abusing the personality of another. This is strongly felt by entirely normal and healthy women (men are probably often less scrupulous) who if they are betrayed into an erotic day-dream concerning a real person will often experience deep shame.[1]

Before, however, proceeding to describe Florrie's urolagnic day-dreams we may at this point touch on her nocturnal dreams during sleep. It may perhaps seem that this should have been done at an earlier stage. Florrie is not, however, a vivid dreamer; she herself remarks that all her powers of dreaming have been absorbed in day-dreaming. Except the dream already recorded, she has never had any sexual dream, and she has never dreamt of whipping. The matters that most absorb her attention during waking activity fail to enter her dreams (it is the experience of many); they are mostly made up of the trivialities of the previous day, mingled with reminiscences of people and incidents belonging to school life and the period before marriage. It seems probable that she dreams more often

[1] In this and many other respects Florrie was more normal than Zenia X. (whose history is indirectly recorded in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, October, 1914). In many points, even of detail, Zenia X. and Florrie, whose day-dreams began in each case at the age of nine, are alike. But whereas Florrie, who never saw the slightest objection to the pleasure of actual urination in a wood, felt very scrupulous about introducing a real person into a day-deam, Zenia regarded urination in a wood as a sexual temptation to be strongly resisted, but saw not the slightest objection to the introduction into her phantasies of real persons towards whom her affections went out. In other words, the moral censure was in Florrie's case on the imaginary world, not on the actual world, in Zenia's case on the actual world, not on the imaginary world, and that means a deeper degree of abnormality, since the energies shut out from the real world furnish a mischievous potency in the unreal world.

than she believes, but her dreams are pale and fade on waking if no effort is made to retain them. They usually occur about the period of menstruation.

She was requested to observe them and note them down carefully on waking. The significant fact was thus disclosed that though she had no dreams of whipping, her more vivid dreams, though not urolagnic, were symbolic of urination, and this was the case even when she had not herself realized it, though she had discovered the influence of a full bladder on dream activity. A few examples may be given, though it can scarcely be said that Florrie's dreams throw any special light upon her history, beyond confirming what was already clear, and they belong to easily recognizable types.

"Just before the last menstrual period and when the bladder seemed more full than usual (I seem to urinate more often then) I had the following dream. I was in a church. This dream has come to me before; but this time it was an English church and there were rows of pews well filled. I wanted to get out, and finally found myself walking up the aisle; everyone stared and looked reprovingly at me, but I pressed on and passed through a south door to find myself in some cloisters. There a foreign guide came up and assured me in a confidential way that he could show me the way (I was quite vague as to my ultimate destination, but I seemed to be hurrying *somewhere*). He pointed out that I could pass through the rooms of the picture gallery and come out at the other end. 'No one will stop you and you will be unobserved.' I hurried through deserted rooms with polished floors, and walls lined with old masters. But I did not stop to look at any. I was pressing on eagerly to the exit.

"Then I came to a door, and pushing it open found to my horror that I was in a room occupied by two librarians seated at a table writing among books. Their faces were quite unfamiliar. I apologized and beat a hasty retreat, but was called back. They said they wanted my opinion about a new book. I was seized with fearful panic, for I wanted to get to the exit, and was being hindered. Hastily and abruptly I pushed through

a door I saw opposite, and was once more in galleries and corridors. Oddly enough—and how I got there I don't know—I found myself next in a tiny shop, where a man was serving me with black satin waistcoats for gentlemen. 'Ah, not *black!*' I exclaimed in horror and rushed out. Finally I found myself, calm and collected, on the steps of a house to be let or sold. It was empty, and had a dreary, deserted look. It was apparently in a London Square. I opened the door with a key and entered a gloomy hall, passing up the dark staircase. It was getting dusk and a shiver, partially of fear, came over me. The sensation of going up and up, and not daring to look round was very vivid. I wandered aimlessly through vacant rooms, feeling depressed and anxious. All was silent till I tried a bell to see if it would ring, and then was alarmed at the loud, clanging sound that echoed through the deserted house and in the basement below. I stood stock still, alarmed at my own temerity in having disturbed the stillness, still more alarmed when I became conscious of distant regular footsteps echoing through the empty house. I was rooted to the spot with terror, as tramp, tramp, came the steps up the stairs, approaching nearer and nearer. I made sure it was some ghostly inhabitant coming to visit me, disturbed by the bell, and I finally found courage to move through a door near. This led me to a landing and some stairs which brought me eventually to the kitchen. The basement was quite dark and the kitchen shutters were closed; but presently it grew lighter and I saw a window, typical of a city basement, and a table near it. It was like the kitchen of an early home—the same house where I used to get the whippings—but in my dream it seemed a strange house. As the light appeared I saw traces of cooking about, and wondered how they came there. I was undecided what to do, when a housemaid came out of the scullery, but I experienced no surprise or fright. My thoughts were centered on the floor. It was stone. But it was not that which was riveting my attention. The floor was wet, it was running with water apparently. Astonished, I questioned the servant who looked embarrassed, and then laughed and explained: 'It was cook done that!' I

thought at first she meant the cook had spilt some water, then her meaning dawned, and I expressed my horror at cook's behavior. For it was evident cook had made water on the kitchen floor. After this I have no clear recollection of what happened. When I got up the bladder was very full. This dream was early in the morning. The bell may have been the first breakfast bell, and the fear I felt was like that I had when my father was coming to whip me. The Picture Gallery was suggested by the fact that I had been studying 'The Madonna di San Sisto' the night before." This dream is full of the symbolism of urinary desire, and nothing is commoner in such dreams than for the sleeper's desire to be embodied in the action of another person.

The next dream brought forward was as follows:

"I was in a vast Cathedral. There were broad aisles and lofty arches and stained glass windows. At first I was under the impression that I was in Westminster Abbey, but this idea faded away and I knew I was in some foreign building. Facing me was a gorgeous High Altar and I was reminded somehow of St. Roch, although the rest of the building was not unlike Antwerp Cathedral. There was a good deal of crimson about the High Altar, and lighted candles. But what impressed me most was the multitude assembled there. I was near the back (West end) wedged in with others on cane-seated chairs. The whole of the vast Cathedral seemed packed with people. I spoke to someone at the back, expressing my wish to go out. I had a great longing to leave, I don't know why. I next found myself in a large bare building occupied only by some schoolchildren who were congregated on the back seats. Again discontent came over me. I enquired when 'the performance' would begin, and finding it impossible to sit still I said, 'I will go to take my ticket.' A lady replied, 'Oh, but the ticket office is closed. It won't be open yet.' Nevertheless, I rushed about trying to get my ticket. Then a diversion was caused by the entrance of a lovely collie dog. The children played with it, but it showed a special liking for me, and I caressed it and it followed me about. Still impatient, I sprang up and said, 'I

think I should like to see the room we are to sleep in at the Hotel.' So I went out of the door and asked a man to direct me. The rest of the building I was in seemed to be the hotel and he said, 'Turn to the left and then again to the left and then to the right.' I seemed to run (with the collie following) down long white marble passages with great white doors on either side. They were all closed tightly, silence reigned, and there was no sign of life. I had been told that our bedroom was the billiard room and I now thought of asking directions, for I had lost my way. A man passed, but I did not stop him to enquire, for how, I thought, can our bedroom be the billiard room? Anyhow, it sounds silly; I will go back and abandon the search. I don't much care for this cold, deserted *campo santo* sort of place. I long to be in the open air, and out of these confined passages. I next found myself on a country road. The day was hot and it was summer. The road was very white and dusty and by the side were green banks. I sat down by the roadside on the grassy bank and my husband sat by me. I did not seem surprised to see him. I looked down the long white road and was conscious of something coming towards me, moving rapidly. 'Oh, it is the collie!' I exclaimed in delight. But as it approached it changed gradually into a small pony—brown and very pretty. 'This must be the children's pony' I said, 'no doubt it is a great pet.' I sought thus to connect it with the children in the building. It came straight towards us, and evidently wanted to be noticed. I was delighted, and caressed it, patting its back, and it seemed most friendly. Then its legs seemed to shrivel up somehow and what was left of the legs became tucked up under its body, so that it nestled down on a level with us on the bank, between us. It thrust its head under my arm and wriggled about its body and I caressed its silky hair and called imploringly to my husband to fondle it too. 'Oh, do! do!' I pleaded, 'just pat its nice fat sides, it does want you to so much. Look at it, how it is simply asking you to notice it.' I was burying my face in its plump back and enjoying its demonstrations of affection. But my husband moved away about half a yard on the bank and refused. 'I never care to

touch strange animals,' he said. 'They might bite, I will leave you to caress it.' Then the road and the bank and my husband and the pony vanished. I found myself back again in the Church, still crowded, so that I could not get a seat in the nave. But there were some odd chairs on the north side, on a line with the High Altar. I sat in one, but I did not like it, as I had thus to face the congregation, and I felt shy. Presently I became aware that the chair was somewhat rickety and I thought to myself that 'These chairs were evidently broken ones, put here to be out of the way, and not meant for people to sit on.' To the right a door opened on to some cloisters and just inside stood a priest who seemed to be conducting the service. Presently some women and a child came pushing in near me, and took chairs behind. The chairs were smaller than mine, but the woman said they would do. I was very puzzled as to how a woman could squeeze herself into a child's chair with sides. The woman near me was English. She repelled me, being of the common tripper type seen in summer on the sands at the seaside. She had red in her hat, and the sides of the chairs were painted red. A child, a little boy, came and pushed himself between my knees. He was looking at a picture book. The presence of this infant perturbed me dreadfully, though I felt it was rather nice and seemed fond of me. I wished it would go out, for it was making me uncomfortable. Then I spoke to the woman in the red hat about the chairs and she admitted hers was more than shaky, but she was willing to risk it. Then I had a curious sensation. The cane seat of the chair seemed to be crumbling away beneath me. The chair frame stood firm, but very gradually the cane work sank and burst round, so that I was gradually let through the chair, but yet entirely supported by the framework, so that no one knew of the disaster. I had been afraid of the chair collapsing, and I thought the congregation would see me and laugh. I did not pray, or feel religious. My thoughts were with the chair, and the child—who had now gone. Then—although I do not remember distinctly quitting the chair—I found myself with my

mother in another part of the same building. An official was showing us some old carved pews.

"A row of cherry stones were ranged on the top of one of the pews and he was telling my mother her fortune. I remember vaguely that he said a lot of things, and finally that my mother was going to America and there she would rise to a high position and wear a red and gold official cap. She laughed and said he must be telling his own fortune, since he wore a red and gold three-cornered hat, and ladies were not so decorated. He emphasized the fact that in America ladies were admitted to all sorts of honors denied them in England, and that it was quite possible for my mother to rise to a high position. He turned to me and asked if I would not like to see the ladies' swimming contest. He showed us a sort of narrow artificial canal, with some painted scenery behind. I protested loudly that it was most unwomanly to swim! We had a heated controversy, over all the things women ought or ought not to do. Then I found myself quite alone walking behind the High Altar. There was no one there. All at once I became aware of a man's approach. He was a very seedy individual, his clothes once black were now of a greenish tinge, dusty and unkempt, his thick black hair hung disordered, and he had a dusty shabby half bowler on his head. The face was sallow, tending to a greenish shade, heavy and inert. His black eyes were dull, his expression lifeless. It was N. A very changed N., but still I recognized him; I did not like to allude to his changed appearance, but he saw the question in my eyes and he said dully: 'I am hard up.' I began to reproach him and reminded him that he had said he had just received some money. 'That's spent,' he said. 'I want more.' I felt sick. I shivered and wondered how I could ever have let him touch me. 'I must have been mad,' I thought, 'such an odious brute!' He still pressed for money. I told him (rather irrelevantly) that I was not now so much affected by my old craze, and did not want him and begged him to go away. Then he was furious and put his hand on my shoulder and shook me violently. I had a curious sense of dwindling away and disappearing, and

then I awoke. It was 6 A.M. and I made water to a great extent. It is one of the most complete dreams I ever had. Yet I cannot trace its origin as well as of the previous dream, and I do not remember thinking about churches. But a collie had come into our garden and could not get out. I was much amused at its antics in trying to escape. The pony I cannot account for, except very faintly. The children were undoubtedly caused by reading the night before about the erotic satisfaction some women feel when suckling their babies. A lady I once met told me it was the sweetest sensation she had ever experienced in her life, and I thought of this. Although women never affect me erotically I remembered how twice in my life, once when a child, and again when grown up, I had been profoundly affected at the sight of a woman with a baby at her breast. The cane-seated chair was the outcome of my wish to buy some chairs of this description. The sense of going through was suggested by my weight."

The foregoing dream, although Florrie remarked in sending it that she did not know if it showed any indication of being a bladder dream, is really very typical of the vesical dream. In manifest content, as Freud would put it, there is no reference to urination throughout, yet the symbolism constantly tends to have reference to that function and to the state of desire that precedes it: the "latent content" is throughout urinary, and so it distinctly falls into what I term the vesical group of dreams.[1]

The following dream Florrie described as one of the most vivid she had ever had:

"I dreamt I was sitting in front of a fire day-dreaming. The room was apparently a kind of salon, with French windows to the left. I seemed to be the only person in the room and I was wrapped in a reverie of most engrossing nature when I turned my head to look out of the window and saw the curtain move. It was pulled back and I saw my mother behind, sitting

---

[1] It is sometimes overlooked, I may remark here, that not only the sexual impulse but any other repressed primary impulse may form the latent content of a dream, beneath a manifest content of quite different texture.

by the window. I felt perturbed, as though she had intruded on my privacy. She spoke to me and then all was silent. Suddenly I became conscious that the rain was coming down in torrents, quite a deluge, I could hear it, and looking out I saw it, although dimly, for it was nearly dark. My father was outside (he has been dead some years) and called out to my mother, saying it was too wet for her to come out. The streets were running with water. From the window the outlook was the same as from rooms we had once occupied at Ostend. Then my mother got up and approached me. She was all in black, deep mourning (black often comes into my dreams), and came forward with a gliding motion. As she drew near she seemed strangely unlike my mother, grew transformed and uncanny. She was tall and thin with a long black wriggling train to her dress (I saw the same figure in a dream at Florence once), had light fluffy hair and a weird witch-like expression on her face. She came close behind me and put her hand (a small white hand) on my shoulder. I shuddered with horror, and she remonstrated and was much hurt at my aversion. I was semi-clothed, the upper part of my body had only a vest on, and the touch of her hand was on my bare flesh. She explained that she was my mother and I ought not to rebuff her, but I still drew back. She tried to push down my vest and I protested and stopped her, and she saw my repugnance and her face was full of bitter hatred. The expression was awful. I begged her to take her hands off me. She then placed her left hand on my neck and bid me look. I gazed in a sort of fascinated horror, and when she lifted her hand off the little finger was left behind adhering to my skin, and a bright blue flame appeared on the bed opposite—for the room now seemed somehow to have become a bedroom. A most triumphant, uncanny expression of delight at my terror came over her face. I imagined she was a witch and was horror-struck. I then awoke.

"This dream I imagine was suggested by the lady doctor remembrance. I cannot in any way account for the bright blue flame. The incident of sitting in my vest was suggested by the fact that I had been trying on some vests. The rain I

cannot account for since the night was fine, as was the preceding day. When I awoke it was about two o'clock and I jumped out of bed to urinate, being in some distress with a full bladder."

So far as the central part of this dream is concerned with its torrents of rain, it is definitely and typically symbolic of the desire to urinate. A bright light, such as seen in the conclusion of the dream, is often caused by some actual light seen through the curtain of the eyelids, and the concluding episode of the dream was suggested by a reminiscence which came to Florrie's mind before falling asleep of a physical examination by a woman doctor which had been undergone with much repugnance. This genital suggestion was the naturally resultant secondary element not uncommon in vesical dreams.

It was desirable to test the nature and quality of Florrie's nocturnal dreams, but the field hardly seemed to be rich enough to repay much cultivation. In Florrie's case, throughout, the day-dream has absorbed most of the subconscious psychic activity which in some people is brilliantly manifested in nocturnal dreaming, and, rightly or wrongly, here there seemed no need to employ any complex and dubious methods of interpretation. This remained so in her last and urolagnic phase.

Although the urolagnic day-dreams had their origin some way back, and though, as we have seen, whipping and urination were throughout connected in Florrie's mind, the whipping day-dreams always leading to a desire to urinate, the two classes of day-dreams had tended to remain separate, and now it was the urolagnic group that covered the whole field and attained new and bolder developments, in which the climax tended to become the representation of the act of urination accomplished upon her own body. There was a general mark of this class of dreams, distinguishing them from the whipping dreams, not only in the fact, already noted, that they were more intimate and personally individualized, but that, instead of being located indoors, they were always imagined as out of doors and thus came to be connected with rural scenery, and to find symbolic links of association with Nature and with natural scenery. There was thus

an instinctive attempt not only to poetize what might seem their unduly physiological character, but to diffuse their intensity in a widespread interest in the forms of water in Nature. Florrie was thus brought near to that psycho-sexual tendency which I am inclined to call Undinism. There remained a community of nature with the flagellatory day-dreams in a sensory foundation that was mainly that of touch, a sense which usually plays a leading part in the erotic emotion of women. Merely to observe the act of urination Florrie regarded as a secondary pleasure, "though not without a delicious charm." It was to the sense of touch that the imaginative appeal was made ("why, if one squeezes warm water out of a sponge on to one's flesh, it gives one thrills"); to be taken into a field or wood in summer time, stripped of her clothes under the shade of the trees, and then the sensation of the stream on her flesh, all the more delicious because connected with the most intimate thoughts, feelings, and sensations. The hero, while usually somewhat shadowy, was always a man, never a woman.

A typical dream was described as follows: "I am generally in a wood or glen, with open spaces here and there, and very often a brook or running water near. Of course it is summer. I am lying, generally face downward, on a comfortable grass plot (softer in my imagination than it probably would be in reality) when the Stranger comes up. I cannot identify him, for my day-dreams have always been indistinct on this point. (But in my night dreams persons are always distinct.) Although strange I feel that he is nice. I say 'feel' because that just expresses it. I don't *see* him clearly, but I *feel* he wants to please me. He sits down by me, and talks, but it rather passes over my head, for I feel that he is giving me a vague sexy feeling and I cannot resist it. He seems to know exactly how I feel, and sympathizes. Custom and conventionality make a woman dread to admit that she wants anything from a man, but being a day-dream and strictly private, I admit frankly that I am longing for him to urinate on me. He guesses it, and expresses a strong wish to do so, but I must remove my clothes, in order to feel it on my bare flesh, and not to wet my garments.

This rather appals me, but he helps me, and the touch of his hand thrills me. As each garment is removed I feel more and more helpless but more and more sexy. Finally nude, I try to hide in the grass, feeling at a disadvantage and very uncomfortable. He is clothed and that seems to accentuate his already masculine superiority, whilst my unclothed state accentuates my feminine inferiority. At the same time it increases my sex feeling, which is largely based on a perhaps exaggerated view of the sex differences. (Some old pictures—Giorgione's Concert in the Louvre, for instance—give us clothed men and naked women, but I don't know of an instance where it is reversed.) He seems to be in no hurry to begin, and when he just places his hand on my thigh and rests it there I feel thrills of delight. Then lying, half hidden in the grass, I am conscious that he is preparing himself to begin. But this critical moment has never become a very clear incident, even in a day-dream just told to myself. I have never dared to picture it. I feel vaguely, perhaps erroneously, that he might resent my watching him, and my inability to read the thoughts of another causes the picture to become blurred here. But I can quite imagine that the tiniest element of phallus worship might easily develop under these circumstances.

"I picture him in all sorts of attitudes, standing, kneeling, half lying, anyhow, so that I can feel the benefit of the warm, soothing stream. He turns me over so that I feel it everywhere, it is delicious on the breasts and arms and thighs. Sometimes I picture him naked and then he treads on me with bare feet, or stands astride my thighs. Sometimes I stand and he kneels or stands, accentuating the pleasure by putting his left hand between my thighs. But the most delicious sensation of all is when I lie face downwards and he pulls my legs wide apart and kneels between them and urinates right into the vulva. Sometimes he does this with me face upwards, and it is always a triumph of sensations—I seem to crave more and more. In itself the sensation is delicious, added to the keen feeling that it is part of himself and precious on that account. Very often these day-dreams are so strong that I can distinctly detect the

odor of urine, although I am aware that this is a trick of the senses. In my day-dream it pleases me, too, to see it done, although the sight is perhaps a trifle subordinate to the sensation produced by the running fluid on one's bare flesh. I think, too, that I should not object to it on my face, or even in my mouth.

"Day-dreams of this description are such a horribly private sort of thing that it appears a kind of treachery to oneself to drag them to daylight! I feel ashamed, too, as if I never ought to have thus indulged myself. One does it so secretly that when it is written down in words one feels astonished and abashed. Still, this does not make it less real, although it costs me something to write it."

This was the chief though not the only variety of urolagnic day-dream which Florrie experienced. She never realized it in life, never even made the slightest attempt to realize it; it was too intimate and private for that. But she craved for it, and would lie face downward on the bed or sofa, as in the days of her whipping obsession, and sometimes would pull up her clothes and imagine that the desired act was being performed over her, sometimes even squirt warm water on to herself in order to simulate the experience. These manifestations, it must be noted, were far slighter than the corresponding manifestations associated with flagellation, and of comparatively faint obsessional power.

She would also indulge in the act of urination in unconventional ways that seemed to make it more interesting and attractive. The method she found most pleasing was to adopt a semi-reclining position with separated legs. After various experiments on the floor and the bed, etc., she found most success and satisfaction by placing a cane chair in a large long bath and leaning back in the chair with a leg resting on each side of the bath, the vulva being held open by both hands; "then there shoots out a fountain-like stream that descends in a semi-circle at the other end of the bath, rising slightly above its level," with variations in direction, extent, and height every time the experiment is repeated. "It gives one a lovely sensation," she adds, "I don't know why."

It will be observed that Florrie instinctively introduces the analogy of a fountain. It is necessary to emphasize the point that her urolagnic phantasies, unlike her flagellational obsessions, tended to take on an open-air character and to be diffused in natural imagery which was that of water generally. This is a characteristic of what I call Undinism.

In childhood Florrie's urinary associations were most definitely with the bath, and also with the color yellow in general. (She remarked also that the connection of urine with yellow ochre paint has been vivid from childhood.) But from an early age the act of urination began to become mixed with beautiful natural imagery, although it was not apparently until her late urolagnic phase emerged that these associations became prominent in her mind. She points out the charm which is always felt to inhere in fountains which send out jets of water to fall into a basin of still water beneath, and she suggests that children are unconsciously aiming at the same effect when they urinate into the bath, or, better still, in the open, in some secluded spot in the wood where there is a little brook. "The idea of water mingling with water is a great fascination, though it must be smooth water, a lake rather than the sea. It is also interesting when done from some little height. A person thus raised above the eye level presents, too, a new charm. (Hence, I suppose the pictures I have seen in Paris of girls being held in the air while doing it.) Of course it is difficult to say how common this liking is, for the persons most impressed are just those most likely to be secretive. And I must say that as a rule they do not receive much encouragement to be otherwise. The erotic nature of the attraction is possibly proved by the fact that, personally, it would not interest me particularly in one of my own sex." As regards woods, Florrie writes: "There is something fascinating in the sound of the stream descending on dead leaves in a wood, the rustle and sense of wetness in the midst of so much parched dryness, as though the earth must welcome and swallow up the slightest moisture. In a wood one seems nearer to the heart of Nature. The artificial elements that accompany the act in an enclosed room have dis-

appeared; it assumes a new character and is seen in a fresh light. This applies in a measure to all acts of Nature, and makes one understand the idea of fauns and nymphs. All sex acts seem better out of doors, especially in a wood. As a girl the dread of having a baby was especially associated with the accompaniments of a sick room, of which I had a dread, never having experienced any illness. The idea appealed to me strongly of having babies, like savages who seem to suffer so much less, in woods and caves. As a child I was much impressed by that famous passage in Jeremy Taylor where the same thought seems in his mind concerning the final act of Nature, and he describes the pompous paraphernalia of Death, which yet is 'the same harmless thing that a poor shepherd suffered yesterday.' I pictured the 'poor shepherd' out in the open, by the running stream and waving trees, being made one with Nature."

Florrie digresses. It will be seen that there has been a continuous decrease in the emotional tension of her phantasies. That movement of relaxation had indeed been proceeding, through all changes in the form of her sexual interests, during the whole period of her history which we have here been able to study. But at the point we have now reached it became marked. Her visits ceased. Her letters became ever shorter and the intervals between them ever longer. She expressed gratitude for the help she had received, but she no longer seemed to feel in need of it. "With regard to Florrie," she wrote at length in a brief note, "there is nothing to relate." Finally came the announcement, in answer to a letter of enquiry: "I have been meaning to write for some time past to tell you that, as you may have guessed from my long silence, Florrie is dead."

The story of Florrie, so far as it is known, here comes to an end. Nothing has been heard of her in the years that have followed. It would be rash to assume that her sexual odyssey has been finally completed. Obviously a woman in the full vigor of life who has not attained to normal sexual relationship, although she has slowly reached an approximation to the normal

sexual attitude, may have many emotional troubles still ahead. But, whatever these troubles may be, we can be fairly certain that they will never again take on the threatening and alarming aspects which they sometimes assumed in the past. Henceforth Florrie knows herself and understands the mechanism of the sexual impulse. She walks in light where formerly she stumbled in a darkness full of awful spectres. For years a mysteriously cloaked terrible figure had seized her from behind in an iron clutch she could not shake off, threatening her with insanity and all sorts of dreadful fates. Now she is able to turn round and face it, to observe, with calm critical eyes, and that quiet shrewd humor native to her, what it is made of, and the iron clutch loosens and the monster dissolves into mist, a mist that even seems beautiful.

We are familiar with such a result. It may indeed seem to some that the whole history of Florrie could have been dismissed in a sentence. So it might. But, as Freud more than anyone has shown us, the minute and prolonged study of an individual history can rarely fail to be profitable. In the present case, while the general pattern may seem familiar, yet the details possess a significance and illumination which extend far beyond the individual history. Aristotle said that the work of human art must ever show a continual slight novelty. So also it is in the art of Nature. I have set down Florrie's case in careful detail—though condensing and suppressing much that seemed irrelevant—in order to disentangle the slight novelty and to discover what it may teach us.

It may teach us the more since Florrie is far from being a highly abnormal person. It is true that we find insanity in a collateral branch of her family, but the general mental disposition and nervous system which she has herself inherited are in most respects sound and normal, even of excellent quality, and the germs of inherited abnormality, which I distinctly believe to be there, are yet so small as to be almost invisible. Florrie seems to the world generally, as to her husband and all her friends, a stable normal person.

How, then, it may be asked, has it come about that these minute germs developed? Why has the sexual impulse in Florrie's case passed through stages that seem so definitely abnormal? And how can we account for the particular forms of perversion which this abnormal development assumed?

It seems to me that Florrie's history brings out at least three groups of factors which all had a share in determining the deviation of the sexual mechanism in her case, and are of general instruction.

The first group of considerations are of a negative kind and concerned with the absence of the normal stimuli of sex. It is well known that in women, to a far greater extent than in men, the sexual impulse needs to be definitely aroused in order to enter normal paths, and that in the absence of definite stimulation a certain proportion of women are not conscious of normal sexual needs although the impulse is still working unconsciously within them. Now Florrie had been to an unusual extent safeguarded against sexual stimuli, whether from without or within. She was carefully brought up by prosperous parents who were able to protect her from all dubious influences, while her own extreme shyness, reserve, and staid dignity prevented her from making approaches to sexual matters, and equally prevented others from bringing such matters to her. These influences were fortified by her youthful training in social, artistic, and literary ideals and activities. They were further aided by Florrie's slow mental development, for while her intellectual powers are much above the average she was not mentally precocious, and her nervous and cerebral activities generally are of a solid and deliberate order. The decisive influence of a negative kind in Florrie's slow and devious development was, however, her marriage. The course of deviation had, indeed, begun long before marriage, but so unobtrusively, even to her own consciousness, that if at twenty-eight she had been united to a vigorous and congenial mate, of her own age and able to arouse her sexual emotions, she would never have seemed to herself or to anyone who knew her, how-

ever intimately, anything other than a completely normal woman within the usual range of slight variation.

To admit the influence of these negative conditions on Florrie's development is to assert by implication that the auto-erotic impulses which, notwithstanding, actually developed had a fundamental organic basis. That I consider to be the case. We now know that to place the sexual impulse in any kind of environmental vacuum may effect the direction of its growth, but will not prevent growth in some direction. We know, moreover, that in childhood, when the same environmental vacuum is produced naturally, through the absence in early life of any mechanism of response to external sexual stimuli, auto-erotic or spontaneous pseudo-sexual impulses still tend to occur, the activities that later are to become genuinely sexual being manifested in play forms that are trivial or at most imperfect, and often symbolic. The two auto-erotic forms in which the infantile sex impulse appeared in Florrie's case were, we have seen, the urolagnic and the auto-flagellatory. The first of these belongs to the scatologic group of childish interests which are now generally recognized to be exceedingly common. They have an organic basis of their own quite distinct from sex, while at the same time there are definite reasons why they should frequently be associated with, or substituted for, sex interests. While, however, the prevalence of the scatologic interest in childhood is now well recognized, it is doubtful whether the prevalence of the whipping interest is equally well recognized. No doubt it is often absent (as also is the scatologic interest) but it is present so often, and quite apart from whether the child has had any actual experience of whipping, that it seems to me that we must regard it as a normal, though by no means constant, manifestation of the auto-erotic impulse in childhood. I find it more common in girls than in boys and more common in inverted men than in normal men. In my observation it is found so often that it is almost possible to give it the same position which used to be given to a homosexual strain in childhood, although we must not be led by the over-

emphasis on the homosexual strain to minimize its importance or to overlook the fact that it has a constitutional basis which must ever tend to re-appear. Nothing is constant and invariable in the sexual sphere, but it will probably be found, on careful observation, that the flagellatory interest in childhood is at least as frequent as the homosexual interest.[1] It is not necessary here to discuss the origin of this interest and its natural foundation.[2] We must regard the whip as a natural symbol of the penis. One of the most frequent ways in which the idea of coitus first faintly glimmers before the infantile mind—and it is a glimmer which, from an evolutionary standpoint, is biologically correct—is as a display of force, of aggression, of something resembling cruelty. Whipping is the most obvious form in which to the young mind this idea might be embodied. The penis is the only organ of the body which in any degree resembles a whip.[3] The idea may be supported in the minds of some young boys, though this would not refer to girls, by the nature of the sensations experienced in the penis. Thus it comes

---

[1] I may mention as fairly typical the early experiences of an entirely normal woman of good heredity, married and a mother, who during the years of puberty and early adolescence, from the age of thirteen to sixteen, when lying in bed would have occasional phantasies of being whipped. These phantasies would excite her so that she could not sleep, and she now recognizes that this excitement was of a sexual nature. She was not whipped as a child, and is entirely unable to account for such day-dreams or for the effect they had upon her. Sometimes the sexual flagellatory impulse may only emerge in a dream of the night. Thus a married woman, aged 30, healthy and normal, with well developed sexual feelings, has never had any experience of whipping or desire for it. Recently a man friend, interested in the subject, succeeded in persuading her to let him try its effects on her; she remained entirely cold and indifferent. Shortly after, however, she had a dream of being whipped which was accompanied by excitement and orgasm. There was evidently a possibility of association between the sex impulse and the idea of whipping, though only revealed in the sub-conscious state. We seem to see (as I have often tried to make clear) that there is a latent disposition to anomalies in the organism itself, so that there is no need to fall back always on the fantasies of psychogenetic speculation to account for their existence.

[2] I have dealt with this question in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 137-150.

[3] It has even been at one time commonly so used for educational purposes. We read in old literature of the bull's pizzle with which the school-master was provided for the correction of his pupils.

about that, as Sadger remarks, "penis and whip are equivalent."[1]

All these infantile forms of the sexual impulse—homosexual, scatologic, flagellatory, or what not—we are accustomed in our solemn adult way to call "perversions." I have always preferred to call them symbolisms, more or less auto-erotic in origin. Whatever we call them we have to recognize that they are natural. They are manifestations of a normal and necessary play instinct, with those beneficial effects which Groos established as associated with the play-instinct generally in Nature. From the standpoint of the fully developed sexual impulse they present that impulse in a deviated or twisted form, just as (to repeat an analogy I have elsewhere used) the young fronds present to us in a curled and twisted form what will later become the large and graciously expanding leaves of ferns. It is indeed what we see throughout living Nature where young life ever develops under pressure, contorted into strange forms which are straightened out when the period of functional activity approaches. But that period never would approach if the earlier fantastic period had not preceded it.[2] We must beware, therefore, of terming it abnormal; the real abnormality would be the appearance of the developed adult impulse at the infantile stage.

In Florrie's case, however, there really was a deviation which lay in an arrest of the development of the sexual impulse at the infantile, or rather pre-pubertal, stage. Normally, at puberty and early adolescence, the process of straightening out more or less harmoniously occurs, and the earlier impulses are transmuted into, or at the least subordinated to, the adult

---

[1] *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen,* Bd. v, p. 188. Sadger elsewhere (*ib.*, p. 498) refers to a patient who as a child seems to have thought that in coitus his father whipped his mother on the buttocks with his penis.

[2] I by no means wish to assume that the play functions of sex are only valuable in early life. They are specifically human and are associated with the general retention of childlike qualities which marks man. "The play function of sex," as Parmelee remarks (*Personality and Conduct,* p. 113), "has been an important factor in the evolution of civilization," and see Havelock Ellis, *Little Essays of Love and Virtue,* Ch. VI. The Play-function of Sex.

impulse of sexual attraction. In Florrie's case, placed as she was in an environment without sexual stimuli, the transmutation took the form of a premature sublimation or, rather, pseudo-sublimation, into artistic and literary activities, a transmutation which was apparently complete. But, as we know, sublimation cannot be complete, even when it is the developed form of sexual energy that is sublimated. The artistic developments of the sexual impulse during adolescence are normal when they represent an idealized manifestation of the sexual impulse itself. But in Florrie's case they represented no such manifestation. They were not really a sublimation at all. The yet undeveloped impulse remained in its arrested state to develop unconsciously, shut off from external stimuli and consequently still arrested in form. Meanwhile, Florrie was attaining an unusual degree alike of mental power and robust physical development. The organism was reaching its full adaptation for sexual activity, and finally this repressed activity came to the surface at the age of twenty-eight, under such conditions as her constitution and experience rendered possible.[1]

This active manifestation of the sexual impulse, not at first realized as sexual, assumed the form of an interest in whipping of the nates by a man, the whip becoming a sexual fetich, and the mental absorption on this subject inducing autoflagellation. This leads us to the third instructive factor in Florrie's sexual deviation. It has been pointed out that an emotional interest in whipping is so common about the age of puberty, especially in girls, that it may be regarded as coming within the range of normal variation.[2] But that this in-

[1] I have elsewhere (*Studies*, vol. iii, p. 243) brought forward many considerations tending to show that it is at the age of from twenty-eight to thirty that the sexual impulse tends to be strongest in women, and sexual desire to be most consciously experienced.

[2] This argument was elaborated by Freud some two years before the present study was written (*Internationale Zeitschrift für Aërztlich. Psychoanalyse*, 1916, translated in *Freud's Collected Papers*, vol. ii, 1924) in a notable paper, "A Child is being Beaten," which is often referred to. But I had not seen it when my own paper was published. I may add that the two papers are not in conflict. Freud's deals with flagellation mainly as a phantasy throughout, not, as I have, putting forward a case in which early whipping was an experienced fact and the demonstrable foundation for phantasy.

terest, after naturally dying down in early adolescence, should suddenly re-assert itself spontaneously, and with an immeasurably increased intensity, after an interval of some fifteen years, that is by no means normal. How came it about that in Florrie's case the adult sexual impulse took this particular form?

It was at one time supposed that fetichisms and erotic symbolisms in general, as well as homosexuality, are adequately accounted for when we have discovered some chance association in early life. That is part of the explanation, but it is not in itself adequate. Chance associations occur to everyone and for the most part without effect. Many children have been severely beaten; few have become adult auto-flagellants. We go deeper when we are able to see how much importance attaches to the early formation of a reservoir of emotion linked on to what is, or is capable of becoming, a sexual motive. In Florrie's sensitive shy nature as a child (she is herself convinced of the sexual character of shyness) whipping served to form exactly such a reservoir, admirably adapted for later use to sexual ends. Such considerations, however, are still abstract and general. When so definite an erotic symbolism as this of Florrie's becomes constituted we suspect the existence of individual peculiarities rooted in the organism and specially fitting it to become the seat of that symbolism. This was the case in the present instance. The pronounced development of the gluteal region and thighs has been pointed out. It became evident to Florrie in adolescence; some years later, at a time when her figure generally was not more than moderately plump, this development is plainly observable in her photographs, and at the time when she came under observation, while there was a somewhat increased general tendency to deposit fat, it was still most pronounced in the buttocks and thighs and hardly noticeable at all in the breasts.[1]

In association with this anatomical preponderance of the gluteal region, we find a corresponding physiological deviation.

[1] Sadger (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. 5, 1913, 500) brings forward the case of a man who when a boy practised auto-flagellation. He had small genitals but large buttocks.

Many indications reveal that Florrie was to a certain extent sexually anesthetic in the region of the vulva, though this condition latterly tended to diminish. She was unable to obtain orgasm by ordinary masturbation, but, as we have seen, acute sexual excitation with orgasm was at once set up by stimulation of the anus.[1] It would thus seem probable that in some persons, of whom Florrie is an example, there is a tendency for the centers of sexual excitation to be shifted posteriorly, such persons possessing unusually developed buttocks and an anus with greater sexual sensibility than the normal sexual centers. Such a state of things must be regarded as constituting a predisposition only; it is not necessarily final or beyond the reach of training. But it is obvious that it constitutes a favorable and even natural basis for various sexual deviations.[2]

But we still have to account for Florrie's urolagnia. It is indeed now well recognized that a urinary interest is so natural in childhood that it comes easily within the normal sphere; that to some extent it may take the place later occupied by the purely erotic interest, to which at puberty it becomes normally subordinated, if it is not indeed completely suppressed or even extinguished. But why should we here find this impulse side by side, and even mutually interchangeable, with another and stronger impulse to which, on the surface, it has no relationship.

The answer seems to be that here also we must recognize a natural underlying relationship. Sadger, who has cast many rays of light on this obscure and little explored field of psychology, points out that urolagnia, "urethral eroticism" as he

---

[1] Anal masturbation is, of course, recognized, and is referred to by Hammond, Schrenck-Notzing, and others. See, *e.g.*, Bloch, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis,* vol. i, pp. 224-7. I am not aware, however, that any connection has been recognized between anal masturbation and a pronounced gluteal development.

[2] In mental analysis there is sometimes a tendency, of which we need to be aware, to overlook the constitutional basis of psychic deviations. This tendency has sometimes been laid to the charge of Freud, but not altogether justly, for, in principle at all events, Freud fully recognizes these constitutional bases, and has stated (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse,* vol. ii, p. 167) that in the production of the observed effect constitutional and accidental factors regularly work together and that the need for insistence on the latter is merely due to their frequent neglect.

calls it, or Undinism, as I am inclined on account of its wider connections to term it, is associated with "Gesässerotik," the eroticism of the buttocks, such as we find in Florrie. "In most cases of passive flagellation," he remarks, "there exists, besides the eroticism of the buttocks to be named in the first line, also a powerful urethral eroticism." He adds, quite truly, that there are many urethral eroticists who have no inclination for flagellation, but he seems to regard heightened urethral eroticism as the basis for a frequent combination of masochism with urolagnia. It is in the web of the associated eroticism of skin, mucous membrane, and muscle that these combinations, Sadger believes, are naturally formed. He attaches little importance to the nerve connections between the genito-urinary sphere and the gluteal sphere, though it scarcely seems to me that that factor can be entirely ignored.

In any case, and even though at this point the precise mechanism may not be clear, it must be recognized that we are in the presence of a natural manifestation. I should be content at present to point out that, in Florrie's case, as doubtless in many similar cases, we have an association in time of the two experiences, flagellatory and urinary, as is set forth in the narrative of her childhood. Moreover, there is the significant fact that, underlying both the gluteal and the vesical experiences, are the same emotions of anxiety and terror, of shyness and shocked modesty, the emotions which, as we know, are so well adapted for transformation, under favorable conditions, into sexual emotions. We see an important stage in this transformation on the vesical side, though not yet recognizably sexual, at the time when, years after the gluteal experience had taken on an unconsciously erotic character, Florrie discovered her favorite method of urinating erect and out of doors. She has well described how, under the irresistible vesical impulse, her acute emotions of anxiety, dread, and shyness were suddenly transformed into pleasure and the triumphant discovery of a new method of gaining vesical relief. No doubt as a child she had felt infantile interest and pleasure in this function, but it was at this time, at the age of twenty, that its special

adult transformation into urolagnia reached the first stage. There are, obviously, two distinct elements in the emotional state described, both capable of sexual transformations, anxiety and shyness. When in recent years Florrie has come to realize the significance of her own experiences, it is to the latter that she is most inclined to attach importance. "It has come to me gradually to suspect," she wrote, "from my own experience, that there must be a sexual element wherever this sensation of shame and shyness, reticence, the wish to conceal, is felt, even in religion. Everyone feels a sort of ashamed, try-to-hide, name-it-not, feeling about the excretory processes, just the same as about sex matters. If it is not sexual, what is it? The average person says, 'Why, of course, it is quite different. It's just disgust.' Yet people show little or no objection in showing other things, ulcers and loathsome tumors, that are far more disgusting, while as regards urination even for the most fastidious person there cannot really be any feeling of disgust. The bashfulness can only come from a hidden sexual feeling."

When we thus survey the course of Florrie's deviation we see that it was throughout inevitable and necessary. It was the outcome of her hereditary predisposition, of her physical and psychic constitution, of the special conditions to which in childhood she was subjected and under which she developed in adult life. The course was abnormal, yet, alike in its progress and its recession it was completely natural. It was a course affected by infantile arrests of development, and as occurs when such arrests are carried on into adult life to be reinforced by all the other more evolved aptitudes of that life, the infantile traits become immensely exaggerated, tending to take on that genuinely adult erotic character which in early life is not yet developed. Florrie's course of sexual development was affected by arrests, overwhelming to her in their magnitude, yet, however slowly, however imperfectly, nevertheless that development proceeded. Throughout the years she was under observation it passed from stage to stage, still abnormal yet continuously less abnormal, through the ascending spiral of natural

growth, until at the point where it passes out of sight it had become almost, if not altogether, what we call normal.

Here it is necessary to say something of the therapeutic conditions under which the desirable termination of Florrie's case was reached. I hesitate to use so positive a word as "therapeutic" in this connection. Certainly the method adopted was important, probably essential, to the result obtained. But to apply to it a term with such gross connotation as "treatment" may be misleading: that term may be in place elsewhere; it is dubiously in place in the psychic field we are here concerned with.

The whole method needed to ensure Florrie's progress lay in surrounding her with an atmosphere. That atmosphere was simply one of sympathetic comprehension. She was thus enabled to gain confidence in herself, to apply her own native intelligence to her own problems, and, not least, for the first time to express her experiences in words to another person. It became a process of mental analysis. But it was Florrie herself who mainly carried on that analysis, and therein its virtue lay. There was little attempt to present to her relationships which were fairly clear, but which she had not worked out for herself: she would not fail to reach them, and sometimes herself saw them first. She was surrounded by an atmosphere favorable for guidance, but no firm guiding hand was laid upon her, scarcely so much as the almost imperceptible touch of a finger. Thus Florrie's course towards normality, however devious, was as inevitable and as absolutely natural as her course towards abnormality.

Such a method would have aroused the scorn and even the indignation of the old-time physician. His impulse would be to react violently to all these unwholesome fancies and vicious habits, as he would consider them, and to thrust Florrie forcibly, with much severe admonition, into the path of rectitude. The upward spiral of her actual course under observation would have seemed to an undiscerning observer a disconcerting series of abnormal eruptions, and the final result of such "treatment," if possible at all—since a reserved and sensitive woman of

Florrie's temperament would have brought it to an end at the outset—must have been failure, if not disaster.

It is necessary to go further and to cast doubts even on more discerning methods when they are based on routine and on the subconscious belief that every case must conform to the same pattern. Such a method is pernicious and unlikely to lead to success even when it is the outcome of a genuine analytic investigation. Every human being presents, as every fine work of art presents, a continual slight novelty. There must always be a tendency to a pattern, but the pattern is never quite the same, and it is puerile to insist on trying to make it so. Each new person is a fresh revelation of Nature, to be watched, quietly and patiently, until its secret is manifested. We cannot rule Nature, as Bacon long ago declared, except by obeying her. And we cannot guide the struggling human being on his course unless we realize what that course is and possess the faith and the insight to discern the meaning of even its most unexpected deviations on the upward path. Even the leading question must often be regarded as almost an outrage, and still more the insistent demand on the patient to admit impulses which some theory demands. There are times when it is desirable to let fall a suggestion of what the observer divines, but it must be let fall easily, as it were casually, as lightly as a rose petal. It will not fail to hit the mark if the divination was sound, even though, at the moment, there is no response.

In the record of Florrie's history I have passed over an element of that transfer of emotion to the person of the investigator which Freud and others have termed "Uebertragung" or transference. It was easy to pass it over because it never came directly and interruptively into the course of the history. But it must not be passed over altogether because it may really be regarded as of vital importance and largely contributed to constitute that favorable atmosphere to which reference has been made. It was never obtrusive, demonstrative, or insistent, so that it was easy to disregard it, and treat it as non-existent. It subsided gradually, without comment, or the need for comment, step by step with Florrie's course towards normality. It

was traceable from the first interview. Florrie approached that interview with much nervous trepidation. She almost turned back at the end of the long journey which she had taken to obtain it. But when it was over she returned home with feelings of confidence and admiration—although nothing had been done to arouse such feelings—which affected, vaguely but influentially, the subsequent course of her development. The influence may be said to be two-fold. In the first place it was an essential condition to enable one of Florrie's shy and reserved nature to bring to the surface and carry on openly the whole course of the mental analysis. She had, it is true, in her first letter revealed herself almost as far as at that time she knew herself. That, however, would not have been enough, and if personal contact had proved inhibitory, even any further progress by correspondence would have been sterilized. The expanding influence on her reserved temperament of this emotional attitude was an essential condition for the progress of the analysis. In the second place, the emergence of a personal interest of this kind in the course of analysis helps to release the repressed and arrested normal emotions and to bring them out of the unconscious to the surface. In this way it can scarcely fail to exert a favorably guiding influence, because it tends to weaken, if not completely to replace, the phantasies of an obsession or a fetich by setting up a more normal object of attraction. Both of these influences appear to have acted favorably in Florrie's case, although the action may not have been consciously or definitely perceived. It is true that Freud regards transference as a more complex process, acted upon by that tendency, even found in normal persons, but in more pronounced degree in the neurotic, which Bleuler terms ambivalence, so that there is not only a "positive" but a "negative" transference. Along the first line are produced a confidence and sympathy altogether favorable to the patient's progress: along the second a hostile and resistent attitude which are unfavorable, if not fatal, to any beneficial treatment.[1] Without

[1] S. Freud, "Zur Dynamik der Uebertragung;" *Zentralblatt für Psycho-analyse,* vol. ii, p. 187.

seeking to dispute this doctrine, it must be said that such "negative" transference seems to be often an artificial product of analysis, an artefact. (Not always, for many subjects are inevitably hostile.) One is tempted, indeed, to ask whether an investigator who encounters "negative" transference might not be well advised to retire from the world for a time and to practise a little auto-psychoanalysis. The investigator, instinctively and unconsciously, however good his intentions may be, often forgets that it is his part to educate and develop; he falls into the attitude of combat; he unconsciously adopts the gesture of tilting against a foe, and so inevitably he arouses the corresponding impulse of hostility and resistance on the opposing side. It is a plausible fallacy to fall into. But in this field, to adopt the method of force, however subtly moralized, is to condemn oneself beforehand to defeat. It is not by our much doing that much is done, least of all by the exercise of force. "Strength and Hardness are the Companions of Death: Tenderness and Suppleness are the Companions of Life." The wise Sydenham, when asked what books he would advise a physician to read, replied profoundly "Don Quixote." And the therapist of the soul would be well advised to make his bedside companion one of the oldest of books which is also one of the deepest, the *Tao-Teh-King* of Lao-tze.

It would be easy to discuss the significance of Florrie's history in many other relationships—such as the fairly obvious emergence of what Jung would call the Father-Imago—but there would be no end of such discussion. If, as a great naturalist said, one could spend one's life in studying as much earth as one can cover with one hand, much more easily can one say the like of the complex human soul. But if all the things were to be written that could be written about even a single person we may sympathize with that Evangelist who in an outburst of extravagance supposed that "even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Since we have not world enough nor time, we must be content to make but a little exploration, and to count ourselves happy if we thereby achieve but a little good.

POSTSCRIPT.—Shortly after the point reached at the conclusion of the foregoing history, Florrie disappeared from sight and nothing whatever was heard of her. After a period of some years I began to work the history into a coherent and orderly narrative. This was published, almost exactly as it here stands, in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. VI, 1919. A little later I heard from Florrie again, met her, and have continued in occasional touch with her since. She has read her own History, and considers that it is correct to an extraordinary degree: there is nothing in it that she would wish to see changed. At a period shortly after the termination of the history her husband had died and a year later she had married again; her second husband, like the first, was a man of good position, elderly, and a widower, but her life with him was happy and she looks back on this period with much satisfaction. It was, however, terminated before long by her husband's death. Lately she has married a third time; but this third marriage has not turned out so well; the man, as she described him to me before marriage, seemed of high character as well as of intellectual attainments; but immediately after marriage she discovered him to be eccentric, hypochondriacal, and morbidly introspective. This led to dissensions of feeling from the outset and within a few months to a separation which each partner charges the other with initiating. Hence has arisen for Florrie much worry, anxiety, and legal complication, still unsettled, which might well have had a disturbing influence on her mind. But it is important to state that so far, more than ten years after the history ends, Florrie has had no recurrence of the obsessions which once possessed and tortured her. She admits that normal ideals have no strong attractions for her, and probably never will have, and she still takes a mild interest in the subjects of the obsessions, but they have no more any power to absorb or disturb her. She is now truly the staid and solid matron she seemed when she first came to me.

Lately a physician of repute, Dr. Wilhelm Stekel of Vienna, has published (with my consent), and commented, a full summary of the history of Florrie (*Sadismus und Masochismus*, 1925, pp. 200-34). As Dr. Stekel is a psychoanalyst of much experience, intuition, and practical therapeutic success, though not always approved by fellow practitioners of other schools, it seems to me worth while to go over his version of the case and to deal with his chief criticisms. I may say at the outset that his attitude towards my exposition and interpretation is mainly appreciative and largely of approval, especially in his chief conclusion that, as he is kindly pleased to put it (p. 231), no other case demonstrates so well the connection between masochism and infantilism. But when we come to details it seems to me,

on the one hand, that Dr. Stekel is inclined to emphasize and to exaggerate points which I had made clear but attach less importance to, or less permanent significance, and that, on the other hand, he seeks to find points which the history as it stands does not contain, and which, from my own standpoint, there is no occasion to seek.

Among the former I note the "sadism" of Florrie's father. It is certainly impossible to over-rate the importance of her father's excessive physical punishments on Florrie; they constituted a most decisive influence in her sexual life; they fixed her prolonged infantile psychic state; they largely determined the character and attitude of her unconscious and conscious masculine ideal in adult life. But it seems unnecessary to call the father a sadist; it is quite possible that he had a latent sadistic disposition but his chastisement of his child, even though excessive, merely illustrates the foolish old-fashioned notion, founded on the Bible, of the dangers of sparing the rod in education. This is also Florrie's own opinion and she thinks that her father may have worked himself up into a rage out of a sense of duty; he was not sadistic and was fond of animals. Similarly, the castration-complex, with its "penis-envy," has its significance in Florrie's childhood, as a phase of her development. But that significance is exaggerated when it is prolonged beyond childhood into a supposed desire to be a man, and becomes the evidence of homosexuality. Dr. Stekel is always apt to see the traces of homosexuality, and in Florrie's case he finds evidence in her adoption of the erect attitude for urination ("there could be no more beautiful example of Adler's 'Masculine protest' "). It is undoubtedly true that this habit is sometimes cultivated by feminine inverts out of a pleasurable imitation of the male; that was long ago known to Krafft-Ebing and was not overlooked by me. But the habit is also quite common among women from other motives, out of doors especially with the object of avoiding detection, being in this way practised by women of the people all over Europe. It is also often regarded by women, and perhaps quite naturally, as in itself pleasurable. In Florrie's case there is not (and she herself entirely agrees) the slightest ground to connect it with any homosexual impulse.

Other influences on Florrie's life for which there is no evidence, Dr. Stekel considers must have been there. He thus believes that Florrie had much more knowledge of sex matters in childhood than she acknowledges. It was "suppressed." This supposition I altogether reject. Carefully guarded little girls in England of the well-to-do class are very commonly in complete ignorance of sexual matters, as indeed they often are also in France and other countries. Florrie was specially well guarded, "surrounded by nurses and

governesses," and not allowed much freedom even with her own young brothers. Dr. Stekel believes that Florrie was brought up freely in the country and must have observed the coupling of animals. Florrie assures me she made no such observation of animals. She lived largely in town, and occasional observation of animals, even in the country, has little or no sexual significance for uninstructed children who do not live on farms. Dr. Stekel further assumes that Florrie must have had sexual play with her brothers in childhood; I do not regard the assumption as necessary or even probable, while it is quite opposed to the evidence, for Florrie states definitely that there was no such play. He also assumes (and quite wrongly) that there must have been cruelty towards animals, a sadistic impulse being required to complement the masochistic impulses. It is quite true that the two impulses tend to be connected (and Dr. Stekel observes that I was one of the first to assert this connection) but it does not invariably happen that a sadist shows clearly marked masochist impulses or a masochist pronounced sadism; the connection of the two impulses is quite sufficiently established when each of the partners in a sado-masochistic relationship sympathizes with the attitude of the other partner. Then Dr. Stekel thinks that there is more to be discovered concerning Florrie's mother; he believes (on familiar Freudian lines) that Florrie loved her father and that that love involved hate for her mother; but while that is a result which is liable to follow it does not necessarily always follow; as a matter of fact Florrie saw little of either father or mother who went much into society and were aloof from the children, loving them in their own way, though not really caring for children and leaving them to the care of a governess and two nurses. Dr. Stekel is mistaken in thinking that Florrie's statement that she would not have accepted a whipping from her mother meant that she hated her mother; it meant simply that, the whipping being unconsciously felt as a sexual manifestation, it could only be tolerated when exercised by a man. Florrie was living close to her mother and in almost daily association with her at the time when she came to me; this had gone on ever since she was 20 (when the father died); they had become friends ("good pals," Florrie says) rather than mother and daughter. Dr. Stekel believes, once more, that Florrie probably had rectal enemas administered to her as a child, and he would thus explain the erogenic sensibility of the anus. This explanation I would not regard as necessary, even if I were ignorant of the facts. The erogenic properties of the anus were only discovered accidentally by Florrie when near the age of forty, and it would be absurd to assume that stimulation by enemas thirty years earlier is required to account for that discovery. The anus is one of many regions in

the body which are liable to develop erogenic properties when stimulated at favorable stages of sexual excitement. In childhood rectal enemas may be administered without the anus ever developing into an erogenic center. Florrie never had any rectal enemas. There is no reason whatever to suppose that such excitability can only exist when there has been special stimulation in infancy or childhood. It seems at least equally probable that Florrie's erogenic zone in the anus, together with her large gluteal development, served as part of the congenital predisposition to the special form of sexual deviation which she manifested. Dr. Stekel's opinion on this matter is due to his general and constantly evident belief, shared by many psycho-analysts, that psycho-genetic factors—due to environmental influence—are all-powerful, that predisposition may be disregarded and heredity has practically no existence. That is a position which I regard as today altogether antiquated and untenable. The influence of environment is powerful; but, as all biologists agree, the influence of heredity is even more powerful. Each is inadequate to affect the whole psychic life in any lasting degree unless aided by the other. It is the coincidence of the two working together which is decisive.

A defect in the history of Florrie for Dr. Stekel is that no attempt was made to analyze her dreams. He has himself always devoted special attention to the interpretation of dreams, and he seeks to make up for my failure. "I would like," he remarks, "to make some comments on the dreams. Remarkable is the opposition between ideal places and the kitchen, between the attraction upwards and the attraction downwards. She leaves the church, she leaves the picture gallery, and descends to the kitchen, to common people. We see plainly that she strongly disapproves of the cook's doings. (A sharp moral disapproval of her perversity.) The word 'cook' is in English bisexual and may indicate either a male or a female. It is clear, however, that the masculine principle is indicated by the erect urination. Reproach is already indicated in the church by the disapproving gaze of the congregation. The religious significance of the dream is transparent and symbolized by the church, the pictures, the sound of the bells, and the dream material (study of the Madonna). The father's form in the dream is concealed. He is the man who will enter the empty room of her heart, he is the spirit she calls by the bell. The librarians may be her brothers (frater = monk = brother), but it is also possible that we are concerned with a holy book; the Bible. The longing for a man to fill her empty room is plain. First appears a foreign guide (the physician and analyst?), then another man. Death-wishes against her husband are clear (black satin waistcoats). 'Satin' is perhaps a play on 'Satan.'

There is plainly a struggle between ascetic tendencies (church—cloister) and the pleasures of life, and finally the flight into infantilism. The picture gallery is the museum of her soul. She will not look at the pictures. She will remain blind (dark kitchen) and recognize nothing. The vesical impulse is a symbol of the sexual impulse. She can control herself but must suddenly give way and urinate. Two tendencies struggle in her soul: the Madonna and the prostitute (cook). It is sweet to give way to the longing. It is plain that she wishes to escape from the labyrinth of her soul and cannot find the way. She desires to conquer the ascetic tendency (church). She uses the symbolism, customary with her, of urination, to express the conflict in her life. The man who will free her is approaching, she hears his steps, but she flees at the last moment from the fulfillment of her wish. The new book, that she ought to read, is the book of her life. Very beautifully is the occurrence of the orgasm represented as a bell which echoes throughout her body, especially below (cellar). It is plain also that whipping by the father for her signifies coitus. The emotion of terror is the same."

With regard to the second dream Dr. Stekel writes: "This highly interesting dream is a dream of warning and healing, and shows a plain mystical tendency. The church represents the religious and ethical disturbance from which she wishes to be freed. She is then continually reminded that she is a married woman who has vowed eternal fidelity to her husband. Her perversions are indicated as infantilisms. She has no justification (cannot obtain a ticket). She is always met by her husband, who might be dangerous to her. The billiard room is the room haunted by men with erected penis (billiard cues) and testicles (balls). I recall that she had used an india rubber ball in masturbation. Her thoughts go to her own bedroom and her impotent husband. His sexual nature is a cemetery ('cold, deserted, *campo santo* sort of place.') Marriage is like a prison, and she longs for freedom. She finds herself in the street of life and her husband behind her. The dog is a symbol of her animal passion. The pony has the same significance, perhaps chosen because of its association with a riding whip. The pony shrivelled up (like the penis of her husband when he approached her). Her whipping ideas also shrivel up. Her husband will have nothing to do with animal passions. She gives up adulterous thoughts and returns to the church. Her perversion is by the rickety child's chair indicated as infantilism. The woman with the red hat symbolizes women who enjoy life. She is reminded of the 'tripper' type. But 'trip' also means a spring aside, and also stumbling; she is reminded of women who stumble and 'fall;' the ground gives way under Florrie's feet; only a wanton woman could risk herself in such a

child's seat. She feels she is sinking, and is only outwardly preserving the appearance of a respectable woman. She wishes to know her future. What will she be: a true wife or a prostitute? America is here the land of freedom. Her mother is the image of virtue, also the symbol of her womb (or would she have suspected her mother?). Now she meets N. who shows himself a blackmailer. The dream is the type of a dream of warning. She must overcome her wishes to be whipped. They shrivel as the pony shrivelled. She will not again be entangled in such dangerous situations; she realizes she has been mad. N. who was her ideal, has become a shabby person. She had over-estimated him, and she tries to free herself by depreciating him. She pictures the horrors of a blackmailing scene. N. wears a bowler, that is he has an erected penis. Bowler also indicates a connection with cricket. The full bladder seems to have nothing to do with the dream. It can merely have released the infantile fantasies, upon which as a reaction comes the warning of the moral ego. In a wider determination there is significance; the row of cherry stones signify threads of semen, the red cap the glans penis, the narrow canal the vagina, swimming is coitus, and even the three-cornered hat is a known phallic symbol. Florrie regrets that she is not a man. The conflict is concerned with whether men enjoy greater sexual freedom than women. To the glance into the future corresponds a glance at the past, culminating in the wish: Oh, if I had been born a boy! As a woman she is directed to the penis of her husband which, as we know, showed a lamentable tendency to shrivel."

In interpretation of the third dream, Dr. Stekel says: "In this dream the mother appears as a revenging and uncanny figure. It is not difficult to find castration motives here. In the finger which remains attached to the neck (transposition from below to above) is the lacking phallus, now completed or given back by the mother. We might agree with the Freudians who in such a dream see a reproach by the daughter to the mother for castrating her at birth. The terror would also be the terror of castration. It is much easier to believe in a terror of retribution. She has presumably wished for her mother's death, in order to possess her father alone. But her father has died first. The mother must follow him. The father warns the mother not to come out, it is too wet, that is, streams of tears would flow. The dream shows Florrie strongly homosexual, fixed on her mother. Masturbation (finger at the neck!) must have brought her thoughts to her mother. The first impressions of nursing in childhood (the mother's hands) seem to live in Florrie: she wished to be a man and possess the mother. She identified herself with the whipping man. ('If I cannot have a penis I will

procure a whip and show my mother who is master!') The examination by the woman doctor arouses association with the first examination by the mother. She is more man than woman. A woman must be taken by force and overpowered. She turns her back as the side on which she can be viewed as a man. Also the desire to be urinated on may recall the time of infancy when she had wetted her mother. This homosexual tendency is extraordinarily deeply concealed. But here a curtain falls and the mother recognizes what she signifies to her daughter. Longing is changed to horror and disgust. In this dream she lets the mother carry out the aggression (pleasure without guilt). But she meets her mother in that she is half naked. Interesting also is the gliding approach of the mother. We observe that the men are heard approaching, so also the dog, but the lady approaches silently, and enters the room without warning. The father is out in the rain (he is somehow connected with water fantasies), the mother wears a long train to her dress (phallic symbol). Her ideal would be a woman with a penis. But the mother has no penis. Her finger remains attached to the neck. The blue flame on the bed shows that in Florrie's heart glimmers a homosexual passion which had originally attracted her to women. She seems to have courted her mother's love in vain. Her mother has repulsed her. In the dream she revenges herself, and it is she who repulses her mother and is afraid of her. We understand the longing to urinate on the mother (Mother Earth!) as a symbolic substitute: she wishes to be a man and to fertilize the mother. Dimly also we guess that Florrie suspects her mother, and that the two poles, 'Prostitute and Madonna,' are projected on her mother. The woman with the red hat, the going of her mother to America, where she assumes a masculine position, speak for this assumption. For this depreciation the mother takes revenge. Perhaps original blows by the mother count. The father finds her unfaithful and strikes her. Here arises doubt about her origin. Am I the child of my father? She has desecrated the highest (cathedral) and deserves to be chastized for it."

I do not feel able to discuss these dream interpretations, which to Florrie herself seem often "fantastic." I will only remark that, largely, they seem to me speculative, and also unnecessary, while at some points they are entirely opposed to my reading of Florrie's character, being based on conventional psycho-analytic lines which do not correspond to Florrie's special disposition. This does not mean that I would belittle the skill of the psycho-analysts in deciphering dreams. Those who are inclined to laugh at psycho-analytic dream-interpretation should remember the endless ability of the so-called "Baconians" to find cyphers in Shakespeare. Speaking

generally, however, and without special reference to dreams, I would like to say that it is very hazardous for a psycho-analyst, however skillful and experienced, to put forth speculations concerning a subject he has never seen which over-ride the conclusions of the original reporter, who, however inferior he may be in skill and experience, has had opportunities of minutely studying the peculiarities of that subject. Dr. Stekel regrets that Florrie was never regularly psycho-analyzed. It is true that there was no psycho-analysis in any recognized technical sense, but it is obvious that there was nevertheless a slow and careful process of analysis during which all the elements of the case likely to have significance seem to have floated gradually up to the surface. "The end crowns all," and it is satisfactory that Dr. Stekel, while thus freely criticizing, in the main agrees with the reported statement of the case and commends the final outcome. "Remarkable," he says (p. 233), "is the brilliant therapeutic result, which was achieved in an atypical way, deviating from strict analysis. It confirms my opinion that in analysis there are really no rules. In this case the method adopted was perhaps the only possible method." I must add in qualification of this generous attribution of "brilliant therapeutic result" that I hope I have made clear that the result obtained must not be held to be the establishment of full ordinary "normality." Florrie's disposition arose, as I have sought to show, on the basis of her congenital psycho-physical organization; it developed normally on that basis, and even if the environmental conditions had been more favorable than they were her constitution would always have colored her temperament as life actually worked out. Florrie is not, and never will will be, completely what we are pleased to term "normal." She is reconciled to "normal" sex relationships, but they do not afford her any intense gratification. Her disposition, and the ideals based on that disposition, remain essentially what they always have been. *But now she understands.* She is no longer obsessed and tortured. She is content and at peace. The therapeutic result—here as always in this field—does not lie in the personality being forced into a rigid alien mold, for that would not be really "normal"for it, however much so on the average. It lies in enabling the subject to see himself or herself understandingly, not in being artificially changed but in being rightly harmonized.

IV.

THE MENSTRUAL CURVE OF SEXUAL IMPULSE.

There is no familiar physiological process of equal importance which has taken so long to explain, or aroused such difference of opinion, as menstruation. It may doubtless be said that we are at last approaching a stage of agreement as to the essential nature of the process. Yet as regards its periodicity we are still so much in the dark that we even refrain from putting forward hypotheses.

Why does menstruation tend to fall into a cycle which approximates to that of the moon? Darwin suggested that, early in zoological evolution, an oceanic tidal element was a potent condition of life, imprinting a rhythmic character on the organisms submitted to it. Obviously, however, such a condition, even if we can agree that the ancestors of Man experienced it, is too remote to be invoked as the cause of so comparatively recent an acquirement as the menstrual cycle. It has therefore been suggested, that some condition in the general or sexual life of the immediate ancestors of Man was intimately associated with the lunar cycle.[1]

In the absence of any precise and definitely known force acting among the early Primates to produce a menstrual cycle of lunar length various attempts have been made to theorize

---

[1]Thus, in "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity" in the first volume of these *Studies,* I wrote: "Bearing in mind the influence exerted on both the habits and the emotions even of animals by the brightness of moonlight nights, it is perhaps not extravagant to suppose that, in organisms already ancestrally predisposed to the influence of rhythm in general and of cosmic rhythm in particular, the periodically recurring full moon, not merely by its stimulation of the nervous system, but possibly by the special opportunities which it gave for the exercise of the sexual functions, served to impart a lunar rhythm on menstruation." And I referred not only to the considerations which indicate a greater predominance of lunar deities in early culture, but also to the fact that festivals of distinctly erotic character still take place at full moon in some regions both of Australia and Africa.

on the matter. As an example I may summarize an effect by Adolf Gerson to reconstruct the conditions under which the cycle developed.[1]

The influence of the sun on life is so predominant[2] that it is difficult in general to trace any lunar influence. Gerson believes, however, that at the period of the evolution of man conditions were present which favored such an influence. He admits that it is not possible, in the absence of any direct evidence, to prove the existence of these conditions, but believes it is possible to show their probability.

Early man and the stock out of which he grew were entirely defenceless against beasts of prey. They lived in trees or, as Gerson believes, in caves, and when it became necessary to go further afield in search of food they had to adopt many precautions. In temperate zones, where beasts of prey prowl by day, they could be avoided by moving abroad at night. (In tropical zones the heat compels all animals to hunt at night, and therefore Gerson considers it improbable that Man evolved in the tropics.) But it was only during light moonlight nights that it was profitable to go abroad at night. In this way early man became accustomed to wander at full moon, and many hordes may have acquired the habit of regularly wandering at this time. They may thus have learnt to surprise and slay the larger animals, and excursions at full moon became strengthened by association with the taste for flesh. This practice has died out because savages today are better armed for slaying animals and better acquainted with the arts of hunting, while wild animals are no longer so numerous, so fierce, or so large as in former days. Man has abandoned these nightly excursions, while wild animals themselves are now compelled to practise them from fear of man.

---

[1] Adolf Gerson, "Die Menstruation, ihre Entstehung und Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft,* April, May, June, 1920. This author had already published various suggestive studies on the physiology and psychology of sexual phenomena.

[2] The traces of a yearly cycle in reproduction, even in man, have long been recognized. See, for instance, Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage,* 2d ed., Chap. II, "A Human Pairing Season in Primitive Times."

This wandering at full moon was of sexual significance because early man was compelled to limit sexual intercourse to such excursions. Gerson assumes that at this period the male was chiefly affected by sexual desire; the female was cold and only gradually acquired such desire, this process of acquisition being indeed even still in progress. Such coldness, Gerson believes, was necessary to ensure maternal devotion. (He fails to consider that a similar result might be obtained by the periodicity of sexual desire which, in fact, we commonly observe in female animals.) Coupling was a kind of combat and the peace required for the breeding of the young was secured by the limitation of male sexual desire within periodical limits. But the gradual extension of these periods of sexual activity might have destroyed the race, through combats with the female and with male rivals, if sexual intercourse between males and females of the same horde had not been brought to an end.

Gerson endeavors to show how this may have happened. When a horde wandered by moonlight into a strange and fruitful region it would be liable to encounter another horde. A combat would ensue and the victorious horde, having put to flight or slain the opposing horde, would take possession of, and have intercourse with, its women. It would thus be easy for them to leave their own women undisturbed. The members of a horde which followed this practice would be enabled to live among themselves in comfort and peace, avoiding the quarrels which sexual desire and rivalry produce. The horde which failed to follow this practice would be enfeebled by inner dissensions.

So also it would come about that the act of sexual intercourse was regarded as a hostile act. The male who thus treated the female of another horde would feel that he had done dishonor to her, he would not definitely know why because the fact that intercourse led to pregnancy had not yet been discovered, but his feeling would be right because he had compelled a hostile horde to adopt his child. The idea would, however, be extended to the women of his own horde; to have

intercourse with them would dishonor them and be a hostile act. In this way arose the instinct against incest.

There would, however, be friendly as well as hostile hordes. These would exchange useful objects and such exchange would extend to the women. In this way a man would form a union with a woman of another horde, who, however, remained with her own horde, so long as the two hordes were neighbors, and if later they met again and recognized each other by their tattoo marks and other signs the old bond would be renewed. This bond extending over more than a single sexual season would be the primitive form of human marriage.

It is in this way, Gerson believes, that we obtain a satisfactory explanation of menstrual periodicity. The horde wandered only at full moon; the women of other hordes could only be met at full moon, and if intercourse was confined to the women of other hordes, sexual intercourse also would necessarily be confined to the recurring periods of full moon. If originally the rutting period of the male had only occurred in spring or other seasonal period of the year it would now tend to recur at monthly periods. Obviously, also, it would be to the advantage of human procreation if the female also at the time of monthly intercourse became capable of impregnation, for otherwise, if she failed to find a mate in the spring when the other higher animals usually mate, she would remain unimpregnated throughout the year. The horde whose females acquired this monthly susceptibility to impregnation would be favored in the struggle for existence over those whose females had failed to acquire it. By selection and heredity were produced females whose ovulation, sexual desire, and menstruation corresponded to the periodicity of the males and followed the phases of the moon.

There are various considerations, Gerson points out, which favor this theoretical explanation of menstrual periodicity. Savage peoples still often hold their dancing festivals at the full moon; and the dances still often present a pantomimic representation of the conditions, now entirely passed away, which prevailed when the full moon was really the

proper and only period for sacrificing at once to Ares and to Aphrodite. They are true survivals, and Gerson here seems on fairly safe ground.[1] The same can scarcely be said of his attempt to argue that the primitive goddess was at once not only a goddess of the moon and of hunting (primitively associated with the full moon), but also, like Artemis, sexually cold, thus recalling the primitive coldness of woman; we know too little of the primitive goddess we vaguely discern to speak so definitely, and the original Artemis was far from chaste.[2]

Along the same lines Gerson seeks to explain the frequent discomfort, painfulness, and mental depression of the menstrual period. It is impossible, he argues, to account adequately for these manifestations on physiological or psychological grounds. He neglects to bring forward evidence of their actual occurrence under conditions of savage life. There is nothing in the process of menstruation which need cause symptoms of pain, and slight loss of blood is normally a cause of relief and excitement rather than of depression. But they become intelligible, he argues, if we can regard them as the inherited outcome of the conditions under which menstruation arose. "Consider," says Gerson, "the nature of the impressions which the primitive woman received during sexual intercourse. They were frightening, horrible, in the highest degree painful. Her marriage bed was a bloody heath and the dead bodies of her friends and brothers lay around. Here she was subjected to the unrestrained violence of the male which still at times re-emerges as sadism or sexual pleasure in the sight of combat, blood, and corpses." The pains of menstruation arose in the same way as the pains and hallucinations of hysteria, that is, as the after-results of real feelings, when

---

[1] Malinowski (*Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1927, p. 206) has, with special reference to New Guinea, emphasized the importance of moonlight among primitive peoples in periodically heightening social life, so that all festivities reach their climax at full moon.

[2] Briffault in his brilliant and learned work, *The Mothers* (vol. ii, Ch. XX) has discussed lunar deities in relation to women, and emphasized the primitive connection between pregnancy and the moon.

revived by appropriate associations, and it makes no difference that these associations are transmitted by heredity. Menstrual pains are really hysterical pains, not founded in the nature of menstruation but a by-product, which may not occur at all, and they can be removed by hypnotic treatment. This, Gerson believes, shows that physiology has nothing to do with them and that the biological explanation is sound.

Gerson would go further and seeks to show that the menstrual loss of blood was a necessary incident in the process he describes. It is to be regarded, he believes, as primitively a discharge for the relief and recuperation of the over-excited organism in these monthly orgies, gradually acquired as an organic property and transmitted so as to become fixed even when there was no intercourse and no ill-treatment. Although it takes place through the sexual organs it is really connected with excitement in the higher nervous centres. It depends on a vasomotor reflex which arose in the primitive sexual combats at full moon. The same psychogenous hemorrhages, he remarks, were often caused in women by shock during the Great War.

Why has sexual desire, confined to a rutting season among many lower animals, become constant in the human male? Because, Gerson answers, it has produced a valuable conserving influence on the species. It has bound man and woman more closely together in marriage, impelling the husband to court the wife from day to day. It has given occasion to the wife to stay with her husband and remain true to him, even when not needing him to protect and nourish her. Perpetual desire imparted to marriages which were formed chiefly or solely on economic grounds an increased stability and a new nobility. It was the guarantee of a happy family life. Perpetual desire and monogamy conditioned each other. This consideration, one notes, however valid, does not necessarily confirm Gerson's theory.

It may be objected, Gerson adds, that we witness today an almost religious horror of intercourse during menstruation. He thinks that this had not arisen in primitive times

and that there was no occasion for it to arise. The man would scarcely so much as be aware of the presence of menstruation, which also, as among many primitive races today, would be scanty and not constant. It was not until much later times, when wives were acquired by favor or by purchase, that the condition arose for this state to be conspicuous.

Under such conditions combat and struggle, which Gerson regards as the inevitable accompaniments of intercourse in the primitive stage, ceased to be agreeable to the husband. They had, however, become fixed by heredity to the menstrual period. It was at menstruation that woman, with an organism reminiscent of the orgies of the old festivities of the full moon, was most inclined to be quarrelsome and irritable, as indeed, Gerson adds, she often is even today. So the husband preferred for intercourse the time immediately before and after the period, when he observed that his wife was apt to be in a much more peaceful and complacent mood. In this way a prejudice against intercourse in the menstrual period itself became deep-rooted. Yet intercourse, at all events among the lower races, is practised as near as possible to the period.[1] That spring of blood, Gerson concludes, flowing from women, is the source of a great part of the blessings of modern civilization.

I do not bring forward Gerson's theory to suggest that it should be accepted. There are points in his arguments throughout at which criticism may be offered. What one notes, first of all, is the fact that he never allows for the existence of a rudimentary menstrual cycle among even many of the monkeys and lower apes. It is not only found among the anthropoid apes, which are closely allied to Man but has now been studied among various monkeys who show an ap-

---

[1] In proof of this, Gerson refers to the evidence brought forward by Siegel to show that the number of boys born greatly prevails over that of girls when conception takes place near menstruation, and that at other periods girls prevail. Among lower races to-day boys seem to prevail over girls at birth, Gerson states, even more than among the higher races, which might indicate that they are more apt to have intercourse near menstruation.

proximate lunar periodicity in menstruation. We must, therefore, push the origin of this phenomenon further back than Gerson supposes, for he throughout regards it as arising in early Man, the *Urmensch;* an acceptably satisfying hypothesis can only be sought in a much more primitive stock, long before the *Urmensch* had branched off in Pliocene times.

Then again, Gerson regards it as an essential part of his conception that the primitive mode of intercourse, associated with the origin of menstrual periodicity, took the form of a brutal and inconsiderate attack by the male, without courtship, and indeed without on the part of the female any of that aptitude for sexual pleasure to which courtship must be addressed. But some form of courtship, some promise of pleasure to the female, is almost universal in the animal world. We should need to know why it was in abeyance during this hypothetical period in which the menstrual cycle had its origin before we could accept Gerson's view of that origin. Other difficulties will present themselves to the careful reader, involving, for instance, the theory of heredity assumed. Gerson's conception, however ingenious, fails to meet these difficulties.

The unsatisfactory nature of such attempts to explain menstruation by the circumstances of the early history of Man and the primates, throws us back on the possibility that we may be concerned with direct cosmic influences on life, manifesting themselves when the balance of the vital phenomena are sufficiently delicate and unstable to yield to such subtle influences.

It is an ancient belief that sea urchins in the Mediterranean are subject to lunar influence in their breeding season. Munro Fox, in a careful study of the matter, has found that this is not generally true. But his observations on the spot have shown that it is true of an echinoid—*Centrechinus* (*Diadema*) *setosus* at Suez. This sea urchin really spawns at full moon in the breeding season. He suggests that the old belief that related sea urchins on other shores of the Mediterranean similarly spawn at full moon was carried thither from

Egypt where it is actually true.[1] It is not easy to connect this lunar periodicity with tidal influences since the tidal range on these coasts is so minute, being only 58 centimeters between new moon and full.

Among the sea urchins we are far from Man, but Arrhenius in Sweden, in observations which date a number of years back though they have attracted little attention, has shown some grounds for the existence of a lunar influence on menstruation which he associates with the amount of electricity in the atmosphere.[2] Richter had shown in 1885 that the moon has an impeding influence on thunderstorms. This drew the attention of Arrhenius to the matter and he was led to conclude that there is a significant relation between the electricity in the air and the tropic lunar month of 27.3 days. With regard to variations in natality Arrhenius found a very marked double periodicity according to the tropic month, the first maximum falling on the 6th or 7th day, the second on the 25th or 24th day. So he expected a corresponding variation in menstruation and made an investigation in 6000 cases in the Stockholm Maternity Hospital, based on the last date of menstruation before pregnancy, and found a sharp minimum just before the southern lunistice (about the 17th day). The deep minimum in the air-electricity curve is on the 14th—15th day, so the menstrual minimum falls about a day later. Arrhenius also found a nearly 26 day curve (that of thunderstorms, aurora borealis, and perhaps also affecting air-electricity) as well as the tropic lunar curve, and thinks this may be connected with the sun. Arrhenius finds no ground for the old belief that menstruation is con-

---

[1] H. Munro Fox, "Lunar Periodicity in Living Organisms," *Science Progress*, Oct., 1922, and a later paper, "Lunar Periodicity in Reproduction," *Proc. Royal Soc.* B. vol. xcv, 1923. Munro Fox found no lunar influence in the rate of growth of fruits as tested by daily measurements of a small marrow.

[2] S. Arrhenius, "Die Einwirkung Kosmicher Einflüsse auf physiologische Verhältnisse," *Scandinavisches Archiv für Phys.*, Leipzig, Bd iii, 1898. Mr. Munro Fox has called attention to this paper and kindly lent it to me.

nected with the synodic month of 29.5 days, and considers it highly probably that the menstrual month is associated with a co-operation of the two periods (27.3 days and 25.9 days). Hannover's figures for the average menstrual period in Denmark, 26.6 days, confirms this view in the opinion of Arrhenius. He also found that at St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in epilepsy, the 27.3 days period, and in a less degree the 25.9 days period affects the attacks, which tend to fall (as for menstruation) one day later.

It is worth while to note these various investigations, even although it must be acknowledged that the origin of the lunar, or so nearly lunar, periodicity of menstruation still demands a satisfactory solution. I am not concerned further with it, except to consider its psychological aspect—the menstrual curve of sexual feeling in women.

The manifestations of the sexual impulse in women have long constituted an obscure subject to investigate. On the one hand poets and satirists have declared for centuries that the evils of the world are largely due to the sexual lust of women; on the other hand moralists and even physicians have assured the world in the most solemn manner that normal and respectable women have no sexual feelings at all. It is unnecessary to say on which side the public opinon of women, even when they chanced to be physicians, was most likely to be found. Under such conditions, it was only an occasional man of genius, like Haller in the eighteenth century, who ventured to state the truth, which should have been obvious, that there was a tendency for menstruation in women to be associated with sexual desire.

Thirty years ago, when I was preparing my study of "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity," it was beginning to be widely recognized that sexual desire tends to be specially associated with menstruation, some authorities placing the heightening of desire immediately before, and others immediately after, the menstrual period. Krafft-Ebing, at that time the most prominent authority on the psychology of sex, placed it usually after the period, but he gave no exact figures.

Dr. Harry Campbell, who carried out an investigation among healthy women of the working class in London, by making enquiries of their husbands, found that in two-thirds of all cases there was increased desire just before, just after, or during the flow, and that the proportion of cases in which it was increased before to those in which it was increased after was as three to two. Campbell's indirect method of inquiry seemed to me unsatisfactory, and therefore I obtained direct information from a number of women of the educated class who were likely to furnish reliable answers. I came to the conclusion that "there can be no doubt whatever that immediately before and immediately after [the period of menstruation], very commonly at both times—this varying slightly in different women—there is usually a marked heightening of actual desire." I also found that it occurred more commonly than had usually been supposed during the period itself.[1] Subsequent inquiries have confirmed this result, and have also tended to indicate that the heightening of desire is more likely to be pronounced at the end of the period than just before its onset. This seems what one might have expected if the end of menstruation may be regarded as corresponding to the oestral period.[2]

I made no attempt to plot a menstrual curve of sexual desire in woman. There were no data for such a curve, for no woman had told me of any monthy climax of sexual feeling other than that around the menstrual period. I must confess that the question of such a curve had not even occurred to me. Such a failure may seem inexcusable. I had pointed out the

---

[1] I quote from the third edition (1910) of Vol. I of these *Studies*, p. 103.

[2] This main result is confirmed if we find that the greatest number of conceptions occurs immediately after menstruation. This was found to be so by Siegel, in Germany during the Great War, by observation on married soldiers who were only able to return home for two or three days at a time. Siegel found that the likelihood of fertilization increases from the beginning of menstruation, reaches its highest point six days later and remains at almost the same height until the twelfth or thirteenth day when it declines, reaching absolute sterility at the twenty-second day. I have not seen Siegel's paper, which is summarized by Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 488

significant fact of *Mittelschmerz*, the name given to the occasional occurrence of a kind of minor or abortive menstruation in healthy women, usually appearing about the fourteenth day of the menstrual cycle and lasting two or three days. So that there is sometimes an intra-menstrual cycle, possibly indicating a tendency towards a future breaking up of the menstrual cycle into two. Fliess (in his book *Die Beziehungen zwischen Nase und weiblichen Geschlechtsorganen*) went so far as to assert that this phenomenon, which he called *Nebenmenstruation*, is "well known to most healthy women." Here was a point at which one should have sought for a secondary climax of sexual desire. But, for my own part, I failed to make the search.

At this stage enters Dr. Marie Stopes with an attempt, on the basis of new data, to construct a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women, such as Perry-Coste (and previously on slighter evidence Nelson) had sought to construct in the case of men.[1] Her attempt is the more interesting because it is brought forward in complete independence of the already established phenomena of *Mittelschmerz*, to which she makes no reference. Yet she places a climax of sexual desire precisely at the date of *Mittelschmerz*. The nature and extent of Dr. Stopes's data are not clearly stated, but her conclusion, illustrated by charts, is that there are two wave-crests in the menstrual cycle of sexual desire, one usually occurring during the three days before the actual onset of menstruation, the other during the three or four days around the fourteenth day after the onset of menstruation, and so beginning about a week after menstruation ceases. Dr. Stopes seems to regard the second climax as usually higher and more prolonged than the immediately pre-menstruation climax.

This attempt to establish a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women seemed to me to be a step in the right direction, and I resolved to test the reliability of the particular kind of

---

[1] Marie Carmichael Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., *Married Love*, Ch. IV. "The Fundamental Pulse." 1918. F. H. Perry-Coste (later Perrycoste), "Sexual Periodicity in Men," Appendix B. to vol. i of these *Studies*.

curve Dr. Stopes had found, though without any confidence that I should be able to confirm its existence. The first point was to decide on a satisfactory objective criterion of genuine organic sexual impulse, of a truly auto-erotic nature, so far as possible independent (it can never be entirely independent) of all those slight erotic stimuli by which in civilization men and women alike are constantly solicited. This was the more necessary since the method of merely general inquiry had in my hands already produced only negative results except as to the one climax around menstruation, while to ask a woman the leading question as to whether she feels a special tendency to sexual desire around the fourteenth day is obviously a fallacious method, because—even apart from the fact that few women have exercised a sufficient amount of precise self-observation to make their answers reliable—the influence of suggestion and auto-suggestion at once comes into play, and when the point is thus brought before her a woman may easily, in all good faith, find unreliable reasons in her own experience for accepting or rejecting the theory.

On consideration it seemed to me that there are two objective criteria, both of which may be used with considerable confidence in the attempt to find data for the construction of a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women: (1) The occurrence of erotic dreams, and (2) the occurrence of masturbation in the case of women who adopt that practice. Erotic dreams are an entirely normal and organically auto-erotic indication of sexual desire, largely independent of direct environmental influence, while the act of masturbation, it may be presumed, is not usually resorted to unless under the stress of an impulse sufficiently strong to be fairly considered organic. It was on the basis of one or other of these two classes of auto-erotic phenomena that the attempt to construct a menstrual cycle of sexual desire in man was based.

It so chanced that at the time when Dr. Stopes's book appeared a record of dreams was being kept for me by a married lady (Mrs. F.) for purposes of investigation. There was no idea of including the question of a menstrual curve of

the sexual impulse in such investigation, but the record lent itself admirably to an inquiry of the kind, and I have accordingly examined it to that end with the following result.

Mrs. F. is thirty-two years of age, physically and mentally normal, in good health, the mother of children, but separated from her husband, owing to war conditions, during the whole period of the investigation. This covered six months; it was not practicable to continue it longer, as the record occupied considerable time, and Mrs. F. is engaged in an arduous profession and desires to devote all her spare time to her children. Her full and sometimes fatiguing life prevents her from giving as much thought as might otherwise have been the case to sexual interests, while at times worry and anxiety have exerted a depressing effect on her vital energies. The menstrual flow lasts four days and is accompanied by only a minor degree of discomfort; the menstrual month oscillates a day or two on each side of twenty-six days, which is the average, though it so happens that during the seven periods that have been observed the average has never coincided with the actual length of any period.

For the purposes of this inquiry the erotic dreams only will be taken into consideration. It is possible that the dreams as a whole may follow a menstrual curve (as Nelson found); I am inclined to think they may; but to consider that question would unduly and unnecessarily complicate the question before us. We will only consider erotic dreams, and we have first to decide what constitutes an erotic dream. As I regard the matter, an erotic dream is one which by its psychic contents manifestly reveals an erotic situation, or else it is a dream which is accompanied by physical sexual excitation traceable on awaking.[1]

It may be added that the latter are not a separate group, for all the dreams in this series which presented physical sexual accompaniments were psychically erotic, although not all the

[1] The data on which Perry-Coste worked were exclusively the physical accompaniments; he found remarkably few traces of the dreams themselves.

psychically erotic dreams had corresponding physical accompaniments to a noticeable extent. I have not adopted the Freudian criterion according to which a dream may be latently erotic while not manifestly so. I do not dispute that this is often possible and sometimes likely, but it opens the door to many doubts and uncertainties, while at the same time diminishing the soundness of the foundation we are working on, for there can at least be no doubt that all the most definitely erotic dreams in the series have been included in my enumeration. Thus I do not include two dreams of flying, which Freud would regard as the expression of a sexual wish; their affective tone was pleasant, but the subject is emphatic that these pleasurable feelings were quite distinct from sexual feeling.

The total number of erotic dreams, as thus ascertained, from the end of March to the end of September, was thirty-two, of which thirteen left traces of physical excitation noticeable on awakening. Their summated daily occurrence in the menstrual cycle, was as follows:

1, 4, 1, 1, 2, 1, 1, 0, 1, 4, 4, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 2, 0, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0. If we convert these figures into two-day periods in order to smooth the curve we reach the result: 5, 2, 3, 1, 5, 6, 2, 2, 2, 1, 2, 1, 0. Then the curve becomes unmistakably clear; we see a first climax within the time of menstruation, followed by a dip, and succeeded on the tenth to twelfth days by a second higher and wider climax, followed by a correspondingly still lower and more prolonged dip which finally ends in zero during the days preceding the onset of the next menstrual flow. There can be no question whatever concerning the reality and the harmonious formation of this curve. It becomes still more emphatically clear if we carry further the process of smoothing by arranging the figures in four-day periods:

7, 4, 11, 4, 3, 3, 0.

If the dream test is reliable Mrs. F. possesses a definite autoerotic menstrual curve.

It is obvious that the period covered by this curve is hardly long enough to encourage complete confidence in the re-

sult. A little later, therefore, Mrs. F. was persuaded to renew the observations for a longer period, beginning with 1st of November, and without noting or considering whether they formed any kind of curve. The conditions, both internal and external, had already considerably changed, and were no longer so favorable. Mrs. F. had a serious attack of influenza just when the observations were to begin and remained in weak health for nearly a month afterwards. No erotic dreams, in consequence, occurred till 4th of December. She was, however, during this second period, on the whole much more cheerful and much more vigorous than during the first period of observation. But, on the other hand, she was also working much harder, and so, probably, less observant of her dreams, which, also, were more often replaced by day-dreams. These various changes of circumstance could not fail to affect the curve. But the curve, though modified, and to some extent displaced, still remains, though it cannot be superimposed on the earlier curve. We have always to remember that, as has been shown by Mr. Perry-Coste, physiological curves taken during a long period of years, precisely because they are those of living and growing persons, are in process of constant slow modification. To attempt therefore to make a single curve out of the separate curves of different years or different seasons introduces confusion. Yet an intelligible curve still remains.

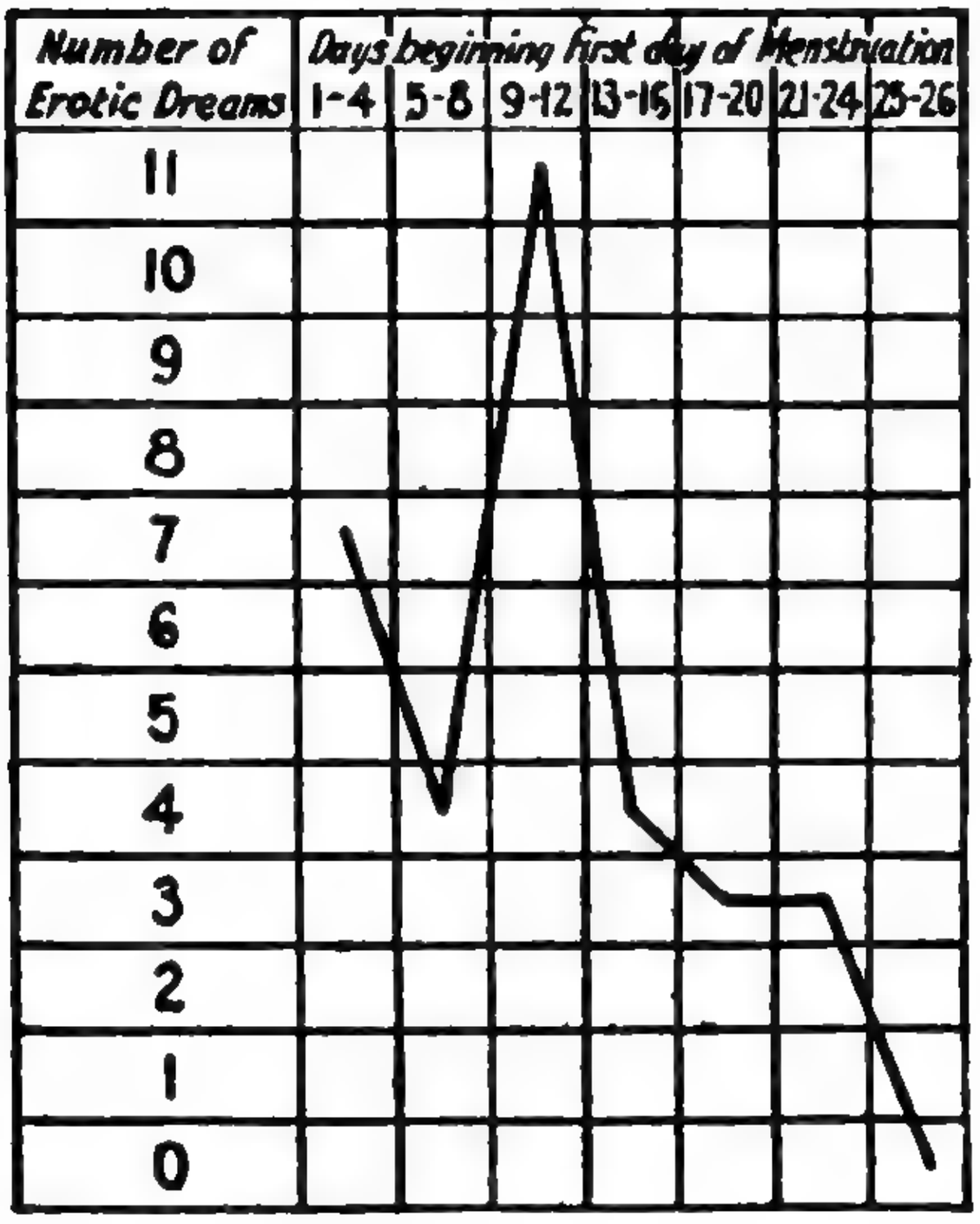
This second series of observations was continued till the end of November in the following year, and when we have eliminated the early month effaced by influenza, it covers thirteen menstrual months. There were 54 erotic dreams recorded during this period, including several that were doubtful but probable, or interrupted by awaking, and excluding others that were more doubtful. In five of these 54 dreams orgasm occurred. From the first day of the menstrual month they were distributed as follows:

0, 2, 0, 0, 2, 4, 0, 2, 2, 2, 0, 3, 4, 4, 2, 2, 5, 4, 1, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 2, 1.

Summated in two-day periods we find:

2, 0, 6, 2, 4, 3, 8, 4, 9, 3, 5, 5, 3.

CHART I.


Number of Erotic Dreams
Days beginning first day of Menstruation
1-4
5-8
9-12
13-16
17-20
21-24
25-26
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

Considering the extent of the various disturbing influences this curve comes out quite harmoniously, and may even be said to be in some respects more likely to be normal than the earlier curve, although both the climaxes are concomitantly moved to the right, that is to say both are delayed. The first climax occurs at the end instead of the beginning of menstruation, and the second and main climax also occurs later, on the fourteenth to the eighteenth days. When we compare these two results, even in their difference, it is not easy to doubt the reality of the curve revealed.

There remains to test the second criterion, constituted by acts of masturbation. For this purpose I propose to use data which have been in my hands for some years, but which I have not hitherto worked out. They concern a married lady, whom we will call Mrs. A., not personally known to me, but with whom I was in touch through a medical friend[1] of hers and mine, who was permitted to copy certain entries in her diary to send me. I am also acquainted with her sexual history generally.

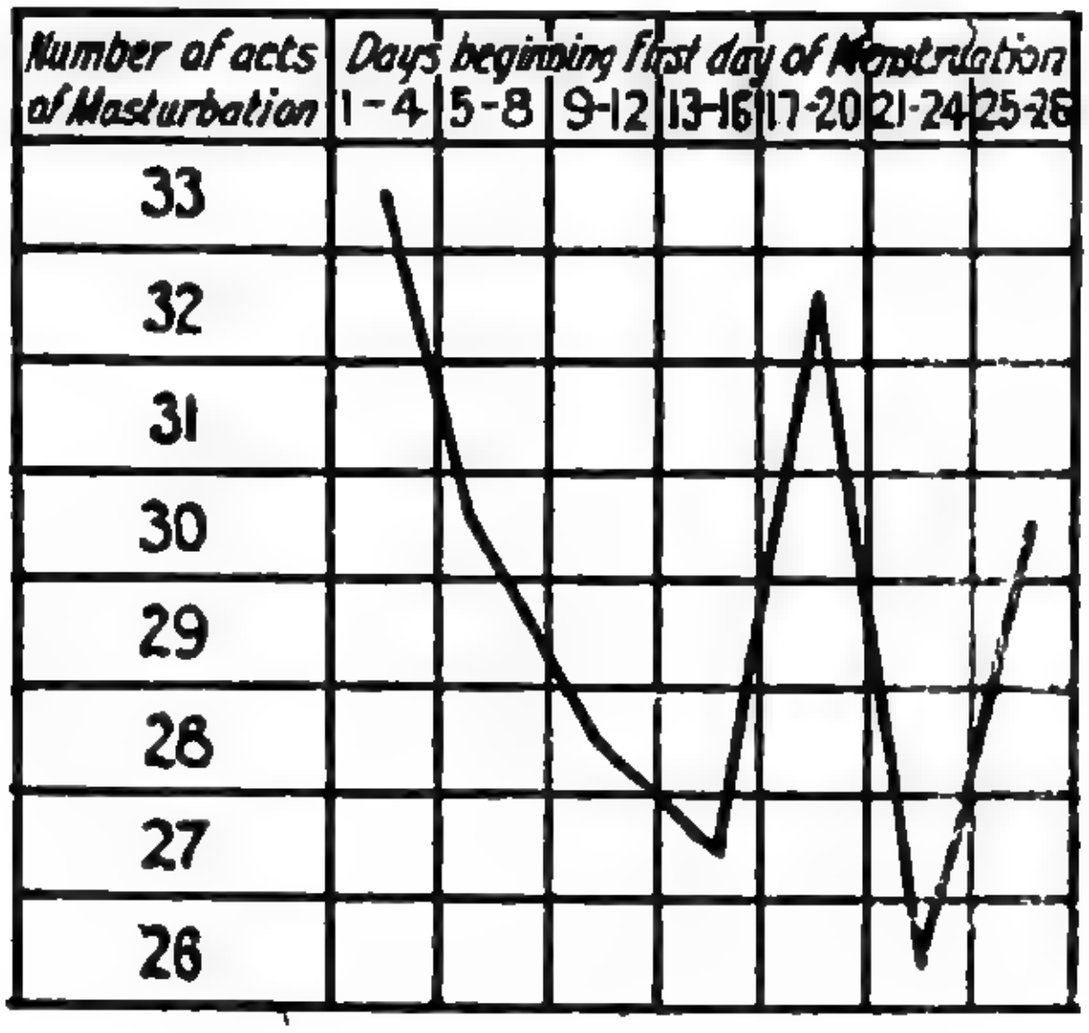
Mrs. A. has no children. She has travelled much, is attractive and accomplished, and has lived in hot countries, which has perhaps contributed to develop the sexual tendencies. She may, however, be regarded as fairly normal except as concerns the frequency of masturbation. She was taught this method of sexual indulgence at the age of fourteen, but seldom practised it at that time. It has become much more frequent during adult life, but has apparently had no injurious influence of any kind, nor has it interfered with pleasure in normal intercourse, which has often taken place shortly before or shortly after an act of masturbation. She is accustomed to note acts of masturbation (there are sometimes two in one day) in her diaries, as well as the date when menstruation begins and ends; she makes no entries of acts of sexual intercourse. The period for which I have these data covers two

[1] This, it may now be stated, was the late Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Sutherland, I.M.S. the Imperial Serologist for India, too skilled and acute a medico-legal observer to accept testimony easily.

years, with the exception of a break of a few weeks when she was away from home and had left her diary behind.

Mrs. A. resembles Mrs. F. in that the menstrual flow lasts for four days and the menstrual month oscillates round an average of twenty-six days. When the total number of acts of masturbation is summated and arranged, as with Mrs. F.'s

CHART II.



erotic dreams, beginning with the first day of menstruation, we have the following series: 8, 6, 9, 10, 10, 6, 5, 9, 8, 10, 4, 6, 6, 13, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 6, 8, 8, 4, 6, 3, 12. When, as before, we attempt to smooth the curve by condensing into two-day periods we have the series: 14, 19, 16, 14, 18, 10, 19, 8, 16, 16, 16, 10, 15. If, finally, we reduce to four-day periods (doubling the odd two-day period) we have this result: 33, 30, 28, 27, 32, 26, 30.

Here clearly is a curve exactly analogous to Mrs. F.'s curve of erotic dreams, though with variations from that curve. There are still two climaxes in the menstrual wave, but they have changed places. The extreme smoothening of the

curve, while emphasizing its shape, to some extent disguises the precise incidence of its high and low points. Mrs. A's secondary climax occurs shortly after the middle of her menstrual month, while her chief climax, which begins to appear and then falls just before menstruation (though the condensation involved by the irregular length of the month makes this preliminary rise even greater than it is really), is chiefly marked during the last two days of menstruation and the day immediately following. Mrs. F.'s chief climax occurs a little before the middle of her menstrual month, and her secondary climax, which is of considerably less magnitude, is at the second day of menstruation. In both Mrs. F.'s and Mrs. A.'s curves the longer and lower depression occurs in the week preceding menstruation.

I may further bring forward a case (kindly furnished to me by Dr. Norman Haire) which is interesting as it seems to show careful and precise self-observation. It is that of Miss S. aged 29. The menstrual periods began at 14, and she was regular until 21. Then she had intercourse and the periods ceased for six months. Then they reappeared and have continued ever since. Her menstrual cycle takes 24 days when out of health and 28 days when in good health. She herself divides it into five periods as follows: (1) Period of restlessness and sexual excitement, beginning five or six days before menstruation and lasting three or four days; (2) a period of depression lasting two days and immediately preceding menstruation; (3) period of menstruation, lasting three or four days; (4) period of persistent headache and vaginal contraction, lasting about a week and culminating in a sudden and brief crisis of sexual excitement; (5) normal period, lasting from nine to thirteen days according to the state of general health.

Her own account of the characteristics of these periods follows, given exactly in her own words:—

"1. *Period of restlessness and sexual excitement.* This period is marked by nervous tension, restlessness, abnormal gaiety, great talkativeness, keen sexual desire, a feeling of extraordinary physical

fitness, buoyancy and self-confidence. At this time, my dreams are vividly sexual—of coitus, of sexual caresses or of suckling an infant. Any of them result in orgasm which gives complete relief. There is no exhaustion in the morning, and the feeling of fitness continues though the nervous tension is relaxed.

"I am only able to sleep during this period if I have not worked too hard during the daytime, and am not overstrained. When I have been hard at work sleep is impossible, the whole nervous system seems to be influenced, as if there were general neuritis, and there is a kind of 'hot wires' feeling all over the body. The temptation to masturbate is almost overwhelming, as without it I always remain awake all night and am quite exhausted in the morning. A strong sleeping draught of chloral and bromide is, however, sometimes but not always, effectual in bringing sleep.

"Masturbation also sometimes brings sleep, but is not at all a desirable expedient, because it gives very little relief, makes me feel (and look) very ill and increases the pain at the next menstruation. It disturbs the action of the heart, upsets the nervous system altogether and brings a distaste for food. Apart from these evils it causes much mental distress. It is quite three days before I look normal again.

"When I am much run down and suffering severely during the period, my dreams become hideous. I generally dream of babies. The last dream of this kind was that I carried a suit case containing the decomposed bodies of two babies, but my impression was that they had decomposed in my womb, not outside.[1] I never experience fear at such dreams—I am merely shocked.

"When I am well I have dreams at this time demanding physical courage, I have to *decide* to walk through deep water, fully clothed. I have a fear of deep water because I was nearly drowned when I was 15. I have tried to conquer this fear but without success. Invariably I decide to go through the water though it menaces me. I always fear that it will reach my mouth, but it never does. I wake with a strong feeling of elation that I have conquered. Sometimes I have to walk over a cliff, but there is no fear in this dream.

"2. *Period of depression.* A feeling of depression sets in which gradually increases up to the beginning of menstruation. This is the only time in the month when I can cry, and do! It is difficult, I think, for a woman with a sense of humor to cry, especially if she be accustomed to regard her own feelings, and actions, dispassionately. But at this time my sense of humor departs. Sexual desire, also, has disappeared, and there is general slackness. The feeling of

[1] With regard to this remark by Miss S. a psycho-analyst would doubtless say that the suit case is an obvious symbol of the womb.

pain and of being 'out of sorts' grows, and I am peevish. Some girls are extremely bad-tempered and 'snappy' at this time.

"3. *Period of menstruation.* When I am overworked there is almost intolerable pain for 6 hours or so before the discharge begins, so that my face becomes haggard and drawn, as in some pregnant women, and my condition cannot possibly be disguised. The first and second days of the discharge are extremely painful, afterwards quite bearable. If masturbation (or sexual excitement) has taken place since the last menstruation, the process is more painful, and the vulva, vagina and uterus are swollen and inflamed. The discharge continues in decreasing amount for four days. Sexual desire is absent.

"When I lead an open-air life, or am not drawing too much on nervous energy at the office, the menstrual discharge is increased, there is scarcely any pain, and the menstrual blood becomes bright scarlet. Even when I take a walk of half an hour each morning for a fortnight, the flow increases and becomes bright in color, the general supply for the body seeming to improve, whereas when I am tired the flow is less, the color of the menstrual blood is darker and the pain increases. All girls tell me that same thing—the healthier the girl the greater the flow. Food, too, makes a difference. I find that if I take two meat meals each day during the previous 24 or 28 days, the next menstruation shows more blood. On two occasions, I have lived on vegetarian diet for about 3 weeks and the flow has decreased—almost ceased, in fact, and there has been weakness and lassitude. Fresh air *without* extra food produces better results than extra food *without* fresh air. An open-air life and absence of worry produce a marked improvement in health in a very short space of time.

"4. *Period of persistent headache and contraction of vagina.* During this period which follows menstruation and lasts about a week there is a tense nervous feeling and persistent headache as if there were a tight band round the head. The pain is most severe in the center of the forehead above the eyes. The skin of the forehead is tight and flushed, and slightly swollen. There is a tight, painful feeling of the sex organs, the walls of the vagina are rigidly contracted, the vulva swollen and painful. The flow of blood throughout the body seems restricted. There is a general unhappy feeling of being 'out of sorts' both because of actual pain and because of the feeling of restriction. It is as if three-quarters of the personality was submerged. Instead of being, an 'active' and 'attacking' personality, it is perforce a 'defensive' and 'passive' one, because of the lack of energy. During this period I have little energy, my brain is not keen and I am unable to concentrate or to grasp clearly the details of a matter.

"This period comes to an end with a sudden welcome relaxation without any sexual excitement beforehand, but just before the relaxation there is keen sexual desire, keener than in Period 1, and the nervous tension climbs to a 'peak.' The sex organs relax, the headache disappears. At the same time there is abundant mucous discharge from the vagina if there has been sexual excitement or masturbation during the 24 days before menstruation. The discharge continues for 2 days. My theory is that this mucus is secreted at the times of excitement but cannot be discharged at once owing to the inflamed condition of the uterus. When there has been no sexual excitement, masturbation or nerve strain during the previous periods, there is only a slight discharge and I feel more myself. When I make any special demand, physical or mental, on my reserve of nervous energy, especially after sexual excitement. there is a mucous discharge, and I quickly become thin, haggard, and easily tired. Nervous strain of any kind produces neuritis, in the first place, followed, when the tension is relaxed, by the mucous discharge. The nervous strain is severe—the whole of my body twitches, heart beats rapidly, and it is many hours before I become moderately calm.

"At the end of this period, after relaxation and mucous discharge, I experience a feeling of complete exhaustion for a day or so.

"5. *Period of normality.* For about 9 days I am now normal with no special symptoms until the recommencement of Period 1."

In minor details these three menstrual curves differ from each other and from the curve which Dr. Stopes regards as typical. That is what we should expect; no doubt every woman has her own monthly curve, which (as has been found for the annual curve in men) may even slowly vary during life in the same individual. It is almost needless to add that many further careful observations are required. Yet when we remember that the cases here reported are random samples, the first that chanced to come to hand, that they were tested by different criteria, and that, as I may add, they are not all even of the same nationality, it is remarkable that they should confirm the same two essential points: (1) the regular existence in women of a menstrual wave of sexual desire, and (2) the occurrence in that wave of two crests, of which the second roughly corresponds to the period of *Mittelschmers,* as it is not happily termed, for it is not necessarily

accompanied by pain, and is merely the indication of a tendency of the menstrual cycle to split into two.

The establishment of this curve seems to represent a notable advance in the knowledge of the psycho-physiological life of women.

V.

THE SYNTHESIS OF DREAMS:

A STUDY OF A SERIES OF ONE HUNDRED DREAMS

"Celui qui veut écrire son rêve
doit être infiniment éveillé."
PAUL VALÉRY.

We have become familiar during recent years with the analysis of dreams. The typical form of such dream-analysis may fairly be said to be due to Freud. His *Die Traumdeutung* marks an epoch in the study of dreams; that must be recognized even by those who question the general validity of the principles there applied. Never before had so concentrated and piercing an energy of intellectual vision been applied to the phenomena of a dream. Never before had so much been read out of—though some might say read into—an isolated dream. On the whole, without doubt, dream-analysis, as thus understood, has become an accredited method. There may be wide differences of opinion as to its special details, or its general limitations, or its universal validity, but as a method it stands. It may even be said to stand so firmly that no other method of dream-study is at the present time being carried out with the same thoroughness, if even it is being carried out at all. Yet there is at leàst one other method of dream-study which is of the same psychological validity, and that is the method which I would term dream-synthesis.

It may fairly be said that the method of dream-synthesis is, as a scientific method—for as an unscientific method dream-analysis had its beginnings early in human history—older than the other method. Everyone who makes a study of the characteristics of his own dreams may be said to be occupied with dream-synthesis. In America, also, at one time (as we may see in the early volumes of the *American Journal of Psy-*

chology), there have been some more or less thorough attempts at a scientifically methodical dream-synthesis. So far as I am aware, however, dream-synthesis has never been carried out in a really conscientious and relentlessly scientific spirit. A psychoanalyst who reads any of these early series of dreams must be tempted to think that he is in the presence of people whose waking daytime lives are of an appallingly obscene character, for all the shamefaced thoughts and desires which among the ordinary educated population are not allowed to present themselves to public daily life, and often never even to waking consciousness and so are driven to seek freedom in the world of dreams, seem never to reach these people's dreams; they must all have been expended in waking life. The modern psychosynthetist of dreams, however, will have another story to tell. His experience enables him to state, with assurance, that these people are not honest: although they rarely, perhaps never, admit it, they are acting as the conscious and deliberate censors of the experiences they narrate: they are only concerned, in reality, to present a partial, tame, misleading, respectable and conventional picture of the great world of dreams. Such a method may bring out interesting points of detail in the mechanism of dreaming. But that is all. It can reveal nothing of real life in the dream-world, and can have no vital relationship to the large fundamental facts of human psychology. In the same way, a geography which prudishly refused to admit the existence of rivers or to mention peninsulas could furnish no satisfactorily scientific account of the earth.

I have significantly referred to geography because it seems to me that dream-synthesis, in its advantages and its limitations, fairly corresponds, when we are comparing the soul to the earth, to geography. Dream-analysis, in its advantages and limitations, obviously corresponds to geology. The geologist cuts down below the surface, more or less at random, and draws a section of the strata he comes across, or he knocks off a fragment of rock for microscopical examination, and, in the measure of his knowledge and experience, he makes the most far-reaching deductions, which may be profoundly true, al-

though they are often violently disputed by other geologists. The geographer, on the other hand, travels over the surface in all directions and describes it comprehensively so as to present a balanced and duly proportioned picture of its whole extent; he cannot be so thorough as the geologist, who works from below upward, with its origins and genetic course; but, as he works from above downward, he is able to take with more certainty a comprehensive outlook; so his results are usually less disputable than the geologist's and may often serve to check the geologist's more revolutionary speculations. Thus each method has its own advantages and limitations; each really aids the other.[1]

The method of dream-analysis, however, as we know, with all its good qualities and all their defects, is now so familiar and so well established that it has long ceased to have any pioneering interest, or to offer any scope for scientific adventure. It is not so with dream-synthesis. So far, at all events, as I know—I may easily be wrong—there has yet been no scrupulous and completely relentless attempt—for without scrupulosity and complete relentlessness no step in science can ever be taken—to present a reliable series of dreams extensive enough to reveal an unconscious soul. That is my excuse for what I am here attempting. None can know better than I know that I have not succeeded. But I venture to think that I have been able to carry the method a step farther forward. That is all I claim. The subject we are here concerned with appeared, before this experiment began, to be decidedly below the average in dreaming activity. Moreover, although she was at the time in a rather troubled and uncertain mental and nervous condition, there was here no pronounced psychoneurotic

---

[1] Since the present investigation was completed, the importance of what I have termed the synthetic study of dreams has been independently asserted in a leading article of the *British Medical Journal* on "The Statistical Method in Psychological Analysis" (Nov. 11, 1922). It is here pointed out that in the interpretation of a dream by analysis "the answer must depend on a knowledge of the frequency with which dream incidents of the type considered occur" in the dream life of people generally, and that "the collection and analysis of such data is difficult but not beyond the bounds of research."

problem to unravel, such as would more especially allure the dream-analyst. The superficial simplicity of the phenomena is, I need not add, altogether an advantage when we are concerning ourselves exclusively with questions of method.

Mrs. N., the subject in question, is a lady of French birth on both sides, born and bred in France, but for many years resident in London. She was thirty-two years of age at the period in question, married and the mother of children. She was trained in an École Normale for the teaching profession, but since marriage the economic conditions of her life have often been hard and trying. During the whole of the period covered by the dreams, her husband, an officer in the army, was absent in a remote country; owing to incompatibility of temperament she was meditating a complete separation. The dreams, often noted down during the night and written out as soon as possible after awaking in the morning, were nearly all written in French, and inevitably lose in translation; for dream-synthesis, however, that loss is less significant than it would be in dream-analysis where the actual word is often of fundamental importance. For the same reason, that we are not here concerned with analysis, the dream-narratives have sometimes been slightly condensed in translation, care being taken to omit nothing that could fairly be regarded as likely to be significant. The subject is a woman of high intelligence, who took a real interest in the experiment, and tried to carry it out faithfully. It is possible to rely on her complete frankness, though the effort involved was sometimes a little trying to her. In ordinary life, it may be said, she is rather shy and reserved, though she rarely fails to secure the affectionate esteem of those with whom she comes in habitual social contact.

DREAM I. Night of 28th March: A few days after the beginning of monthly period. An hour before going to bed I had a light supper with a glass of sherry, which is contrary to my usual habits. I liked the sherry but it went slightly to my head, giving me an agreeable sensation of pleasure and quiet gaiety, rather strange to me in these sorrowful days [of war time].

When the memory of the dream begins I was seated on the ground, I know not where, for I see nothing, only a gate behind me,

through which on slightly turning my head I saw a man who seemed to have entered by the half-open door. He appeared a man of the people, strong and well-built. I seemed to experience a feeling of pleasure in furtively looking at him, especially his body, covered with coarse clothing. He was a heavy, not perhaps very distinguished figure, but his shoulders interested me. Robust and solid, with those slow and indolent movements one often notes in men of the people, my man was filling a bucket, or buckets, with coal. There seemed to be coal everywhere.

Then the dream seemed suspended, but it was continued. I was now in the room where the man had been filling the buckets with coal. I do not remember getting up from the position I was in, nor entering the room, but I suddenly saw myself there. I notice that the room is long and narrow, with the door in the middle of one of the long side walls. Opposite the door, on the other side wall, I see a long shelf with books, nothing else. The coal has disappeared, the room has become extremely clean, and the man is no longer there; at all events I do not see him.

All at once I am outside the room; I do not know how I achieved this. The man is behind me at the right; his right arm is supported by what must be a piece of furniture. I turn my back to him; he dominates me and speaks to me, and without my turning round, slightly bending his head forward as if trying to see me in profile from the right. His voice is persuasive and gentle for a man of his size, it seems almost affectionate. I must have rendered him some service of which there is no trace in the dream, for he is thanking me and trying, almost tenderly, to make me accept a penny in recompense. I joke, as one would joke with a friend, at the idea that my services should be paid for, but he insists, also as a friend. I still refuse, always without looking at him, and he slips the penny into the large pocket of my apron. As I still do not move, the circular movement of his right arm in reaching the pocket on my left side gives me an agreeable sensation, almost as a caress would.

Then the dream is again suspended, and suddenly I am once more in the room, still without knowing how I came to be there, and I look at the book-shelf, the man always behind me, always dominating me, and always at my right. We talk, still not looking at one another. I remark that the books are evenly arranged, that there are many of them, and that the shelf seems too long as it runs the whole length of the wall. In the middle of the shelf, placed on the others, are two or three of smaller shape, bound in red leather, like prayer-books. I take up one which I look at and like touching; I read a title: "Epiphany."

Suddenly I am in front of a window on the narrow side of the room, and on the left. As ever, I do not know how I came there, but the man is also there, always at my right, always dominating me. I am very conscious of his presence, and it seems to me that I am speaking to him of the book, though expecting a movement on his part. One would almost say that I am on the defensive; yet I turn over the pages of "Epiphany" and preserve an appearance of great calm. I do not ask myself what the title of the book means, and what relation it has to the text. Opening the book I see verses there, but do not recall reading them. I remark to my companion that "Epiphany" is one of my favorite books. He replies in a caressing voice: "Why did you never tell me so? I would have loved to have it." I feel troubled at these words and turn the leaves of "Epiphany." I remark some engravings but only recall one, of the Virgin enclosed in a circle. All at once the man's voice changes and seems almost warm. He demands brusquely: "If I asked you, would you consent to give me a kiss?" At first I do not move, I make no reply, I hesitate; then slowly I turn my head and raise it to look at him, while he bends down. We gaze at each other for a long time. I seem to be reflecting; his face looks beautiful, no longer heavy as at the outset, though at the same time I am conscious that he is a man of the people. (Then it seems to me that I begin to awake. I am in a half-sleep, or am I not? I do not know.) After reflecting, and still looking at him, I say gravely: "I allow you to give me a kiss to show you that I regard you as a 'gentleman,' but only on condition that you will never ask for another." I feel a passionate kiss on the lips, but I do not remember feeling his arms round me. I suddenly see a bed at the other end of the room, and I ask myself if he will be content with that burning kiss, if he will be a "gentleman" or if he will take me up passionately and place me on the bed. I tremble with hope that he will be strong and ardent, and at the same time I feel ashamed.

Thereupon I awake. After a moment of languor I think of my dream, recall its details, and reflect that it is a pity it was interrupted. I am too hot and throw off the eiderdown. I notice that the lips of the vulva are moist and tremulous with little spasms. That continues and I think of my husband and desire his presence. I take notes of the dream, thinking there may still be time to go to sleep again and perhaps continue the dream. It is seven o'clock. I want to make water, and do so, but retiring to bed I am unable to sleep again.

It is to be noted that during the day I had bought some biscuits to be shared with three colleagues, and there was an odd penny due to me which I had refused to take, as in the dream. Before going to

bed I had been reading an article on the Russian Revolution, and recalled a letter of my husband's in which he mentioned that under Bolshevism some of the people, a cook for instance, had suddenly become generals. That had reminded me how the same thing had happened in the French Revolution, and I reflected how often in a great crisis the people can supply men of strong, ardent, virile type. It is an idea that is dear to me. I like men of the people, and certain types of workmen of strong physique and possibilities of intelligence and vigor always appeal to me. The man in the dream was quite unknown to me.

The dream was written down in French, but the conversation in it was carried on in English.

Dream II. Night of 29th of March: I go to bed after a supper more copious than usual, with half-a-glass of sherry. Previously, I had taken a bath which gave me an appetite; hence the larger and later supper. Coming out of the bath I could not find my warm dressing gown which had gone to the laundry, and I had my supper, insufficiently covered, near a fire that was almost out. So by the time the meal was over I felt so cold that I went to bed at once with a hot bottle and piled on more bed coverings than usual.

When the dream begins I hear someone playing the piano. I try to find out where the sound comes from and decide that it is from the room immediately below. I say to J. (my servant): "They are beginning the noise again; we must stop them." We agree to knock on the floor. I do so, I think at first with my fist, then with the handle of a hair-brush, but the sound continues. I call for an iron and send J. for it. While she is away the music changes. It is now a violin. It is beautiful, very beautiful; I no longer know whether to continue knocking on the floor. Suddenly R. (my eldest boy) rises, runs towards me, and makes some remark I cannot recall about the noise. Till then I had seen nothing around me; now I see the bed R. has just left. I resolve to knock anew on the floor, for I am annoyed that the noise should have awakened R. I knock and R. knocks. (There is no longer any J.) And all at once the floor opens in a corner of the room, as if one or two boards were removed, leaving a hole through which a man might pass. I do not see the floor open, nor know how it was done; I suddenly see the hole, with the loose ends of the boards, and I am at the edge, gazing down into the room below, where I see a tall, well-built man, though rather slender, with a long face with a rather mischievous air, and long hair, turned towards me in an impertinent way. This is the man playing the violin. He stares at me. Our eyes meet, and his question mine in a bold and arrogant way. I pretend not to understand the invitation thus conveyed, and my eyes seek to give no

reply. But I am ill at ease, and I suddenly perceive that I am in a nightdress, and one that does not very well suit me; I make the reflection, however, that white always goes well with me. To escape from my embarrassment I begin to talk to the man. My voice is gentle and a trifle malicious. I say to him: "You can play as much as you like during the day, and then it is very nice; but you should not wake the children." He replies ironically, with a princely air, that he is entirely at my disposition. I continue to feel embarrassed, and I carefully replace the boards to cover the hole.

Suddenly, without transition, I am in a bedroom, whether the same room I do not know, but I suddenly see all the details. The room is square. On one wall is a fireplace. On the opposite side are two beds, side by side, square with the wall, one larger than the other, and with a passage between them. At the foot of these beds is a third smaller bed; it is that of R. but he is not there. He is with my favorite brother (now dead) in one of the other beds. I am in the largest bed, and the man is seated before the fireplace in which burns a fire. He is seated on an ordinary chair, with his back turned to us, gazing into the fire, the left leg over the right knee, and the hands clasping the left knee. I cannot see his face but I know that he has a mischievous air, although his bearing is calm. I know that he is studying me. I cannot tell how we have all come there, but the presence of that man studying me is embarrassing and I see that it also displeases my brother. I hope that the man will mistake my brother for my husband and go, but have little expectation that he will. Suddenly my brother sends R. to his own bed and rises. I see that he is angry. He goes towards a corner of the room by the fireplace. Then the ceiling seems suddenly to open, revealing a spiral staircase, and my brother goes up, seeming to disappear by a trap-door, as in a barn. I hear a sound like that of a latch in a barn of my early home. I know that my brother has gone because he dislikes the man's presence. I am now full of apprehension and wonder what will happen. I should like to be angry, I ought to send that man away, but I am tired and singularly indifferent. I decide to let him believe that I have not noticed his presence. I turn towards the wall and pretend to go to sleep. I seem to be half asleep. Suddenly the man furtively glides between the beds. I have not heard him come, but I feel a warm kiss on the back of my neck. I turn round, pretending to be indignant and demand an explanation of his conduct. There is no harm in that, he assures me, and he talks of my loneliness, and begs me to have pity on a man who is so hungry for love. He puts on an unhappy air, but there is always a mischievous expression about the corner of his lips and I feel that everything he says is false. I ask him what he means by solitude.

He confesses that really he is not alone, but that someone who lives with him will soon go away, and he will then be alone, so it comes to the same thing, and in any case he deserves my pity. He says this in a blustering and arrogant way as though the little confession were of no significance. I reprove him and try to show myself really angry at such lying. I tell him I hope he will some day know what real solitude is, such as I have known for years and years, during which I have often had to go to the pawn shop to get money for bread. He listens, still retaining his mischievous air, seeming to wait till we have finished talking in order to reach what we both of us tacitly know must soon happen between us. My thoughts recur to the kiss, and resolving no longer to beat around the bush, I brusquely ask him: "And what more do you want" He assures me that he wants nothing more. But his smile belies his words and what he says sounds false. I try to be indignant, but I am soft and languorous, and, at last, resigned. He suddenly covers with greedy and passionate kisses my uncovered legs and buttocks and back. My softness and lack of resistance seem strange to me when I know that I ought to resist, and I am full of shame. He could in reality have me altogether. I turn my back towards him, with the attitude of a cat whose belly one is caressing, except that I hide my head in the pillow so that he shall not see my beatitude. He leans over the bed and continues to embrace my back.

Suddenly he starts up like a drunken man, but always with that false air. He disgusts me and attracts me. His hand glides beneath the sheets near my feet. I am covered but I notice that I have on a night-dress that suits me. It is no longer the same one; this is open at the neck and trimmed with red braid, but I do not understand why I see it near my feet where the man's hand is. His hand is seeking my legs which he caresses, but he seems to stop suddenly in the middle of this caress, and reaches his hand towards me with the air of saying: "Let us be friends, I will keep my promise, and ask no more." I press his hand, but I know that it is false, that he will return and have me altogether, and I feel nothing but languor.

There the dream ends. I awake. The awakening is sudden and I am terribly hot, but do not at first seem to be experiencing any sexual emotion. What I feel is more like a kind of colic, but quickly disappearing. Was it really colic? Perhaps, and it is followed by a kind of heaviness as when the bladder is too full. This sensation is agreeable, and though I reflect that I ought to get up and urinate I decide not to do so. I try to go to sleep again, and in a sort of half sleep I make the reflection that such dreams should not always be attributed to the bladder. I cannot, however, go to sleep. So I get up and make water but am surprised to find how very little comes.

I get back into bed and the sensation of heaviness seems slowly to disappear, but I suddenly realize that the lips of the vulva are moving and the clitoris seems to be jumping. It is not easy to calm myself; and that annoys and irritates me. I deliberately excite myself. Then I rise to make a few notes. I return to bed in a calmer state and go to sleep again, and dream vaguely of other things.

I am told that the night was windy, though I do not remember having heard the wind. But I should say that we have a lady in the house who learns singing, and every day she devotes herself to vocal exercises that are more or less agreeable. She has a way of beginning just when the children have gone to bed and so awakens them. Last night when she began as usual, I remember saying to J: "This is getting troublesome; I must ask her to choose some other hour." She lives above, not below me. The man was completely unknown. The dream was in English.

DREAM III. Night of 3rd April: I am at the top of what seems to be a square tower. The roof is flat and surrounded by an iron balustrade, and I am seated before what is like a bureau table. In front of me is one of my brothers, A. (an author), seated before another table like mine. We are working. A harsh artificial light falls on us, recalling the electric reflectors which follow actors on the stage. I take no note of whence the light comes, nor what produces it, but accept it as natural. Everything outside this shaft of light is in a dim penumbra. At the foot of the tower, and included in the light, which spreads fanwise, a woman is seated at a table covered by a green cloth. She is beautiful, well proportioned, with a tendency to a certain plumpness which exactly suits her, and gives her the air of a velvety and nonchalant Angora cat. Her features are regular and beautiful; her skin is warm and matt, with a kind of ivory texture besides her black and lustruous hair and her heavy black velvet gown. Her hair is arranged like a halo round her head. The contrast between the green tablecloth and the warmth of this woman and her dress is highly agreeable. At the lady's feet (for she is a great lady) is a carpet of green moss of incomparable softness, and the black velvet dress falls harmoniously over the moss and heightens its tones. It is a picture of the most agreeable artistic arrangement. The lady's movements are all gracious, and measured with a careful art of which she seems quite conscious. I only note one gesture, that of opening a drawer, but her grace in this act fills me with admiration. My brother from the top of the tower admires the lady with the air of a connoisseur. In real life he is a great connoisseur of beautiful women, especially when they are rather fat. I also gaze at the lady with much pleasure.

Then the dream seems suspended, and I suddenly see myself descending an extremely slippery slope which reaches from the top of the tower to the spot where the lady is seated like a flower. I seek to catch something rolling before me. Is it a ball? I believe so, but it is vague. I seem to slide and suddenly I see what seems a row of little cells beside the slippery descent; they become like theater boxes, in each of which, I know, is a woman. The entrance to each box is closed by a cretonne curtain of bright colors, green and red. On climbing the slope again, with difficulty, for it is like a polished floor, I remark to myself that I should not like to have to do this every day, like these ladies. I wonder how they contrive to do it without falling. Have I caught the rolling object? It seems so. I do not see myself again reaching the top of the tower. Everything suddenly changes.

I am I know not where; I only see a wall, and do not note its color. A dear man friend (F.) is with me, young, tall, strong, quiet. I do not see him but I feel him. I love him. There is no desire for kisses or caresses or physical union, but I am hurt because he is distant and indifferent. I say to myself (in English): "I love him because he is the first man who ever made me feel so small. I have been small in front of the sea——." There the quotation stops. I use the word "quotation" for this was the echo of my thoughts before going to bed. Having said this, however, I resolve to be great. I get together a few wooden cases of the Tate sugar-box kind, and place them one above another against a wall with the idea of climbing to the top of them in order to be great. There are three of them and I feel that I shall never be able to climb to the top without falling. They seem too near the wall, which renders the balance uncertain since the smallest is beneath, and it is the bottom of each box that is against the wall. I feel that in climbing I shall bring them all down. But I am resolved to risk everything to be great. I do not see myself climbing; nor do I see my friend anywhere near, but I am conscious that he is somewhere about.

Suddenly I realize that I must have succeeded, but that I have hurt myself. I am very glad of it. My friend is worried about me, and that maliciously delights me. I must have passed on the other side of the wall, but though invisible I am able to see him and enjoy teasing him when I hear him ask: "How is she?" It is delightful to me that his anxiety shows he loves me.

I awake slowly and peacefully and happily. There is nothing to indicate the slightest sexual excitement. It is time to get up.

DREAM IV. Night of 17th April: The day after beginning of monthly period. A rather large supper an hour before going to bed.

I am in a room of which I see no details except a fire flaming in the hearth. My great aunt is seated before the fire. I cannot recognize her but I know it is she. She hides the fire from me, but I guess it to be there. I am seated on a wooden bench against the wall like those in railway stations. This seat (certainly English, like the fire) is made comfortable by a pile of cushions and is ensconced in an angle of the room. I am on the right side, buried in the cushions, and on the left, turned towards me and looking at me, is a man with stupid placid face and a foolish smile at the corner of his lips. He displeases and irritates me horribly. His hair is black, smooth and well combed, his skin is pink and delicate like a woman's, his face is round. He devours me with his eyes, smiling foolishly. I feel more and more irritated and constrained. I begin to ask myself if I should go to my train.

Suddenly I find myself in a bedroom with my aunt and my sister, and am washing myself feverishly. I do not, however, observe any details of this operation. I tell my sister not to forget the bag. She opens a drawer and begins, with my aunt, to fill a portmanteau. I do not see it, but the room seems in disorder. I am feverish, the idea of the train pursues me. I shall lose it. I am constantly saying so to my sister and my aunt. The thought of the man still seems to be irritating me.

Then my servant awakens me. It is a quarter to seven and I have to leave the house to catch a train, of which I had been speaking the evening before. During the day I had had occasion to mention that grand aunt who died sixteen years ago. In the evening, on returning from work, I had met a Belgian, an idiotic sort of man who has been trying to court me, and he had greeted me with a loud "Salut!" which got on my nerves. He resembles the man in the dream except that the dream man's hair was dark like that of a Hungarian who also, a little while ago, became annoying by following me about.

DREAM V. Night of 18th April: I am in a large store like Selfridge's and in front of a shelf of toys when I suddenly hear the "grosse Berthe" roaring, and a shell whistles above my head, just as I used to hear it at Lille. There is a general cry of alarm. The shop girls rush for their hats and coats in order to descend, for we seem to be at the top of the building. As for me, I am looking for my children, I cannot find them anywhere. I am in great trouble. I wander about everywhere, asking everybody if they have seen two little boys.

Suddenly the scene changes. I am waiting for an omnibus at the corner of Oxford Circus and have in my hand a book written by a friend, though its title is slightly transposed in my dream. Suddenly I see Olive Schreiner (with whom I am acquainted) also

waiting for the omnibus (which in real life she has often taken at this point). I am happy to meet her. I approach and say, "You are Olive Schreiner?" She replies, "Yes and you are Madame——" (I cannot recall the name; it was not mine, but I regarded that as of little importance.) I say: "I saw to-day six photographs of you!" "Where?" she asks. I reply that it was at my friend's, the author of the book, who in real life possesses many photographs of Olive Schreiner. Then I look for the book, but it has disappeared and I remember that I left it at a sort of tea garden where I had had tea. I tell this to Olive Schreiner and ask her to accompany me to the tea garden. I am happy at the opportunity to speak of my friend. We return; I see green tables, with gravel on the ground, and find my book on a chair. Olive Schreiner suddenly changes into a very young person; she does not hear me talking of my friend, and (oh horror!) begins to flirt with some young people. I do not know where they come from, and remember no more.

DREAM VI. Night of 19th April: Last day of monthly period. Light supper three-quarters of an hour before going to bed.

Here is all that I recall: I am in a house which I do not see but know to be like mine here. The room in which I find myself corresponds to my front room. I even know that the door on my left leads into a passage identical with mine. I am near a wall. Before me is a large table. The passage between the table and the wall is narrow. I am there and looking at a book.

There is a man in the room. I do not see him, but I know that he has black hair and is well built. I know also that he is a lodger upstairs. Suddenly he is near me on the right, though I had not seen him move. With a quick movement he raises my clothes behind and passes his arm firmly round my waist. I am extremely indignant, and surprised at the audacity of the action and its suddenness. All at once I see a woman before us on the other side of the table. As ever, I do not know where she comes from, but her presence seems quite natural. She is the wife of the man who has his arm round me. She shows no sign of jealousy or indignation towards me. but she seems to disapprove the man's conduct, and her face shows this clearly, while her husband maintains an arrogant air.

The scene changes. I am in a large vestibule or hall, as of an hotel or theater. At the far end is a staircase that seems to shine (I do not know what it is made of). On the left, looking towards the further end, the staircase turns and some steps are visible. It is brilliantly lighted. There is a crowd though I can distinguish no one. The staircase is encumbered with people, and I see the man of the first scene seated on the lowest step and apparently engaged in repairing it. I am in the midst of the crowd, and I feel agitated and

feverish. The man's presence irritates me, though at the same time it pleases me. I feel awkward. I have to go up the staircase to dress for a ball. I know that he is on the first step to await me, and that in going up the crowded staircase I shall brush against him and reveal my agitation. I go up. My feet are caught in the long skirt of sea-blue taffeta I am wearing. I have to stop a minute to disengage them. I bend my head to the right, the side on which the man is, the better to see the bottom of my skirt. I appear tall and slender in the long skirt. I betray my emotion. I am sure that I never said, "I love you!" but I must have said it, for he repeats: "I also love you.

Change of scene: I am in a bedroom. I see no details. I am hot, suffocating, a wave of heat rises to my face. A friend is near me, a young girl I lost sight of at least fifteen years ago and who now appears as a young woman, though I have never really seen her so. I talk to her feverishly of the man and the worry he is causing me. At the same time, I tell her I am too hot, that before putting on my ball dress I absolutely must take off the vest underneath. I see myself with the skirt of a ball dress in my hand; it is one I had some seven years ago, but I have detached it in my dream and had it washed and cleaned. I am very busy but I know I shall find the bodice and the girdle in the room and I hope to succeed in fastening them together. I feel that I am late, everyone is dressed, but I beg my companions not to leave me, I must take off my vest, I am so hot. The thought of the man still further heats me. We talk of him. He makes love to everyone, my companion says. It seems I have had to undress, for I see my companion, patient and submissive as I formerly knew her, holding out my open drawers for me to put my legs through. The drawers are short, with broad legs and trimmed with lace. I continue feverish, agitated, begging my friend not to leave me. She remains patient and placid. Two other women enter the room. One I cannot see at all; the other is another old acquaintance of the same period as the girl who holds the drawers and equally lost sight of long ago. She is dressed in sea-blue silk with a high neck, which surprises me in a ball dress. I note in her the same hypocritically austere and prudish air as when I knew her in former years. She tells us it is time to be ready. I beg them all to wait for me. I am dreading the man.

I awake. I am agitated. My legs and my buttocks are tightly pressed together. The clitoris seems erect; the vagina is in spasmodic movement. I have a horrible desire to put my hand to the sexual parts. It is difficult to grow calm. But it is time to get up and I rise. I urinate copiously, for I have not done so during the

night. I recall no details during the previous day to arouse the idea of the man or the ball.

DREAM VII. Night of the 19th (or possibly a day or two earlier as there was a little confusion in noting this dream):

A political dream about the Bolsheviks. I have an animated discourse with an acquaintance of advanced political views. He accuses my husband, who seems all the time near, of not being a Bolshevist, and I defend my husband and argue against Bolshevism.

DREAM VIII. Night of 24th April: I dream that I shall lose the train but can recall no details.

DREAM IX. Night of the 25th April: I dream that I have confused Saturday with Friday, and that instead of going to the school where I have an engagement, I have stayed at home. At mid-day I realize my mistake, and my mother urges me to dress and leave quickly, telling me that I shall reach the school towards two o'clock. I dress feverishly, asking myself who has taken my lesson and what the principal will think of me.

The scene changes. I am giving a dictation to pupils; they are noisy and disagreeable. I cannot quiet them and am worn out. I am beating one and tell her I shall report her to the principal. (All this has not the least resemblance to the reality of my daily life as a teacher.) Then I am with another class which is very well behaved. I make them a little speech in which I tell them that they are behaving as English children always behave when one trusts to their honor, etc. I recall no more.

DREAM X. Night of 26th April: A week after the monthly period. Bath at nine o'clock, light supper at nine-thirty, to bed at ten-thirty:

I am in a wood. It is the forest of Fontainebleau. It is dark and I cannot distinctly see any details, but we must have spent the day there, I and my family. My mother suddenly gives the signal to leave and I perceive that my little brother O. (who seems strangely like my elder child) is not dressed. Then I am squatting down in front of him buttoning his jacket. I must be in a bedroom, for there is a bed beside me. I can, however, see nothing clearly. I hear my brother's wife telling me we must make haste. I see her with someone else I do not recognize, at the end of a green avenue, descending a rather steep path. But I seem to see her without having risen from my position, and I seem to have a double vision, both in front and behind. My mother's voice worries me for I am already trying to make haste. At the same moment I see a man approaching by a large green avenue of which I catch a glimpse from the room in which I am. This avenue is on flat ground and dark,

leading to an inn where we had something to pay for refreshments we had taken there. I do not see the inn, but the man approaches with the jovial air of a village inn keeper, and is coming to see if he can help me. He comes close and watches me dressing the child. I do not see him very clearly, but he looks tall and slender, a handsome man, with dark complexion and dark hair. Suddenly he squats down beside me and puts his arm round my waist. I allow him to, it pleases me.

The scene then changes completely. I am in a bedroom and have on a long night dress. I know that the man is coming. My door is shut and locked, but he is clever, and has a key that will open all the doors. One would say I can see through the walls for I distinctly see him in the corridor outside my door. He is in a night shirt and approaches my door smiling; I await him, evidently with pleasure.

Then, suddenly a head appears at another door opening on to the corridor. It is a woman's head, a sister's or a friend's, I am not sure, but someone near to me. I divine that she wishes to get in front of the man and enter my room, and that annoys me, though I do not want to hurt her feelings. I seem to be watching the man through the door. He enters. I rush to the key and turn it. The man seats himself on a sort of old oak chest, his right leg crossed over the left. I am stretched out on the bed, and the woman who had been seeking to enter comes and places herself on me. Suddenly she is transformed into the man. I am on my back and he is on me, but this position is reversed and he is on his back and I on him. The position is really strange. I cannot explain it. He is under me but I no longer see him, I only see an immense penis standing up, as large as a policeman's baton, between my legs. Therein lies a mystery. I must be lying with my stomach on the man, and yet I see the penis as though it came between my legs from behind, and I see it without turning, as it agreeably caresses me from behind. I take it in my hands and notice that it is hard. I ask myself whether I shall place it in the vagina. Then I lose all idea of the mutual position of the man and myself. We are engaged in coitus, and I am appeased. I dream that I am; I dream that it is not a dream because I can see all the pictures on the wall. They are not at all the pictures really on my wall, but I am sure that I am not dreaming, and I dream that, feeling happy, I go to sleep again peacefully, and there seems really to have been a dreamless interval before my elder boy came to wake me. It is late. I feel extremely calm. Half an hour later I urinate as usual in the morning.

I should add that in the evening, before going to bed, and without any definite reason, I had felt myself much sexually irritated.

which had worried me. The bath failed to calm me, but when in bed I would not have recourse to masturbation. I succeeded in growing more or less calm and fell asleep.

DREAM XI. Night of the 27th April: A light supper an hour before going to bed:

My younger child seems to be on my knees. He is quite naked, and a doctor, whom I cannot see, is examining him with an instrument resembling pincers of which each blade terminates in a narrow sharp point. With this instrument he pricks the child above the testicles, which seems to please the little one. Then he pricks each testicle, and the child, though he jumps a little, does not seem to find this disagreeable. Suddenly the doctor buries the instrument in the anus which seems to open like a mouth, and withdraws it, bringing out what seems like a ribbon, soft and gray. I ask if this is the bowel and he replies that it is a fragment of brain coming from the head to which it is attached by a button. He has had to pull very hard to extract it, but he assures me the child will be better for the operation; and that I shall see him change beneath my eyes. I then ask if I shall dress the child and he agrees.

The scene changes. I am seated on a sort of dray loaded with goods. It is flat and I am accompanied by a number of people among whom I recognize one of my brothers, O., and a former friend, P. Near us is a young woman I know. We are both dressing ourselves. I am conscious that we had undressed and that my companion had undergone an operation. She is still weak and I help to put on her stockings. She has two pairs, one black and another yellow open-worked. I do not know which pair to put on first. I begin with the yellow pair, then I take them off and put on the black and over them the yellow, through which I can still see the black In the midst of this we are disturbed. Our wagon is on a tramway line and its progress is blocked. Then it suddenly moves and my companion and I are thrown back with our legs in the air, nearly making a somersault. Almost at once we are again stopped by another tramway line. Then I find my brother near me; he is seated in front and the dray is transformed into a steam car. O, informs me that the best plan, to avoid blocking the road, will be for him to turn the machine off elsewhere. We set out, though I cannot perceive the movement, and at last reach a large public place, gray, dark, dirty, and cold. I no longer see the steam engine. I cannot tell where I am, but I see little boys and girls, making water, here and there, so that there are pools everywhere. They are all standing and have the air of carrying out an exercise, for they exchange opinions regarding the operation. One of them, a little boy, takes a vessel such as I have seen used by men in hospitals, and

places it to his penis, which I cannot see. He vanishes, to give place to a little girl who repeats the performance with a chamber, which I clearly see through the skirts which seem as transparent as glass.

Suddenly I become aware that P., looking as he was at eighteen or nineteen, is gravely walking up and down the square, with a companion I cannot see, to whom he is talking of the naturalness of the act of urination. He has the grave and placid air that I have always seen in him. He adds that, before going to the front, his mother had said to him: "If ever you require to satisfy your little needs, do so." At this point my servant awakens me. [There is neglect to mention the condition of the bladder on awaking.]

In the evening, I had occasion to examine my elder child's testicles. I have never before had a dream of this kind. P. and O. are two of the beings for whom I have most affection and they are often in my thoughts, consciously or unconsciously.

Dream XII. Night of 1st May: A large supper two hours before going to bed, and just before going to bed I drink much water:

I am amidst sandy hills on which the sunshine is playing. It is very beautiful; I clearly see the golden and red tones. There is someone with me: yet I do not know who, and I see no one. It is an invisible presence, but very agreeable, and I vaguely believe that it is my friend F. We walk together and I know that we ought to be trying to reach the river. Suddenly I see the river, far off, as if between an opening in the hills. It gleams like silver beneath the sun. It is a beautiful sight. My companion and I are very happy. We hold each other's hands, so far as that is possible with a being who is felt but not seen. We are full of gladness and walk rapidly, lightly, like children, over hills and valleys, now and then catching sight of the river, and then losing it from view.

Change of scene. I am in a convent garden, and it suddenly becomes a cemetery. My companion is always there invisible, but speaking in a strange language which must be that of souls, for we understand each other perfectly without saying anything. Then I see a nun walking in the cemetery. The graves are green, the general atmosphere is calm and peaceful, but the nun looks tormented. All at once I understand the cause of her anxiety for water is everywhere appearing between the graves. It increases every moment, the cemetery will soon be submerged. I read the anguish of the nun in the sinister aspect of this field of peace. Suddenly she approaches me and says how idiotic it was for the monks to try to stop the course of the river. "One cannot stop a river; they have only succeeded for a time, and now it is rising over its banks." I try to find out how the monks stopped the river. It is not clear; for a

long time I cannot make out. Then I seem to see a sort of dam made of moss and rising about a meter above the cemetery. The river is level with the dam, spreading in a sheet of silver, and the water drips between the moss. This vision is rapid. The nun begs me to write to the Father Superior of the monks to explain the anxiety of the nuns. I suddenly see conveniently a bureau, which does not seem out of place in a cemetery, and the nun opens it and produces a tiny square of rough gray paper on which I write my letter. I do not know what I write.

Change of scene. I am walking on a hillside, along a horizontal path parallel with the valley. Other people are with me but I cannot see them. We walk for some time, with difficulty, for on the right side we are afraid of slipping down the slope. Suddenly, behind us, an immense jet of water arises and a few drops splash us. We turn round and see as if a hose pipe had cracked; but the jet is a thousand times more powerful, gigantically enormous and of extraordinary force. It is a marvelous sight, so beautiful that though it seems to me as if the river had burst at last, I cannot help feeling happy. Suddenly another jet rises nearer, and we run away laughing. Yet more jets, and always coming nearer, and we are constantly obliged to run away; but I never seem to see more than one at a time; as soon as one appears the other vanishes. The hill seems immense, the footpath is lost in the distance. There is something human and mischievous in the jets, one would say that in their grandiosely immense way they are playing with us. Suddenly going down the hill I see a long green palisade stretching along beside the path. Before the jets of water we retreat by the side of this palisade. At the end we pass through a gate and I meet a friend (Miss G.) with her sister whom I have never seen but corresponded with. I recognize Miss G. and her sister resembles her. We talk but I remember nothing, if indeed there was anything said.

Change of scene. We are in a garden. Many people are there, and I am with a group round a rustic table of the mushroom type. The dream is vague. We are to eat sausages and mashed potatoes. A young girl, whom I do not know, is to distribute the sausages, two each, but she manages badly and they do not go round. I take the dish and go to find Marie (cook at a Lycée where I was a pupil nearly twenty years ago and have never seen except on my return to the Lycée as a Military Hospital). So I go to ask Marie for more sausages and she replies, in the same surly tone as when I used to ask her for things for the wounded, that I am very late. But, still in accordance with her ways in real life, she serves me abundantly and I return in triumph to my mushroom table, announcing that I have three sausages each for everyone. No one, however, is hungry.

Then I awake and have such a strong desire to urinate (not having done so, as usual, during the night) that I have to jump out of bed immediately and make water copiously.

In the evening, I had spoken of Rasputin and of the Neva into which the murderers had thrown his body.

DREAM XIII. Night of 3rd May: Large supper an hour and a half before going to bed:

I see a class with several desks and I ask someone whom I do not see why those of the M. P.'s have not been placed in the front row. I see the desks move. Someone is pushing them and placing little tables in the front row for the Members of Parliament.

DREAM XIV. Night of 4th May: A large supper at the house of my friend F., some three hours before going to bed:

I am in a road. I see mounted police passing before me. I see soldiers. They pass without ceasing. They are going to a May Day Demonstration and I know there will be a terrible uproar.

The scene changes. I am with my brother E. in the street and he is pushing a child's perambulator. A policeman (for it is in England) jostles him and says something I cannot understand but which I know is not polite. I turn to the policeman and ask why he speaks so to my brother; he replies it is because my brother is so short and he hates these little foreigners. I reply that my brother has been to the front, that he was wounded and has won the Military Cross. He replies that the French are dirty beasts (or some such abusive term) and I continue to dispute with him. The discussion becomes heated until I turn away, shrugging my shoulders. I go down a road with my brother and J. (my servant), still much agitated. Suddenly I turn to J. and exclaim: "Where are the children?" In the excitement we had forgotten them (though I do not remember seeing them at the beginning of the dream). E. dashes away to find them, running up a street; I follow him, while J. is behind. We search everywhere. I awake.

DREAM XV. Night of 10th May: First day of monthly period. I can only recall that there were bombs in the dream and that it seemed not at all interesting.

DREAM XVI. Night of 11th May: A light supper two hours and a half before going to bed:

I am with my mother in a garden but see no details. I do not see my mother but she talks to me, telling me what I ought to do with the beetroots. She wishes me to go and look for them in the garden and to carry them to the cellar in order to blanch them. So I go with a spade to dig up the beetroots. As I turn up the soil I see them, red and earthy. I go down the steps of a cellar, they

are beautiful steps in mosaic. At the bottom I suddenly see a man lying on his back on an inclined board fixed to the wall. He looks very uncomfortable. His legs are too long for the board, he is obliged to keep them bent at the knees. He is tall and extremely thin and has a fine white beard and white hair, his eyes are deep, his face expresses suffering. I am horrified. I realize that this unfortunate creature is, as it were, a beetroot put down here to be blanched. I am furious at the cruelty and the tyranny of the act. My indignation is directed against the invisible and ferocious being who has willed these things to be. That being seems to me to have the body of a man, though he sometimes vaguely appears to be a woman. Taken altogether, he is a man, and my indignation against this tyrant is boundless, for I know that he inflicts the same torture on other men. I persuade the unfortunate man to flee.

Change of scene. The man has escaped. I meet him. He looks ten years younger. His face is rounded. He is physically powerful, but his fine head, ironical and intelligent, reveals also his mental power. He looks like a conqueror. Audacity is on his face. He is beautiful. A woman is with him. They seem to love each other. I certainly love this unknown man, for I am so pleased at his escape. I feel intensely happy at seeing him.

The scene changes. The white haired man is in the house of the tyrant (a woman, it seems to me at this moment) and with his new audacity he laughs at danger. He is taking a bath. I cannot see details, but the woman, his companion, is with him, helping him in his bath, though she shows fear at his presence in the old house of suffering. I am myself terrified. Suddenly the tyrant appears, a man now, in a state of jubilation. He has grabbed his victim once more.

New change. The old man lies on his inclined plank, his legs twisted up beneath him. He is haggard and piteous, his eyes are hollow and burn like flames. My grief is intense. At this point my child moves and I waken. It is eight in the morning. I have a strong desire to urinate.

I remember nothing in the day which could lead to such a dream except the bath which I had thought of in the evening. The white haired man was strongly like my friend F. whose photograph (but with dark hair) I had been looking at before going to bed.

DREAM XVII. Night of 12th May: Last day of period. Light supper just before going to bed.

I see women going up a staircase. They are two friends of mine. They are dressed in red as I have often seen them. They are sisters. I am surprised at the color of their dresses for they have just lost a brother in the war (this is true). They are gay and lively, which,

under the circumstances, also surprises me. There are other young girls, ascending the staircase and talking in an animated way. They are my guests for a few days. They go to their rooms. The house is large; it resembles one I once had, but I see no details, except the attic, and that is vague.

I no longer know where I am. A lift is descending. I see that it is connected with the kitchen service underground. A dog, large as a lion, splendid and fierce, dashes into the room where I am, and disappears in the descending lift. A wild boy, who must be the kitchen boy, follows him. He is shaken with laughter. He goes to the edge of the yawning hole of the lift and calls out: "What a fine row there must be down there!" I awake.

I had been thinking of my friends in the evening. but I cannot explain the dog or the lift or the kitchen boy.

DREAM XVIII. Night of the 14th May: Supper a long time before going to bed.

It is vague, I no longer recall the beginning. This is what I remember. I see myself going down the staircase of a public lavatory. A man is at the top of the steps, leaning on the railing which surrounds the entrance. The man looks at me as I go down and makes a gesture which I cannot see but, in my dream, I know to be indecent. I turn round indignantly. What followed I cannot recall.

After that, I am in the street. I see a large theater poster, blue on a white background. The word "Monica" is on it. I decide to see the piece. I reflect that it must be called "Monica's Blue Boy," though I only see the one word in blue. I approach a large hall and ask for a seat at eight pence. I recall no more.

I cannot explain the dream.

DREAM XIX. Night of 15th May: Supper an hour before going to bed.

I see beds—three, I think—in a large room; my brother A. suddenly appears in one of them. My father is also there. We discuss whether there are enough beds for everyone. My brother O., also there, declares that two must sleep in a bed and that someone can sleep on the brown oak settee which I suddenly see in the room. I tried whether it would be comfortable for two to sleep in one bed. It would not be comfortable. It would not work.

Suddenly, through a window, I see a passing procession, with flags and white banners in the air. I am with a young girl whom I do not see, but she is a friend. We go out and join the procession. I know that it is for a wedding (though it resembles the Catholic procession of the 15th August) and I remark to my friend that I am

not dressed for going to a wedding. I show her my dirty apron; it is in fact very dirty, and of the carpenter's kind. She shows me hers, equally dirty, and we decide not to enter the church. When the procession arrives near the church, which I do not see, my friend and I escape, and I see us climbing a hill, laughing gaily like school children playing truant. Then we go down on another side, meeting a herd of cows which block the way. I awake.

I had been thinking in the evening of a rearrangement of the beds when my husband returns (as I had sold our old double bed), of the new beds needed, and of the discomfort of two in a bed. During the day I had seen young people with carpenter's aprons going to the carpentry school; also I had met cows in the road. The procession I cannot explain.

DREAM XX. Night of 16th May: I see myself trying to buckle a portmanteau which is too full. I cannot succeed. Then I have to make haste to go and eat my pudding.

DREAM XXI. Night of 20th May: Light supper an hour before going to bed.

A girl, whom I cannot see but know to be very young, tells me that a dear friend (F) is dead. I am deeply moved but the young girl is even more so. I know (and there is no need for her to tell me) that she loved him, and that he loved her. I feel full of pity and affection for her. She leads me, and I see him stretched on a bed. I see his fine head, at least the dream tells me that I see it, though I do not actually recall seeing it. I only see a long body extended on a bed in a small room.

The scene changes. An elderly woman (it is perhaps my mother, there is a vague idea in my dream that it is) seems occupied with the idea of my friend's death. Suddenly she rushes towards me in indignation. I do not know where I am, but I see her before me, and angry, for he is not dead. She must be telling me what she has seen, though I hear nothing in the dream. One might say that I see what she tells, and that it is this vision which makes me smile maliciously. I see (is it her narrative appearing to me in image?) what in the dream is a railway station, though there are no precise details. My friend is walking about, dressed in a navy blue costume I have never seen him in, and he meets the elderly lady who looks at him indignantly. He, for his part, is calm, with a slight mischievous smile on his lips.

Change of scene. I am stretched on the bed with my friend. It is in the same small room as before. From the bed one sees a large room through the open door. I know that he was only pretending to be dead, playing a trick, and now everyone knows it was a trick.

He has the air of not caring a damn. He is stretched out beside me, his cheek against my cheek. I embrace him softly and ask playfully what he will say when the old lady asks him why he comes to see me when he is dead. He replies proudly, with an air of contempt for people who will believe anything: "I will tell her that it is my ghost." Then I embrace him laughingly, without paying any attention to the servant girls who are looking at us angrily, through a window of opaque glass. The room seems to be behind the kitchen, and the girls are looking through a corner where the glass is transparent. On the other side is the large room visible through the open door. I see women seated on a bench facing the door and also gazing at us angrily. Then I awake and find it morning.

I had gone to sleep thinking of my friend whom I had been to see that day.

DREAM XXII. Night of 21st May: After returning from a visit to Kew Gardens, a rather large supper and to bed soon afterwards.

I am doing my hair in a hurry for I fear I shall be late for my work. I go out for breakfast. I meet two enormous elephants with trappings of red and yellow. These elephants bar my way. With trunks in the air they look threatening. I know that there must also be others. They belong to a firm of furniture removers (I think that in my dream I could detect the name of Whiteley) and I seem to know that there is behind them a stable and straw. I feel very small in front of these monsters. What shall I do? I am pursued by the thought of the lessons I have to give.

Change of scene. Someone, I know not who, is asking me if I know the little restaurant where one can have so large a meal at so low a price. I turn the corner of a street and see the restaurant, a corner house. I enter. It is a plain square room with a few tables. I awake and find it morning.

The hair dressing and lessons are easily explainable from frequent experience; the elephants are inexplicable.[1] I had been speaking to my servant about going to a restaurant, and I had just been reading in bed before going to sleep, a scene in a novel about a house removal which had made me laugh.

DREAM XXIII. Night of 24th May: Late supper and to bed immediately after.

I am cutting out a green dress and get into difficulties over it. The square neck, in particular, I cut wrong. I take much time over it, for the material has been too much exposed to the sun and has lost color in places. It is now light brown but the upper part is

[1] But they are probably to be explained by an unconscious analogy between Kew Gardens and the Zoölogical Gardens.

still green, and that worries me. I decide that I must leave the stuff in the sun so that it will become brown all over, and think that will be pretty.

Suddenly I see the name of E. D. Morel. I am defending him against someone whom I do not see. Then I see the name of Montesquieu and the title Lèttres Provinciales. (But I do not know what this interruption of the dream signifies.) I return to my dress. I perceive that its green material is embroidered and that I have awkwardly cut the embroidery. I carry it to a dressmaker (a woman I have not seen for ten years) whom I address by her real name, a tall, lean, awkward woman. She examines the dress, tells me she can put it right, and asks me if I will keep the fur (it appears to be called swan but was not white but reddish).

The scene changes. I am holding open a door. Before me are boys with baskets full of pots like jam pots but they are ink bottles. The children are my pupils, making me a present of ink. I seem delighted. I carry the bottles (resembling earthenware jars) with great care, fearing to spill the ink, and place them on a shelf. I return towards the young folk and embrace one of them, saying that he is the friend of my childhood. (He vaguely seems to be my early friend P.) One of the others wishes me to embrace him too, and I do so with the distant air of a sister. I awake. It is morning.

I had spoken of Morel during the day, and had also been sewing. The appearance of pupils is also natural, though not the embraces. The strange salad of Montesquieu and Pascal is inexplicable.

DREAM XXIV. Night of 25th May: Usual supper, half an hour before going to bed.

I see the old house in which I lived some months ago. Really I only see the staircase. I am at the top, leaning on the banisters, and speaking to the coal merchant's son who, quite black, is going down with an empty sack under his arm. He is on the last step of the stairs and turned towards me. I tell him that if his father would like to take my flat I would let it to him. He asks how much I want and I reply that his father can pay what he is paying at his present place. That is seven and sixpence a week, he replies. That seems to me very little but I decide to accept.

Change of scene. I am knocking at a door. I know it is the coal merchant's house. I have a vague idea that I am going there to spend the evening. A youth opens the door, no doubt the son, and he tells me that to-day we are going downstairs. His tone gives me the impression that I have been there before and that we are intimate. I see vaguely, as if my memory were going back to previous visits, a room at the top of a dark staircase. Then I am in a room brightly lighted by two windows. I know that it is the

dining room on the ground floor. On a table between the windows I see conspicuously, in a well-known hand, a letter addressed to me (my real name followed by an old family nick-name). There follow several lines, in the same writing, which now escape me. They made me smile. I am moved and delighted at the sight of the letter, but also astonished to find it there. But I realize that no one ought to see it and quickly slip it through my blouse into my bosom. Then I see the coal merchant. He is very clean and neat, with the air of a gentleman, and perfectly at ease. I have the impression that I had seen him walking down the stairs in a lordly way. He asks to come and see my flat. We go into the next room where I see a tall lady in laces, seated in a rose-colored chair. He presents me. Thereupon I awake.

I had thought about coal before going to bed and of telling the coal merchant not to send coal this week. I sometimes think of letting my flat, and that evening I had been invited to tea by people of the working class.

DREAM XXV. Night of 27th May: A large supper an hour and a half before going to bed.

I pass near a horse standing by the footpath. As I pass he suddenly turns his head and seems to want to seize me with his mouth. I know he is hungry. A man appears near me. He is the master of the horse which, he tells me, is hungry. We walk on talking; the horse disappears. The man is a pedlar and pushes a little hand cart. We walk on cheerfully, very good friends. We seem extremely happy, and must be saying very witty things for we are as light as birds. But we must be tramps for we are hungry. We are seeking—but this very vaguely—for rolls and sausages, but suddenly we see a car of roast chestnuts. It is a strange vehicle, looking like a fire engine as it passes along the road, and in my dream I have the impression that it is a fire engine, noisy and shining, and like a great cask. The man and I run after it, but cannot catch it up. I awake.

I had been speaking the day before of the chestnut avenue at Hampton Court. The rest I cannot explain at all.

DREAM XXVI. Night of 2nd June: A light supper half an hour before going to bed.

I see an enormous bed with gray curtains, like the bed of my father and mother. On this bed, with its white and well-drawn quilt and its rose-colored eiderdown, I see human excrement. It is very abundant. I am indignant, furious. I know my brother A. is the culprit. How can he dare to behave like that at his age? I ask as I clean the horrible thing. I am afraid that a stain will remain on the eiderdown and I take a damp towel.

Suddenly a woman I cannot see comes and tells me that the culprit is not my brother, but a wounded soldier who is paralyzed and not responsible for his acts. One must not bear him ill will, and I forgive him as one would a child.

During the day my younger child had committed a similar misdeed but on the garden lawn. On awaking, at eight o'clock, I had a slight colic pain and was obliged to go to the w. c.

DREAM XXVII. Night of 5th June: I see a small boy gathering myosotis. I see the bunch in his hand. A blue flower falls. I see it on the ground. The rest escapes me.

DREAM XXVIII. Night of 7th June: Last day of monthly period. Light supper an hour before going to bed.

I vaguely see water more or less everywhere. Then it becomes more definite and there are two immense basins surrounded by thick green hedges. They shine in the sun, and seem to extend to right and left, and especially to left in the far distance, so that they almost have the appearance of rivers. The higher one, for they are on a terrace, as it were two stories, is particularly immense and covered by tall, thick reeds. The sun shines on everything; it is superb. I am contemplating the scene from a window, a low window like an alcove with seats round (resembling those at Hampton Court). It is a dear little nest, and I am not alone; a man is with me. At first I do not see him, I feel him, quite near me, surrounding me and imploring me, though I do not know exactly what he wants. He annoys me, however, all the more since a woman, who also is not visible though I feel her presence, seems much interested in my man and rather jealous of the care he is expending on me. I am worried at the poor woman's trouble and try to repel the man, who is irritating me, but in vain. At last the woman, seeing that she is losing her time, declares that she will go for a swim. There is, however, no conversation. It is as though conversation was carried on by gestures which the dream describes and explains. Through the window I see the basin full of reeds and I consider that it is not prudent to go and swim there. I do not know whether I tell the young woman of my doubt, but I am disturbed about her for she has gone.

Change of scene. I see a woman in bathing costume standing in the water which reaches half way up her legs. She smiles to the man and to me. There are no more reeds. The water is now like a beautiful calm river glistening in the sun. Suddenly I see the man beside me. He is dressed in something like tights, perhaps a bathing costume, which is soft and shines as though wet. It is of old rose color, and in touching me and pressing against me I have the im-

pression that our naked bodies are together. Then suddenly we reach coitus, though I see no details of this operation. I only know that it is delicious and that I am happy.

Change of scene. I am alone. I undress to go to bed. I seem vaguely to remember what has just happened, as of something happy. I reflect that these rooms leading one out of another (as at Hampton Court) are not convenient, for other people will have to pass through my room. This is small and square, with doors and panels of oak (as at Hampton Court), but horror! all painted over white. Suddenly I discover two more doors in the room. Through one which is ajar I see, though this is vague, two women seated in the next room. The other room, also white, leads into a corridor. After all, the rooms do not run in a series. I feel reassured. I awake.

No erotic sensations on awakening but a strong desire to urinate and much pleasure in doing so.

Four days before I visited Hampton Court with my friend F., and the thought occurred to me that it was a charming place for lovers.

Dream XXIX. Night of 8th June: Late but light supper.

I am trying to make my elder child R. eat a pudding which he does not like, and I say to him, "It is very good, it is a pudding called"——and I give it the name of the road in which lives the friend with whom I went to Hampton Court. I proceed to emphasize the goodness of the pudding. After that, there was some question of Hellenism, but the details escape me.

During the day I had had difficulties with my child over a pudding. The road clearly stands for my friend.

Dream XXX. Night of 9th June: A light supper late and to bed an hour after.

I am in a road and suddenly a bomb bursts, then another. It is terrible, bombs and noise everywhere. It is a raid. "Where is R.?" I ask, and suddenly I see him, pale and shoeless, against a wall. I take him in my arms, caress him, and whisper reassuring words. I reach an empty house, with the notice up "House to Let." A woman is coming down the steps. It is the house of Mrs.——(wife of my friend F. and now dead) who had invited me to come with R. (this had happened). She was not there, the woman told me. (This also had once happened.) But I could go up—there were people taking care of the house—and make myself at home. I shall find R's shoes in the bedroom at the top of the house. I enter the house, which seems deserted, and fear to turn on the electric light, for the raid continues and there are no curtains. But I light a lamp and go upstairs, looking and feeling for the shoes, with R. in my arms. I awake and very happy to do so.

I had been anxious about Paris and its bombardment. I was also worried about shoes for R. as they are now so dear.

DREAM XXXI. Night of 12th June: Supper a long time before going to bed.

I am making a pie. I ask advice of someone, it seems my servant, about making the crust. It is very vague.

DREAM XXXII. Night of 13th June: A week after the monthly period. A bath before going to bed. I am singularly excited sexually, and do not know how to calm myself for sleep.

I am in front of a large house. I am very lightly clad, but I am not sure whether I am in underclothes or in night dress. I only know that it is white, and that I have no dress on. I am going to see my friend F. His house looks vast and imposing. I feel quite small and trembling as I seek an entrance. I am in front of a few steps, leading to a kitchen below ground and I will enter there, but before doing so I move back and gaze up at the house to see if I can perceive any lights. I see one window lighted up. It is that of F. How good it would be to be in his arms, close against him. I experience a delicious sensation in thinking this.

That passes. I am in a long corridor, below ground, with a bare floor. I meet a servant who says, "Yes, she is going to see the old gentleman." But she seems to be taking it as a matter of course, and allows me to pass. I am wandering through a large house like one in which I once lived. I am on the staircase, and meet people. I realize that the house in which my friend lives is really several old houses united in one, and that I am in the worst part of the building. I say to myself that corridors of communication have evidently been made, and I seek one. On every floor I see a door, but it is certainly not that of a bedroom. On the first floor I open the door of a w. c.; on the second also; but I see nothing for I quickly close the doors again, though on the second floor I know there was someone inside, for I have heard the sound of paper. At last I am in a very long corridor with a thick red carpet. I reach a room at the end of the corridor, my friend's, I say to myself. I enter. It is empty, the bed is vacant; the furniture is covered as though the room had not been occupied for a long time. I am disappointed, but, on the whole, not very much. I throw myself onto the large empty bed, as if pretending there was someone there. It is cold; I quickly get up. I wander in the labyrinth of corridors.

I awoke experiencing no particular emotions, and quickly went to sleep again, to dream no more, so far as I know.

DREAM XXXIII. Night of the 15th June: (On the night of the 14th I had felt much agitated sexually on going to bed, but remem-

bered no dreams on awaking.) To bed immediately after returning from a visit to F. I am calm and happy and go to sleep thinking of him.

I am looking for a pump to pump up the water which is threatening to flood Paris. I see Paris in danger. I will save Paris, like the shepherdess, Geneviève of old. I stamp my feet energetically as I repeat that I will save Paris. But I must have that pump. The water that is going to inundate Paris comes in glass boxes of cubic shape, placed one on top of another like a transparent and cellular wall. Many are already empty. But I will save Paris. I must have that pump.

The dream is chaotic. I awake for a few minutes and go to sleep again after carefully repeating to myself the key words of the dream, many times over.

I am in a law court which resembles a theater. The judges are on the stage and the accused are in the auditorium. I am among the accused. The noise of the crowd present is terrible, and the judges cannot make themselves heard. Suddenly, the public and the prisoners rise like one man and defy the judges, singing a Royalist song of which I distinctly hear the words and, it seems, the air, but which I could not recall on awakening, even when humming the only Royalist song I know. In the face of this tumult the judges shout that since we behave in this manner we must certainly be guilty, and they condemn us in the mass to a punishment which must be terrible. by their expressions, but we do not seem to care.

Change of scene. We leave the court. I am with a young woman. I am pushing her child's baby carriage. I am awkward, the carriage overturns, the baby falls on his head and screams; the mother seems not to care. I find it all natural, pick up the child, console it, tell the mother it is only a trivial accident, and we go on. We reach two rocks, one on each side of a small stream of water. We have to cross it with the baby carriage. The rocks are slippery. I stumble forward. The carriage is again overturned and the child strikes his head against a rock. He is now hardened; he does not cry. The mother remains indifferent. I awake with a desire to urinate.

The Law Court was suggested by a recent trial and an article on "Immorality and the Law" which I had just read.

DREAM XXXIV. Night of the 16th June: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I seem to see a horse and carriage and am myself in another pony carriage which I am driving. The two vehicles collide. I do not see the accident, I only see the result, and my brother E. is lying drowned in a sort of stream which flows peacefully on the

right. He floats on the surface of the water, calm and as though asleep, like Ophelia in pictures. At this sight I take no notice of the accident to the carriage but jump down to pull my brother out of the water. How? I do not see, but I see myself kneeling on the bank near my brother's extended body and striking his hands. He is saved, I know not how.

Change of scene. I am proceeding, with other people—whom I do not see except one, a very large and tall man—towards a laundry house. It is not visible but I divine it to be situated, in the French fashion, on the bank of a river, and washing goes on to the sound of beaters. We are all going to wash linen, but we go seated in little boxes mounted on wheels, with our legs outside, in the fashion of a child's play wagon, and we propel ourselves with our hands, holding two pieces of wood. It is a fantastic course, over imposing hills and valleys, over rocks, over an inclined plane made of slippery planks, like a switchback. At last we reach the laundry house, though I do not see any water. I am looking everywhere for my beater. I awake with a desire to urinate, which I do. Then I fall asleep again; and have the following dream:

DREAM XXXV. I am, I believe, in a kind of school. It vaguely seems that I am one of the pupils. There are other pupils around me. I suddenly find I am on the knees of a young man, also a pupil, who is seated in a chair. My head is turned up and bent back, with the hair flowing down, and he leans over me. He gives me a kiss on the mouth, I feel his tongue, but we seem more like pupils than lovers, I reflect to myself; is it not idiotic to allow myself to be embraced like this when I am happy with my friend F.? But the operation continues for a while, as well as my reflections on it. Suddenly, I know not how, all the pupils, male and female, are mounting an inclined plane of slippery planks. We mount them by the aid of two short pieces of wood with which we push on each side. I do not know how we could effect this, and in any case I see nothing. We reach a class room and I look for my books in the midst of the noise made by the pupils. I awake.

My brother, who comes into the earlier dream, had been much in my thoughts. The method of locomotion, entering into both dreams, is inexplicable.

DREAM XXXVI. Night of 17th June: To bed immediately after a light supper. During the day my elder boy had seen Charlie Chaplin posted up outside a cinema and persuaded me to take him in. I was distressed for it was all war, pillage, women insulted, altogether horrible. But he would not leave till we had reached Charlie. Hence the dream:

I am in a house, a sort of restaurant, with tables on trestles (as seen at the cinema). At one table, I do not know if it was mine, a man is talking. He says: "The girls in uniform are just lined up outside, some of them are pretty, and one can choose and do what one likes."

Change of scene. The same man is seated beside a quite young girl whom he is gently teasing, and she seems to like it. She is pretty. I seem to be in a corner and I feel that I am a spectator of the horrors being perpetrated in this house. It seems to interest me and leaves me rather cold. But—has the man insulted the girl? I am sure of it. She runs away, rushes to a staircase; he follows her, others also follow, all men. He pushes them back furiously with a dramatic gesture and exclaims, "She is mine!" They draw back timidly. The man adds: "We shall see what I will do to bring her to reason!" The stairway seems to have no rail, but to be between two wooden partitions. The man is at the top pursuing the girl, but he is turned towards those who are following him (almost exactly as a scene at the cinema). We are all at the bottom of the stairs. We hear a noise above, a coarse voice, then two shots, the cry of a woman in distress; it is the young girl. Will no one interfere? I hear the man cry out: "If I cannot have her I will burn her alive!" Suddenly the house bursts into flame like a torch. I escape, just in time, for the place is falling in ruins.

Then I am in the street with a young girl whom I have not seen for years. We are looking for the railway station and discussing these horrors quite calmly. I awake.

Dream XXXVII. Night of the 18th June: A light supper an hour and a half before going to bed. I go to sleep happily and peacefully, hoping I shall dream of F., of whom my last thoughts have been. Nothing of the kind:

I am afraid I shall miss my train. I am polishing my boots. I see a large black cloud and I say, "We shall have more rain!" I awake. It is time to get up.

Dream XXXVIII. Night of the 19th June: Light supper before going to bed. The dream is indistinct and escapes me. It is about school.

Dream XXXIX. Night of the 20th June: A light supper a long time before going to bed:

I am lying on a bed with my child R. I seem to be in a night dress. I rise and sit on the edge of the bed, showing R. a large building on which is written: Bains, Paris, Londres. The bed seems to be out of doors for it faces the building of which we see the frontage. I say to R. "Would you like us to go and have a bath?"

A man half concealed behind a corner near the bathing establishment looks delighted at the idea that we are going to have a bath. Then I was awakened by the alarm.

During the day I had spoken to R. of baths.

DREAM XL. Night of 21st June: To bed a long time after a light supper:

I am with my friend K. (a pacifist, whom I much like, secretary to a prominent Labor politician). She asks my news. She assures me that the Germans will not take Paris. I reply that I am not sure; I have fears about Paris. But I hear nothing except my exclamation: "Poor Paris!" as I burst into tears and bury my head in my folded arms, sinking on to a step which seems to lead to a platform where I vaguely seem to see mannequins dressed as in a costume show room. K. puts her arms around my shoulders, but I continue to cry and sob. I awake with a start.

I had written to K. in the evening, mentioning my latest news from Paris.

DREAM XLI. Night of 22d June: To bed directly after a light supper:

I am seated in the front row, either at an open-air theater, or a garden fête. I am looking about for my husband. He has gone to speak to someone and is coming back, though I have the vague impression that he is restless.

Change of scene. I am with my husband on a high sand dune which on one side is precipitous, almost vertical. We wish to descend the dune. I look towards the precipitous side, but he seems trying to draw me towards a green and gradual descent farther on. Though the dune is high I seem suddenly to come to a decision; laughing like a child I slide down the precipitous side, in a seated position with my skirts raised behind me. It is delicious. He looks at me from above.

Change of scene. We are walking in a quiet and friendly way, talking the while. I ask him: "Have you got that thing?" I know I mean a contraceptive. He replies: "No, but it does not matter. It is not absolutely necessary. We can do without it." I insist: "No, it is not safe; I do not want any more children." Then we seem to change the subject, but continue to talk affectionately. He has his arm round my shoulders, holding me close to him as we walk. I say to him: "You have never told me your intentions. Are you coming here for good? They may take you away." He shrugs his shoulders, as though to imply that he is indifferent. I see him distinctly as I saw him last before his departure, and I talk to him about money and prices and household expenses.

Change of scene. I vaguely see a hotel, the Hôtel de l'Europe. It is all confused. There is a public place where my husband works at a table, with a telephone. There seems to be a question of going to another hotel. Someone, I, it seems, must have had a baby. I see a doctor who is scolding me. I have got up, in my nightdress, the day after confinement, and have a baby in my arms. I am standing near a bed. I say, "I could not let her cry like that."

Change in scene. My husband is leading me to his hotel. I reflect that it must seem strange, that I should be confined in a different hotel from his. I feel jealous about the two hotels but I am happy with him. He opens the door of a bedroom. There we find a servant dusting. It is annoying that we cannot be alone, but the room is very large, and at the further end we find an enormous bay window separated by a long white muslin curtain from the rest of the room and with a long seat against the window. There we can quietly talk. We go there and sit down. Suddenly I observe, still in the bay window and the wall to the left of it, a bed high up and concealed in an alcove; it seems an old carved oak wardrobe, a little open at the top, so that one sees the corner of a white pillow. This bed makes me smile, and I see a corresponding one on the other side. I say, smiling, to my husband: "How do you suppose I can come and see you if we are to be perched up so high?" Then I seem to be aware of the presence of a second maid. But my husband does not seem to mind. He shows me another immense bed in the room, with gilt pillars. We are happy. I awake and find I am sexually excited.

In the evening a telegram had come addressed to my husband, and I had been wondering where he is just now and talking about him. I believe that all the latter part of the dream was in French, but whether the earlier part was in English I cannot be sure.

DREAM XLII. Night of 22d June: I was in Paris, traveling by train, seated on the top of the engine and talking to the engine driver. I seem to be much amused, but I can recall no more.

DREAM XLIII. Night of the 27th June: First night of menstrual period, which arrived rather to my surprise, for I had lost count of the days. Supper with F. and to bed immediately on returning home:

I am in a room and see nothing, but there are people to whom I am talking. I cannot definitely recall anyone. Then I see chairs in yellow wood, a sort of polished walnut. The seat is of open-work wood. There is also a folding couch. I believe that all the chairs fold. I am saying (in English) to someone: "Is it not nice of him to give me all these chairs?" I know that it is my early friend P. who has given me this present; I do not see him, I feel grateful.

Change of scene. I am with one of my old girl friends of college days. We are in a room undressing to have a bath. I see no details. Someone tries to enter. It is a man. Is it P.? I do not think so. I leave this room and meet a man I seem to know. Suddenly everything becomes dim and all I can remember is that I and this man are in the act of coitus. My legs seem to be separated and bent at the knees. I see this distinctly as well as the pubic hair, and the sexual region seems raised and projecting. I distinctly feel the penis in the vagina. I even seem at the same time to see it, small and pointed, not longer than a child's, but hard and firm. The sensation is of an agreeable tickling. I cannot recall the awakening. Possibly I awoke for a few minutes and went to sleep again. At the final awakening I detected no emotion.

On going to bed, with the recollection of a pleasant evening, I had felt slightly excited sexually. The detail of the chairs was suggested by a recent conversation.

DREAM XLIV. Night of 28th June: To bed immediately after a late but light supper:

I arrive at my friend F.'s. I ring at the door and as I go up the stairs I say (in English) to myself, "Why did I ring? I never do, and he always knows my footsteps on the stairs." At the top of the stairs I see him, very distinctly, in clothes I know, and smiling radiantly. He is standing on the landing against the wall (the details are as in reality) and seems slightly bent forward as if to salute me in the French manner. With extended right hand he points to the door of the flat. I stumble on the top step and drop a brown paper parcel, tied with string, which I had in my hand. I clearly see the landing paved with gray marble, in squares of two tones which harmonize marvellously. My friend wears the malicious and indifferent air he often has in my dreams though less often in real life. When I reach him he boldly attempts to embrace me. I repel him because of the neighbors. But we enter the flat close together. Then I see the entrance passage of the real flat but paved with gray slabs like the landing. We reach the bedroom at the end and we sit on a white bed close to each other, I on his left. I see him very clearly. He says to me: "You did not mind me asking you here? You French people do things so well." I do not recall anything else, though I see in my notes a reference to the kitchen which no longer says anything to me. I awoke happily, made my notes and went to sleep again.

DREAM XLV. Same night: A pupil is noisy. She is talking with another young girl. I see them at their desks but do not recognize them. I say to the first (in English): "You will not do that again!" But immediately she does. I am furious and say: "You will go and

report to the head master that you dared to do what I had just told you not to!" She descends the stone staircase leading to the principal's room, and I must be following her, for I see her suddenly pass the door and run into the yard. It is all very clear. I run after her. I know there are many pupils, boys and girls, in the yard, but I see no one. I run after the girl, who is dressed in brown with a brown hat. I feel that my dignity is at stake. Shall I catch her? We are suddenly face to face, lively and heated as two children. She has her back to the wall, and tries to escape, but I catch her. I awake.

This dream is absolutely opposed to real life at every point, even as regards the costume of the pupils.

DREAM XLVI. Night of 1st July: A light supper and to bed an hour after:

I am in a house which I do not know and can only see vaguely. The room is large and spacious. I vaguely see tones of old oak but cannot tell what they belong to. A tall lady in black approaches, but does not seem concerned with me. I am sorry for her for I see she is suffering. He is dead, and she is his wife. I do not know who he is, there is no name, but I know it is someone I had loved. I experience a feeling that is almost religious, and I wish to touch the furniture that belonged to him. I have a feeling of profound and intimate communion with all that surrounds me, even with the carpet on which I am standing. I feel as though I would like to roll on that carpet, to share my grief with it and be happy at its touch. (Throughout the dream there seems to be a vague idea that the dead man is my friend F. but the name never comes though it always seems about to come.) I do not know what prevents me. The lady in black and her grief make me feel constrained. I remain silent, feeling moved, but reserved, while the lady in black displaces a gate-leg table by pushing it alternately on one leg and then on the other, rapidly directing it towards a large open door which leads into another room full of furniture. I see a butler in the other room, busily occupied amid the furniture. He is a round and very important man, with a round rather oiled head, and a calm, knowing, good natured smile. He looks at me, winks, and disrespectfully placing his right forefinger beneath his right eye, he gives me to understand that he knows my secret, but that she (the lady) has never known, for it would pain her, so what would be the good? I am rather annoyed at the butler's free and easy manner, and at his knowledge of my secret. But I am happy to be among the furniture that is so dear to me, and with which I feel a sort of physical communion.

Change of scene. I seem vaguely to see a path which is, I think, by a river. Beneath my arm is a book absolutely identical with one written by the friend who seems to have been on the threshold of the first seene of the dream. Something to do with cakes comes in here, but it is too vague to recall. Then the dream becomes clearer. I see a Vidal-Lablache Atlas. A man calls me to tell me I have to correct a map. The man is fair and shaved, with a round head, he is unknown to me. He wears brown trousers with a large pale spot, apparently because they are old and worn; he pulls them up as he talks and the gesture is displeasing to me. In referring to the map he tells me there are two rivers where I have only put one, and that Berlin is on the Oder. I reply: "Berlin is on the Spree. I can show it to you in the atlas I have." I find my Vidal-Lablache Atlas (seeing it as I saw it in childhood) and open at the right place. I find, to my surprise, two Oders, running parallel, one through Berlin towards Hamburg, the other to the West. I am surprised and not convinced, but I tell the man I will make the correction. He gives me back my book, which it seems I had handed to him, and I go into an adjoining room like an office. Then I am overcome with confusion, for I ask myself if in the book I had given the man, and which he has just returned, I had not left a letter I should not like him to read, beginning (in English): "You naughty man who made me sob." I look in the book which still resembles that written by my friend. Then I see the man, who is still pulling up his trousers, and he asks me if he ought to change them to go to the lecture. I dislike him with his brown trousers and false air and coldly tell him he had better change them. I awake.

It is certain that the dead man was my friend F., for during the day I had been thinking of happy times spent with him, and how much I should feel the loss of him, whether by absence in another country or by death. The other man, and the butler, are inexplicable. So is the lady in black, unless, by the gymnastics of dream thought, she represents my husband who might suffer if he knew. I believe I had written the English phrase of the dream in a letter to F. The feeling of communion with material objects is a well known feeling, but in old days I was inclined to smile at it; lately, however, it has become pronounced in me. I have always liked carpets and hangings, but have not been conscious of pleasure in touching them, though I like to touch, and even kiss, personal things like letters and books.

Dream XLVII. Night of 2d July: Light supper and to bed a long time after, with a dose of quinine, for I have a cold and there is much influenza about.

The dream is vague. I am traveling with my father and mother, and brothers and sisters. We are busy. I see us all in a station restaurant. Then we are looking for a compartment in the train. My mother is nervous and agitated, and we are encumbered with luggage. It is not clear.

DREAM XLVIII. Night of 3rd July: A light supper and to bed a long time after. A dose of quinine which makes my ears ring. I fall asleep seeming to hear a motor as of a great Zeppelin over my head.

I dream that I have to go to Paris by train, but cannot have my passport. I am troubled and agitated. Then I see my mother. She has come to live with me and is transforming my little house. She likes beautiful furniture and hangings, and there are new curtains and pretty things everywhere. I like to see her hanging pictures on the walls. Then my elder boy knocks over a mahogany cabinet with many glass windows, one of the legs is gone, but the glass is not broken. I raise it up with my mother's help, and decide to stay at home until all is finished. But there is much to do. I shall lose my train. Never mind. For once I will not go to school, but will say I have the Spanish flu. The train haunts me. I awake.

DREAM XLIX. Night of 5th July: To bed two hours after a large supper.

I am on a large white bed and in the midst of changing a baby's diapers. I seem to be in my nightdress. I hold the child's feet delicately between the fingers of my left hand, raising them up, while operating with my right hand. "I want some more safety pins," I say to my servant. "Bother the child!" she replies, "he always wants something." (This is quite true to life.) I continue the operation. I need a sponge to clean the legs which are very long and lean. I do not know whether the sponge is brought, but I see the baby lying on its stomach on the bed, with bottom in the air, and this I kiss. Someone, I do not know who, asks his name. After what seems a moment of hesitation I reply that it is E., then O. It is E. O., my new son (E. and O. are the names of two of my brothers). He is beautiful. I love him. After this I think the dream went off in another direction, and I was troubled over the prospects of my children in the world. But my difficulties seemed about to be settled by a man who eventually turns out to be my friend F. I awake just as he puts his arms around me consolingly.

During the day I had been speaking of children and the American scheme of Mothers' Pensions.

DREAM L. Night of 9th July, a week after end of monthly period. A rather large supper and to bed immediately after.

I see a young man man seated on a garden bench with a young girl. He is tall and well-made, with dark brown beautifully curling hair all round his head. I cannot see the girl but I feel that she is of gentle and passive nature. The young man is talking to her, with bright eyes and an abundance of vitality which seems to please her. One might say that in listening to him so eagerly, as he turns towards her talking, she is every moment expecting a declaration of love. The young man, becoming more animated, declaims (in English): "There was once a young man who loved a young woman." She seems about to ask a question, but he continues: "The young man was myself" (I have a vague idea that he here mentioned the name of a doctor I am acquainted with) "and the girl was"—the name does not come into the dream but it was evidently not that of the young girl, for she stifles a cry of pain that the young man does not seem to perceive, for he continues, with increased animation and standing up, with his hair in the wind and tragic eyes: "Yes, and they killed her. She was warned not to go to the station but she gave no heed. She went, and they tortured and hanged her." I see a scene of savagery, though not clearly. It is like a distant picture in which I catch a glimpse of fantastic Blacks dancing grotesquely. The young man evidently sees the same thing; his gaze is fixed and pained, reflecting the terrible spectacle. The young girl rises, and timidly, full of love, passes her left arm beneath her companion's right, placing her right hand on his arm, and looking into his face.

Change of scene. The young man is going along a street, on his right arm the young girl who, from the shock she has received, has become half imbecile and seems shaken by a nervous tremor like St. Vitus' dance. She walks at his side, convulsed and contortioned. He aids her, gently and tenderly, with left hand placed on her left hand which rests on his arm. His lofty head dominates her, with luminous gaze, but fixed and directed afar. He meets the parents of the young girl who had been so tragically killed and speaks to them of a pension for his companion. The dialogue is rather vague. The girl is to have money to which the dead girl had been entitled. Of the parents, I only see the mother, a fair, gentle, middle-aged woman. She adds a remark (in English) I do not understand: "In any case he will not drive any more to the station, and they won't stop him again."

I awake, take a few notes, and go to sleep again.

DREAM LI. Same night: I see a flat in which we have just installed ourselves, and I am occupied in considering how I shall find enough beds for every one. I see my father, my mother, and a boy I do not know.

A sudden change of scene. I see, in a kind of court, the naked body of a dead woman, stretched on the earth. She is on her back, and I must be behind her head, for I seem especially to see the lower part of her body, her legs and the pubic triangle. I speak to a boy who is trying from a distance to kick a football between the woman's legs. This evidently seems to me quite natural, for I seek to place the body so that he may succeed. I have the impression that I am pulling the body by the shoulders and with difficulty, feeling its inert weight, across an asphalted court. I place it so that the separated legs face the youth, but the legs have a singular way of always closing as soon as separated. At last I succeed in keeping them in place. The young man gives a kick to the ball which I see running to the body, striking it, and rebounding towards the youth, who takes it, and starts again. It touches the spot aimed at, and the dead young woman rises and exclaims: "Well hit!" The ball had struck her sexual regions. This seems to give me sexual pleasure. (On waking and thinking of it I still felt sexual excitement, though at the same time feeling it was silly to do so.) The young man is vague; I do not know who he is.

Change of scene. I am at a table in a dining room like a restaurant, where there are many other small tables, all occupied. I am annoyed because I have to go out, and before going out to change my dress and put on my navy blue petticoat and a pink blouse. But I do not dare to get up and leave the table. My brother A., at the same table, is talking to me of a green cloak, and I think of my little boy's green velveteen jacket, and say, "No, it is not that!" Suddenly my mother at another table turns towards me and says, "Ought you not to change your dress?" I am pleased she has spoken and rise to go towards her, replying, "Yes, They are in the wardrobe." I go to the wardrobe to look for my petticoat and blouse. I reach a room I have to go through before arriving at the bedroom with the wardrobe. At the door I hear voices and the laughter of boys. I knock and ask if I may go through to the bedroom. Then I kneel down before a drawer looking for my blouse. One of my pupils, a fair, smiling, amiable boy, as he is in real life, gently and mischievously kisses me on the left cheek, leaning his head towards mine. With my right forefinger I playfully threaten him. Then I ask of my brother: "Could you bring me some warm water?" Then I awake, but neglected to note at the time whether I wanted to make water, but believe that I did. Garde-robe (wardrobe) is an old French name for w. c.

During the day I had been thinking of a story I had been told of a woman spy shot naked by French soldiers; the story had haunted me. In the evening I had felt much excited sexually, and could not

resist masturbation, I am ashamed to say, after refraining from it for a very long time. On awaking after the first dream I thought of my husband, of money which fails to arrive, and of my friend F., and found that I was sexually moved and wet. At the final awakening I noticed nothing remarkable, but detested both dreams.

DREAM LII. Night of the 10th July: I remember nothing except that I am flying, or rather I leap into the air from one foot. I am as light as a ball that rebounds. I rise in the air, float over people's heads, and then sinking I rise again. It is delicious. A man is looking at me; he desires me; he tries to catch me, but I always escape him by rising in the air and laughing at his failure.

DREAM LIII. Night of 11th July: A vague dream of a walk, a factory, a tramway, though I seem to see nothing, but I am on a bridge with a man, and before me there is a superb mass of water, an immense pool with waterlilies in the sun, and then all is vague again. I awake wanting very badly to urinate. It is as I do so that the dream comes back to me.

DREAM LIV. Night of 13th July: Late supper and to bed immediately after.

I am in my old flat of two years ago, but the furniture is new and I say to J., "It is all mine." "Of course it is not," she replies. "You know very well you have sold everything." It is really a furnished flat. "There is even a pianol" I exclaim. There are two or three pianos in a large room; I decide that they are badly placed, and begin to rearrange them. Suddenly I am in the corridor with J. I see a low door like a little cupboard on the floor. "What is this, I wonder?" I open the door and see a great yawning hole at the bottom of which a large fire is sparkling. "What is this?" I ask. "Is it the furnace of the central heating?" "No, the house is on fire." Then I see myself going down the stairs and calling out: "House on fire! House on fire!" Below, at the street entrance, there is already a fire engine. I call my youngest child and go upstairs again. H. is at the top of the staircase. I call him again. J. is agitated; she has him in her arms. "Give him to me," I say, "or you will fall. Go slowly." We go down, the child is in my arms and full of delight as he exclaims with amusement: "House on fire! House on fire!"

I am in the road. I can see neither J nor the child. I am standing on a street refuge looking at the flames destroying the house. I see at one corner a fireman hacking down a partition with an axe. I awake.

During the day I had been reading to my elder child (who does not come into the dream) the story of "Joe, the Fireman's Dog."

My thoughts have also been much occupied with the question of a new flat; the conversation was throughout in English.

DREAM LV. Same night: It is vague, a room, a sort of drawing room. Near the window a little boy, dressed in pale blue, is on a seat with a hole in it, a kind of long wooden case, full of water. At the other end I can see the water, clean and deep. A lady is there, cleaning her teeth and spitting into the box. I put my head through the door, and say (I do not know whether in French or English), "Before going, I want to wash my teeth." The lady replies, "Come in and make yourself at home."

Change of scene. The child is still there looking at us, but I do not know if he is still on the seat. The lady is no longer there; now it is J., my servant. We are mending a broken toilet table. It is a difficult task. We need some pieces of wood. At last, after much trouble, and with many precautions, we get the table onto its leg and place it against the wall. It is of the half-moon shape with central leg, and being top-heavy will not stand well. It falls; I hold it. The lady comes back; she seems to be someone whom I used to know. I say to her: "I am sorry but we have broken your table. We have mended it, but it is top-heavy and won't stand." She says: "It is only because J. has not done it well." She shows me a piece of marble, with yellow lines on a white ground, and says: "This belongs to another table. The two sides are not alike, as J. has done them, and that is why it will not balance." I awake.

This dream is quite inexplicable.

DREAM LVI. Same night: I am in a large room with several women, whom, however, I do not see nor any details, for it is vague, but we seem to be at a table of hard wood. A man enters and says, "To-morrow morning," giving us a piece of paper on which are written two surnames, one of them mine, while the last is invisible. It means that to-morrow morning we are to appear before the tribunal. We are arrested as pacifists. The other name is that of a school teacher whom I like, but her opinions are in real life strongly militarist.

Change of scene. I and another woman, who is slight but only vaguely seen, await our turn. We can see the tribunal through a door. While waiting I feel nervous. I call out suddenly, "I have forgotten my handkerchief." I turn back, almost running. Someone, I know not who, gives me a handkerchief with a pink edge. I quickly return to my place. At last I hear a voice say, "Case No. 11." A man asks something and the voice replies, "The woman who has so many names," and he pronounces my name. An inspector approaches me, places his left hand on my shoulder and leads me along a corridor. He is tall and slender, in a gray coat; I do not see

his head. I ask myself why I was called "The woman with so many names"; can they know that I once had another name? The inspector is still leading me. I ask him the question. He replies that I will know everything soon. He asks me if I will remain quiet before the tribunal or if he must continue to hold me by the shoulder. I reply that I will remain quiet. We have to pass the corner of a street to enter the court, which is square, lined with light oak, much resembling Bow Street Police Court. The inspector leads me into a vacant space in the middle where I see a kind of platform resembling an overturned gilt fender. That is the place for the accused, but it is decided (I do not know by whom) that I am to be brought in front of a flat desk so as to face the judge. I see vaguely before me seats of oak on steps, the highest being that of the judge dominating me from above. I do not see him, but I hear his disagreeable voice declaiming in a dramatic way (the dialogue is all in French): "You see before you a young woman of some twenty years," and he repeats with a tragic air, "Twenty years!" as though to say, "Is it not sad?" I say to myself, "He is very flattering." But I do not wish to be treated as a child and I call out in an assured tone, as though to brush aside sentimentality and get to the point: "I am not twenty!" I hesitate for a moment between thirty-two and thirty-three and continue: "I am thirty-three. I am not so young as you think." Sensation among the public. My great assurance arouses astonishment. I see, however, at my right the back of a man who vaguely recalls Archibald Bodkin. This man reads out in a harsh and monotonous voice the charge against me. During the reading the inspector continues to hold me so firmly by the shoulder that my green dress slips down, uncovering my left shoulder almost completely, which worries me, but he is packed so tightly behind me that I can hardlly move. I make a violent movement, however, with my shoulders to free myself, saying, "Let go; I shall not run away; besides, how could I?" pointing with my right hand to the court room. I add, "Besides, I like being here." The inspector then addresses the judge, "She says she likes being here." The judge turns to me, "Pay attention to what is said to you." Hesitating and trembling, afraid I may say something that will injure me, I reply: "I wsh to say that I am pleased to have an opportunity of explaining myself." "Yes," the judge replies, "many people have had that pleasure, and have had to pay for it with five years of hard labor." I imagine I may get two years, and wonder what will happen to my children. Then I say to myself that one must have trust. The inspector continues to hold me tight, but he is now holding my head. He pushes my hair back from my forehead with a gentle movement of the fingers of both hands, and he seems to like the operation. To

me it is very unpleasant; contact with the man is repugnant to me. "Why are you doing that?" I ask. "I must show your head to the judge," he replies. I feel that my forehead is large and beautiful, and the abundant hair standing out finely, and I am proud of it, though still disgusted with the inspector. At last the judge seems to come down from his seat, for it is vacant, and he is standing beside me, on the other side of the railing, gazing at us. He is at my right. He has in his hands a pair of woman's boots, very high and with ridiculously small soles. He continues to talk grandly and says pompously: "Look at these small soles, these pretty little small soles. Merely to look at the shape of these boots one feels that they are heroic. They have done their duty in the Vosges. And these"—pointing to others large and heavy—"these which leave a woman s leg visible, they smell of duty, but the others"—Here everyone is looking at me and I feel behind me people bending forward to see my feet, for he is speaking of the boots I am wearing, large, solid, and comfortable. I wonder to myself whether they will now turn up my foot like a horse's being shod, to look at the soles. I decide to pretend not to understand what that madman is saying. Someone seizes me by the leg, and I hear the judge saying, "But the others only smell of orange flowers." That is said with an air of contempt. I want to laugh for it seems to me better to smell of orange flowers than of duty, but he calls out, "No laughing!" and I reply, with a scarcely disguised smile, "I am not laughing. I am very serious." Then I hear the laughter of my two children as I awake.

The tribunal may be explained by the fact that I had been reading during the day the sad story of a conscientious objector I knew who after more than two years of hard labor is now said to be at the end of his strength; at this I had felt horribly grieved and indignant, for I recall him as a strong and vigorous young man. I can explain the uncertainty about my name; the orange flower has no associations beyond being a symbol of pleasure and luxury.

DREAM LVII. Night of 20th July: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I dream that I desire to masturbate but am afraid of being seen. I go into a bathroom, shut myself in and lie on the floor. I feel the draught from below the door. I am lying on my back. I raise my skirts in front, when suddenly a young girl comes in. I realize that I had left the key in the outside of the door when I shut it. I am annoyed. I quickly lower my skirts, saying that I am resting by lying on the floor.

On awaking, I find that I am really lying on my back, a position I rarely assume. I am hot and sexually excited. I can recall only twice having ever masturbated when dressed. The first time was

when mentally excited by preparing a lecture and when lying on a sofa I did it instinctively without ever having heard of such a practice. The second occasion was similar. It has never happened on the floor or in a bathroom.

DREAM LVIII. Night of 21st July: I am walking with my friend F., and we come in front of a palace of marble and gold. I see a magnificent staircase but cannot describe its fantastic architecture. Staircases seem to reach up towards the sky. The whole palace is nothing but staircases in flights of about twenty steps leading to terraces. F. says, "There you can recognize Italian art, all in terraces!" We ascend. Above we find young people drawing in a large room. They are engaged in an architectural competition. I look at their designs. One represents a fresco and seems meant to be over a door; there are rows of saints in long robes of bright colors, blue and red. I reflect that it is very Italian. Another young man with a few fantastic strokes of his pencil traces terraces which again remind me of Italian architecture. I awake.

I am unable to explain the dream.

DREAM LIX. Night of 25th July: Second day of monthly period. To bed half an hour after a light supper.

I am at my butcher's. I ask for sheep's kidneys. He gives me one. I ask, "Is that all I can have?" He says, "Yes; I have been without mutton for three months." He takes the kidney back with the air of saying that if I don't want it I can go without. I am furious and say, "I shall change my butcher." He seems disdainful. Then I see the Fire Station, but suddenly I am again at the butcher's and say, "There is going to be a storm." I hear thunder and see rain falling in sheets. I awake at six-thirty.

My servant tells me that it had rained and thundered towards morning. During the day she had been unable to obtain kidneys at the butcher's, and I had spoken of going to him.

DREAM LX. Night of 26th July: Last day of period. After an evening spent with F., I had returned home and to bed immediately after a cup of cocoa.

I am walking with someone, I do not know whom, and we are in front of large masses of water, like reservoirs, with narrow cemented paths between them. We walk in single file along these paths at the risk of falling in, and at one point the path follows a square building of yellow bricks, around which we turn clinging to the wall. Then we take another path, always with the risk of falling into the water which is all around and very deep. I awake, with a strong desire to make water, which I do copiously, and then fall asleep again.

DREAM LXI. Same night: I am in a swing, in the air, my skirts raised. A man below me is looking, and I say indignantly, "You ought not to be there." The sensation of the swing is very pleasant. The man is still there, looking beneath my skirts. Then I am awakened by the children, but again want to make water. I feel sure that the dream, if continued, would have been erotic.

The day before I had seen an engraving in a book of a rather similar swinging scene from a picture by Fragonard.

DREAM LXII. Night of 28th July: To bed immediately after a light late supper.

I see a flat, winding, blackish road near a factory. I reach a point where I have to cross a slimy, marshy patch of road by means of a plank thrown over it. I realize that a river has overflowed. People behind me are awaiting their turn, for only one can pass at a time. I see no one, but I hear their voices encouraging me. I step on the plank, which slides back with the pressure. I nearly fall and feel afraid, but try again and succeed. I reach a slight elevation where I meet two, perhaps three, surveyors who with their instruments are taking measurements. I know that they are concerned with the repairs made necessary by the damage caused by the rain. Then I reach a flat dirty canal and follow a black path level with it. It seems a district of factories, as in certain parts of Northern France I am familiar with. I see dirty walls along the canal, and always the dirty water and the black path I am following. At the end of the path I seem to see a bridge with an ascending path I have to take.

I awake with the wish to urinate and a headache. This was an unpleasant dream; the previous dreams of water had been either agreeable or indifferent. During the day I had been thinking of the town I was born in and its ugliness.

DREAM LXIII. Night of 30th July: A light supper and then at once to bed.

I am about to sit down to table for tea. I am at the head of the table, half bending to sit down and with my right hand I am inviting some invisible person to take a seat. I know that the invisible person is my mother. I am happy, but I still do not see her. Suddenly I see a beautiful white swan on the chair to my right. It is my mother. This seems to me quite natural, and I am very happy. The swan's long white neck and black bill arise proudly with gentle undulating movements. I admire and love him.

On awaking I at once make water. The dream seems inexplicable.

(Later the dreamer spontaneously suggested that this was a bladder dream. In writing down the dream on awakening she

underlined the color of the bill, for it seemed to her wrong; but some time later she found that her sleeping memory was more correct than her waking memory, and that a swan's bill really is black.)

DREAM LXIV. Same night: We had been shipwrecked (though I do not know who "we" includes) and I feel that we have had many adventures, which I have forgotten, before we reach a great wall, smooth and slippery, and a man who is drawing me by the hand causes me to slide and fall down into what seems the moat of a fortress. There is, however, no water there; it seems a green terrace; I do not know whether of grass. The descent is perilous; the man, whom I do not see, is a sailor. I do not think he goes down with me, for I see him no more. I seem to be in the fortress, on the green terrace surrounded by crenellated walls, and at a sort of table is a woman like a school mistress I know; she approaches and says in a half-cold, half-friendly manner, seeing my rather pitiable air, "I am very sorry but we are not allowed to grant anyone the right of asylum here." At this I exclaim, "Damn!" which seems greatly to scandalize her. I tell her I must inform my husband, who is at another table at the end of the terrace. He is quite unlike real life, very young, in the uniform of an English naval officer and shaved; with a careless air he is playing some sort of game like chess. As I go up to him, I remark to myself that he does not seem worried. I seem to alter my intention of speaking to him, for I go back to the woman who had told me I must leave the fortress. She is seated; I fall at her knees, kneeling on my left knee, and bury my head in her lap. I can see myself from behind in this posture, observing the fair hair at the nape of my neck. I say to her: "You must not think I am not brave because I said 'Damn'; I am brave, but I have been through so much that I am very weary. If I must go, I will go." I weep in her dress for a moment, and then rise and call my children. I do not know where they come from, but suddenly they are there, running about, active and without care. I also see several women like nurses, and they say: "Is it not a shame to send her away like that after all they have gone through?" The matron (for so the head mistress has now become) grows merciful and says I may stay to rest for a quarter of an hour. But we leave; my younger child runs to take my left hand which I hold out to him behind. He passes the matron laughing and jumping grotesquely, and she smiles and gives him a playful smack on his behind. We go down a steep path between two crenellated walls. The nurses follow and overtake us, saying, "It is a shame to let you go like this. Have you even enough money?" I open my green purse and say, "I have a pound and a little silver" (exactly what I had yesterday). A nurse

tries to slip a note into my hand but I refuse, saying, "I am going home to sell everything." She insists. I awake.

The dream is inexplicable, except as regards money.

DREAM LXV. Night of 31st July: To bed an hour after a light supper.

I see my mother and other people. There is a question of removal to a new house. But there is a nanny goat with an extremely long body and short hair which constantly annoys us. She is fierce and we are all afraid of her. I push her back with a long thick iron bar but she constantly returns and tries to bite our legs. At last she finds a large piece of bread which she takes between her teeth snarling and seems to expend her anger on it. We are no longer afraid of her. I awake.

In the evening I had read a story of Jack London's about a snarling wolf-dog.

DREAM LXVI. Night of 2d August: To bed immediately after returning from a visit to F. I think of him peacefully and hope to dream of him, but the Fates are not propitious.

I dream that I am at the hairdresser's to have my head washed, and that a young woman is occupied with my hair. I say to her, "I am sorry it is so sticky, but I have tried to make it curl with sugar-water." I tell her I am a singer at the opera and that my name is Blake. I know it is not true, but I make a good impression on her. I tell her to spend care on my head because I must have beautiful hair on account of my profession. But suddenly she leaves me to join a circle of dancers. They are dancing very prettily in bright red and green and blue costumes which often cling to the body. It is charming and pleases me. I awake.

I had been speaking of my hair, rather sticky with soap, and my intention of washing it again on this account. The stickiness had evidently suggested the absurd idea of sugar-water. The idea of a singer was suggested by a recent concert, and that of dancing by the Russian ballet.

DREAM LXVII. Same night: A complicated dream in which many things are vague and escape me. My mother is in it, and a fire breaks out, but I see nothing clearly until I enter a white bedroom in which are beautiful pictures in very dark frames of brown wood. I say to my brother O. who is with me, "What a pretty room!" "Yes," he replies, "it is L.'s (our sister's) and I am sure it will please her; I arranged it." I admire the pictures; they are by another of my brothers, and I am moved at their beauty. I reflect that I had never imagined he could attain such a perfection of line; there is no longer any awkwardness or stiffness, and the colors are

brilliant, while the frames enhance these qualities. He had always said, I reflect, that the stiff and awkward period was transitional, and I see that these are like his earlier pictures but with a new force. I note two luminous heads of children close together (as in Reynolds) and behind them an immense golden fish; like a dolphin with arched back. The colors dazzle me, golden, rosy, flaming, but yet delicate. Then I see another picture—a man tall and well built, in the attitude of one of Isadora Duncan's poses in her dance of the Return of the Warriors. I see him from behind, walking with rhythmic steps, the left leg behind, the thigh in profile. He is handsome, dressed in a dark red clinging costume, so clinging that I see the curves of the buttocks and the lines separating them. I linger over this detail, asking myself why my brother has often emphasized the buttocks in his drawings. Then I vaguely seem to hear my mother calling me to speak about a dress, and I awake. I have to get out at once to urinate.

The subject of pictures had been suggested to my mind during the day, and a drawing of a dance pose by my brother resembling that in the dream is a favorite of mine, and I often look at it. The opinions expressed correspond to reality.

DREAM LXVIII. Night of 3d August: To bed directly after a light supper.

The beginning escapes me, being very vague. Then I see a street crowded with vehicles and tramways; on the wide footpath to the right is a sort of red kiosk into which climb men furnished with trombones, clarinets, etc. They are going to give a concert. But before they can begin a man and a woman commence singing and make so much noise that the band decides to move away, and I see them carrying off their kiosk on their backs and crossing the road. Then suddenly I am with a troop of people, men and women, and we are perched on the top of a sort of pyramid, made of sugar boxes. A well-intentioned lady passes behind us and pushes the cases to the edge of the footpath. She must be very strong for she scarcely seems to touch them. But her touch brings the structure down and we fall into the mud. I say to her, "Why on earth have you done this?" She excuses herself. "I thought you would be better placed on the edge of the pavement." She disappears behind a tramway. We seem to have crossed the road for we begin to reconstruct our pyramid on the left-hand side pathway perilously near the tramways. I am on the right of the pyramid near a man of our troop in the roadway, and suddenly I say to him, "You poor O." (the name of one of my brothers), "in what a state you are. You could claim damages." He is covered with mud, especially his brown waistcoat, but I realize that we cannot now find the lady who has disappeared

in the crowd. O. shrugs his shoulders as if to say, "Bah. It's our luck!" But I put my hands on his shoulders, and say: "Never mind, dear, I will clean it to-night." To which another man of our troop adds, "And mine, too, dear little girl." He puts his arm round my shoulders and I promise; I am feeling happy. I am awakened by the children, who are just now sleeping with me.

The details are inexplicable.

DREAM LXIX. Same night. It is vague. There are women friends and I show them a blue dress with pink flowers. It is a sort of muslin and seems vaporous and cloudlike. "How pretty!" they say. "Yes, but it is merely an old dress that I am making up again." I show a seam behind and say, "You see this piece; I hope it will not show." I have the impression that I wish to finish the dress to look pretty for someone, but it is vague. I awake.

This dream agrees with reality.

DREAM LXX. Night of 6th August: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I am in a station, on the platform. I am going to take the train for Germany. I climb up with difficulty into a very high carriage. I cling to the slippery step and nearly fall, but someone from behind pushes me with so much force that I am thrown into the compartment with my buttocks uppermost. The sudden movement seems to have uncovered my behind, for my skirts are pushed up, exposing the flesh, and a man continues to push me by means of a long cane placed at the anus. (I am not quite sure that this does not give me a vague pleasure.) Then I seem to be on a red seat and a woman is talking to me through the open door. The train is so high that I only see her head as she says to me concerning my eldest child who is seated beside me (he had not previously been in the dream), "This child has scarlet fever." I turn towards him and observe that he is feverish. I draw him towards me and pet him, saying to myself that I hope he will not get worse before we reach the end of our journey. I want to put cold compresses but cannot find water in the train. I observe his tearful eyes and am worried.

Change of scene. I seem to be at my school, but the room is like the interior of a convent. A school mistress is with me, known as B. But she is not like the teacher of the same name whom I knew but more like a charwoman. I ask her to stay and have tea, but she says she must catch the train. As she is leaving we see two railway lines; we seem to be on a country station platform, and we see a train moving out, the train that should have taken B. to Germany. Forced to remain, she agrees to have tea, and we are once more in the convent when a packet arrives, I know not from whom, with chocolates for the children. I open it and find a small

piece of paper which I expect to indicate the sender, but it is blank. I awake with slight colic.

DREAM LXXI. The same night: I am teaching one of my classes. The children are noisy. I am tired and rather angry. I turn towards a little girl, more noisy than the rest, and tell her to write, "I am very disobedient," and to show it to the head master. The child is confused and I see tears in her eyes. I am worried at having been so severe. I would like to kiss the little girl. I awake.

DREAM LXXII. Night of 7th of August: To bed immediately after a light supper. I have a slight headache. The afternoon had been spent at Kew Gardens with my friend F.

The first part of the dream is vague; I seem to be on a station platform with my children, waiting for a train for Belgium. Then the scene changes and I see very distinctly a young woman I lost sight of seven or eight years ago. She is dressed in blue, but her petticoat comes below her dress. I wish to attract her attention to this and call her, though I do not seem to hear her name pronounced in the dream. I pull her skirt down on the left side to try to make it right, but cannot succeed; she will have to take her dress off.

Change of scene. We are in a sort of bathroom, which is quite white. The floor seems cemented. It is like a modern hospital. There are combs on the floor. Then I am in a long corridor, painted white, and on the floor I see women's combinations. Some are white and embroidered. One is of coarse net, and this I take for my friend to put on, but I see no details of undressing and dressing. I know we are going to a banquet given by an important government personage.

Change of scene. I am at table with many other people in a large room, richly decorated and gilded. I am surprised to see no one of importance, but they give us to understand that, being myself of no importance, I have been relegated with the small fry to a room where the great personage has given orders that we shall be properly gorged as is done with lacqueys. I yield to this, seeming to think that anyhow good cheer is always good. The person who has given me the information seems a servant and very much occupied. She piles good things onto my plates, hors d'oeuvres, etc., then unctuous mokas, and while I protest she tells me she has orders to look after us, so I attack my plate with a shrug, as much as to say, "Very well —go ahead." I bite into a Saint-Honoré which is a dream of whipped cream and preserved cherries and melts beneath the teeth. I awake.

There was nothing to explain this gargantuan feast unless it was the headache. The young woman is a connection and I had spoken of her during the day.

DREAM LXXIII. Night of 10th August: The day had been spent in a delightful garden in the country; I go to bed an hour after a light supper.

I seem to be at a sort of féte, but I do not quite know what it is. I seem, however, to see a stage. Is it a theatre? But I seem to be in the open air. A friend is there. She is affected by nervous trembling. I am seated near her. I am happy. Suddenly I see a boy who is a connection of my husband's. He looks just as when I last saw him, except that he wears a navy-blue costume. I say, "If he is here it means my husband has arrived." I ask him. He replies, "He sent me to fetch you." I ask, "How are we going to do about beds?"

I am in the house. My husband is near me. I only see him vaguely but I feel his right arm round my shoulders. He talks to me gently and affectionately, never leaving me wherever I go. I am calm and quietly happy, but occupied about two low beds which I am trying to place close together so as to make one large bed. My husband approves without paying much attention, for he is occupied with me. He says, "This will do," but I am not satisfied. I awake.

The friend is a connection whom I had seen during the day similarly ill and nervous and I had felt troubled about her. The boy's costume is the same as that my own boy was wearing.

DREAM LXXIV. Same night: I distinctly see one of my pupils. We talk in a low voice near a window in the corner of the room. The head master is at a desk. He is writing. He hands a letter to the youth, who gives it to me. I read (in English): "Dear Madame ——(my real name): I am sorry I have not yet been able to send you back your essay on Suffragettes. I have just glanced at it—" There I stop. I find it funny he should write when he is quite close to me; but I say to myself that the letter is meant to count as having been written during the holidays that are about to begin. I smile, the youth smiles and points to the head master as much as to say that he is a little cracked. I speak to the youth, who admires my essay (having apparently read it) and I say: "That was done years ago in a better way than I have done it. I have always had these ideas but I know no one who has expressed them more clearly than F." I advise him to read the book of my friend F. The name of it is not mentioned, but I see a book that resembles it in form. I awake.

I do not know what provoked this dream.

DREAM LXXV. Night of 10th August: A light supper and then at once to bed.

I am in a carriage, a kind of diligence. There are several people. We seem to be at the top of a kind of dune. We descend a sandy

road. At the bottom we see the blue sea and rows of low houses along the shore. It is a village which I am sure I have seen before in a dream, especially the steep slope down of the road and the little low village shops. The diligence seems suddenly to go at a gallop along the shore level with the houses. The horses move with difficulty and the rising tide reaches to the wheels, to the terror of my little boy who is apparently there. I decide to stop at an inn, as the child is too frightened to proceed. I have to tell the coachman, whom I see on his seat, to stop the diligence. Then I am inside the inn. Small white tables are scattered about. We are in France and I am the only person who can speak French. I order dinner. It is to be a French dinner with a huge omelette aux fines herbes. I do not, however, see myself speaking to anyone. It seems a sort of monologue. I only see my child kneeling on a chair and looking out of the window. I put my left arm round his shoulder and show him something in the distance. He is no longer afraid. I awake.

I had spoken of the sea during the day.

DREAM LXXVI. Night of 14th August: To bed an hour after a light supper.

I am walking in the street with the lady who lives above me. We pass in front of the house, and I see a procession of young women and children entering. They are her children. I exclaim: "Bother! They will make a noise and wake my child." She looks quite amiable. I awake

These people often wake me, and that evening, especially, they had been making much noise.

DREAM LXXVII. Night of 15th August: To bed immediately after a large supper.

I hear a bomb burst, then another, then a third, making a terrible noise. I take my elder child by the hand and reassuring him I begin to run.

Change of scene. I see a friend who is seated on a table. She asks me for money, and I say to her, "How could I give you any when I live on borrowed money?" She seems to look sorry for me. I awake.

I am told that in the distance there were sounds like cannon, three or four times. I heard nothing except in the dream. There have been money worries.

DREAM LXXVIII. Same night: I am in my bedroom of our old house in France. I see all the details: the large iron bedstead, the walnut wood night table with its green tiles, the blue flowered walls. I hear the servant moving in the next room, and my sister, appearing as quite a little girl, in short petticoats and with her hair

on her shoulders, enters at the door in the wall. She tells me to come as they are waiting for me downstairs. She looks happy. I go to the night table and below it I find many shoes. I look for a pair that suits me; I find a very small pair and ask myself if they would do for my sister. I awake.

I had been thinking of my early home life. The scene agrees with reality, except the shoes and they belong to recent occurrences.

DREAM LXXIX. Night of the 17th August: I am with a man in the street and we talk of the education of children. He criticizes the modern system. I see a square in front and hesitate to cross it. The man has become a woman. We are seeking a restaurant. Then the dream is vague but I am on the platform of a railway station.

I had been discussing education a day or two previously.

DREAM LXXX. Night of 18th August: To bed after a copious supper.

I am with my mother who seems busily occupied with me. She reproaches me with being badly dressed. "You are dressed like an Englishwoman." She worries me and I want to leave her. But she will not let me go, as my petticoat shows below my skirt. She calls me back. I think to myself, "I ought to dress as badly as Aunt Julia and then I should be left in peace."

Change of scene. My mother is undressing me and I am helpless in her hands, although I protest and grumble. A well known Labor politician (not personally known to me in real life) is seated on a low chair opposite me, with his left knee bent and his right leg extended. He calmly watches the operation, but seems to take pleasure in it. I am ashamed and uncomfortable. My mother reaches the last garment, a sort of pink drawers. Then suddenly I am seated on a low chair facing the Labor politician. There is a sort of gas warming apparatus between us. I seem now to be dressed. My mother makes some remark which does not seem to me correct, and a discussion arises, while the Labor man gently places his right foot on my left foot, as much as to say "Why dispute when you know that she will not yield."

Change of scene. The Labor man has become a woman and is frying ham. I awake.

DREAM LXXXI. Same night: I am vaguely aware that I ought to have an English lesson, where or why I do not know, but I see my teacher, a small active woman closely resembling an actual teacher of English I had when at the École Normale in France. I take the tram to return home, and my teacher is there before me; she is the tram conductress (in English). I am surprised she is there before me, and seeing me enter, she greets me with an amiable

smile. She seems much occupied. We are now seated in front of the tram, on a bench attached to a sort of platform, as on a Paris "bateau mouche." My English teacher, dressed in gray, holds a skein of wool in her separated hands and someone whom I do not see, is winding it, while I am seated near admiring the activity of the little woman in gray and wondering how she can do so many things at the same time. Either I say so, or she reads my thoughts, for she remarks: "You must have done all these things if you have been leading a very active life." I feel that she is the new type of war woman, busy, active, completely happy, it seems.

Suddenly we seem to be in a room. The little woman is still there, always busy, in a corner, talking gaily and amiably. She turns towards a young woman seated in an easy chair with green arms, seemingly of wood. The young woman herself is like a doll, pink, carefully tended, placid and pretty. She is A. L. whom I knew in my childhood and is like her, only embellished. I seem to sit opposite her. She is now married and I ask if she is happy. I hear no reply, but I see from a childish grimace that she is neither happy nor unhappy, and I know that her husband finds her exasperating. Then for a moment I see a tall woman who speaks to the little woman in gray and runs away peacefully and happily. It is L. O. She also is married, the little gray lady tells me. I am surprised and ask if she is happy, though the question does not seem to be definitely formulated. She replies that L. O.'s husband beats her every day, but that L. gives no sign of this and decides to resign herself. She adds, "Poor L., she was always such a nice girl." I awake.

L. O. is a teacher; she is not married. A. L. is really doll-like. She is now married but I do not know her husband. There is a tram strike at present. I had been thinking of the Labor politician in connection with my husband.

DREAM LXXXII. Night of 19th August: To bed after a light supper. First day of monthly period.

I am in an underground lavatory of the English type. I wish to put a penny in the automatic lock. Then I find nothing but a washing basin. Suddenly I am seated in a w. c. with my skirts raised, but I feel uncomfortable for I am near a door by which ladies are entering. I awake with a a colic pain which is, however, very slight.

DREAM LXXXIII. Same night: I am in a school, but it is more like an enormous bazaar with large strange gilded stairways serpentining overhead. There seems a crowd of people below. I am on one of the staircases leaning on the balusters. I am looking for Mademoiselle Z. (a teacher in the French Lycée I was once at). I find her in the corner of a large hall (the place is something like

Selfridge's) and she shows me handkerchiefs with red and blue borders. There are other people present who admire them with us. Someone says (I am not sure whether in English): "After showing these don't show the others; they are not half so pretty." But Mademoiselle Z. shows other handkerchiefs of a much coarser kind, and someone says: "They look nicer on the wrong side." They resemble some of mine.

Change of scene. A rather loud voice, resembling that of the Head Master but yet being a woman's, announces that before entering in class there will be "assembly." We are soon all assembled in a large hall, and my pupils for French conversation are at my left seated along a table of planks. They lean on the table listening attentively. I dominate them from the height of a platform seated beside the Head Master who still speaks like a woman, and seems to have some resemblance to the head of my old École Normale. She makes quite a speech, I think in English, and has a dramatic air. Turning towards my pupils she says: "It is important that you should come to Madame —'s conversation classes." She uses my unmarried name and I ask myself why. I feel very self-conscious and look embarrassed. I avoid looking at my pupils but gaze over their heads. The voice continues: "—will pay attention to every word and to every defect." This time she calls me simply by my Christian name and I am astonished. She turns towards me as if to ask whether I approve. I smile vaguely, as if approving, but feel uncomfortable. I have the impression that there is a man behind us looking on. The Head's voice still continues: "Before going back to our class rooms we are going to open at last this mysterious cupboard." And suddenly I see a yellow cupboard. It seems to be made of cardboard with wooden uprights, rather like a theatrical property. It has a mouldy and dirty appearance. They are about to open it. This is a dramatic moment. I ask myself if a coffin will be found there or a mutilated body. I still feel the presence of the unseen man behind, looking on. It is much like a play. At last the cupboard is opened and I see, high up, something red like mahogany and say, "It is a coffin," but it is only a child's wheelba row. The playthings are brought out of the lower part of the cupboard, mostly of wood painted yellow and green. I do not know what these things are for, but there are many of them, and I note that they are in good condition. There is a train but I do not see the other things distinctly. I take some dusty books out of the cupboard, and look at them. There are, too, clothes and rags there. Someone pulls out a small girl's riding costume. All these objects belonged to her—a little girl who is dead, and her parents, who adored her, have thus preserved all her possessions. Suddenly a baby is taken out of the

cupboard. Every one bends over the minute creature which is in a quite small bed of white wood like a child's plaything. Someone says: "How ugly he is!" He is in fact making a grimace, but I, who understand babies, declare: "It is nothing, it is only a little colic!" (See the previous dream.) I take the baby in my arms. He smiles, he is beautiful, everyone admires him, but suddenly I perceive that it is only a doll. Someone calls out that there are eggs in the cupboard. It is the little girl's favorite fowls, and someone declares (I believe it is I): "If the hens have been there all this time they must have laid eggs and many must have hatched." I find broken eggs in the dust, sticky and dirty. Suddenly I feel something scratching my posterior. I find it is broken shells, and that I must have sat on the eggs. From beneath my skirts I draw yellow sticky broken eggs. My hands are full of them, there are still more. After that, all is vague; it is raining and little girls are coming to school across the fields beneath. I awake and then arise to urinate.

During the day I had felt "sticky" and was surprised to find my periods had begun. The other details are inexplicable.

DREAM LXXXIV. Night of 22d August: A light supper and to bed at once.

The dream is very vague. I am learning to ride with a man. I am seated behind him. Then he changes into a young woman dressed as a "land girl" in gaiters and breeches. We go to wash our hands for dinner. I awake.

DREAM LXXXV Night of 24th August: To bed half an hour after a light supper.

It is vague. I dream of how to make cheese with milk curds. I give a recipe. I think I awake before the next scene.

I am near my friend F. who is writing at a table. I am seated at his left, at a lower level, my head resting on his arm. I am very happy. I say to him: "Yes, I am rather tired of school work; perhaps I could do something with these." It is a question of writing articles. He says he will think about it. Then we go together to a window where the sun seems to enter. His arm is round me and my head on his breast. He says: "Which restaurant shall we choose?" I leave the choice to him. He adds: "Would you like a new one?" I agree to what he likes. Then we seem to be near the fireplace, facing each other and close together. Suddenly I see that he had no trousers on, only drawers, and yet his buttocks are uncovered. I can feel them with both my hands behind him. I am all the time very happy. Then I feel his penis against my skirt. We seem now to be both dressed. At this point my younger child awakes me. I am conscious of no agitation. The night before I had been slightly excited and I had also been thinking of F.

DREAM LXXXVI. Same night: I seem to dash into a passing taxi. It does not stop but I open the door and enter. There are already two gentlemen there, but that does not seem to disturb me. I sit beside them and we proceed. We reach Charing Cross. I open the door next to me on the left, and the gentleman near it opens the other door. He is my father. He is tall and slender with white hair, more like a well known Swedish politician than my father. I ask myself why I had not noticed him before, but I realize that the gentleman between us had obstructed my view. My father seems happy to see me but treats me more as a friend than as a daughter. He simply squeezes my hand and tells me he is going to France. I say, "How lucky! I am going, too, and we can travel together." I am going to look for my mother, but I must have my passport. I see a sort of ticket office. There the young girl asks me a question I do not understand and I reply "No" at random. "Oh! that settles it!" she remarks. "I cannot give you a passport." I am worried and discouraged, and I ask her, timidly and very politely. "Excuse me, could you repeat your question? I don't think I quite understood." She asks, "Where have you lived before in France?" I mention the name of the town where I was born. She writes it down in a register but spells it wrongly, and I am about to correct her, but saying to myself, "What's the good?" I go on to name the department. She writes down "Jura" instead, but I say to myself that these are merely formalities, and that all clerks are like that. Then I ask for my passport, but the employee replies very amiably: "You are too late; you must ask Mlle. Gabrielle," and I feel that I am losing my time, and that we shall miss the boat. But my father has my "identity book." I see it in his hands with its white cover. We find Mlle. Gabrielle and while she attends to me I am worried and say to my father: "We shall miss the boat. You go first and I will take the next boat." But he replies: "I will wait for you." Then my child awakens me.

DREAM LXXXVII. Night of 27th August: A week after the monthly period. A light supper after a hot bath and then immediately to bed.

I dream that I am in bed and that I see my husband enter my room. He wears a heavy brown winter overcoat and I know that he is arriving after a journey. I see a bed in the corner of the room, the bed of my elder child facing mine. My husband goes towards it, and bends down to kiss the child. This action uncovers his legs which are naked. He seems to have nothing on but his overcoat, and I see his buttocks and the anus when he bends. Then he sits on my bed, at the foot, on the right. He seems far away, I find him cold, and ask myself if he will kiss me. Suddenly I put one leg out

of bed, then the other, and exclaim: "How silly! I went to bed with my stockings." I begin to take them off, exposing my legs and vaguely feeling that this was a sexual appeal to my husband. I awake. I do not remember feeling sexually excited.

DREAM LXXXVIII. Night of 2d September: (After a week at the seaside during which there were probably several dreams but no record was kept.) To bed early after a light supper.

I seem to be in a room of which one side is pierced by arches seeming to form cellars. These cellars are open and I see they are full of coal. I am with a friend, a woman, perhaps my sister, and I make some remark I forget, about the coal. Then, still in a cellar, I see tables on trestles and a profusion of articles on them—linen, bed clothes, etc.—and I proceed to take what pleases me, I cannot now recall what, except eiderdown quilts. We pile up a lot of things, and I suddenly reflect, "This is stealing." But something happens—I cannot recall—to suggest that it is not so, that the things belong to us. I awake.

DREAM LXXXIX. Night of 3d September: On returning from spending an evening with my friend F. I went to bed at once. I cannot recall the dream except that F. came into it, and that also there was a sort of water tap for watering a lawn. On awaking, I had to rise to make water.

DREAM XC. Night of 7th September: To bed immediately after a large supper.

I was slightly excited sexually and thinking also about Russia, atrocities, Socialism, etc., having just received a letter with regard to Bolshevism. In spite of taking notes immediately on awakening, they were insufficient and I am not able to reconstruct the dream exactly. A man came in, with a whip which he flourished, as he walked in front of me. Sometimes it touched my cheek. That pleased me and I was confused that it should please me. The man lets fall a card which I pick up. It begins: "My dear Lenin," I reflect: "He is one of those Anarchists." I awake.

DREAM XCI. Night of 8th September: Hot bath and to bed after a light supper, still feeling slightly excited sexually, I do not know why.

I am in a house though I do not see it, busily making up parcels. I have my hat on and am ready to go. I speak to someone I do not see, a woman, and say: "If my husband is never coming I shall have to leave." The woman in a gentle and friendly way persuades me to do nothing of the kind, and suddenly the door opens and I exclaim, "There is my husband!" I do not, however, distinctly see anyone, and certainly not my husband, but I put my parcels down on the

floor and no longer think of leaving the house. Then I am in my husband's arms. But it is all very brief. He seems agitated and goes out in a hurry. We follow him and reach a grating; he disappears.

Change of scene. I am still there but I seem to be a little boy My father (the same man who was before my husband) tells me to run towards the grating to find something. I now simply follow the little boy and the man who is my father. I run to the grating where someone, a woman, I think, gives me an envelope and I run back to my father who is on horseback going down a very narrow road. Another road crosses this and when I go along it to reach my father and arrive at the crossing, I see on my right the Kaiser galloping along madly. He sees my father who also sees him. My father is now a general: on seeing the Kaiser he acts promptly and puts his horse to the gallop. The Kaiser shouts to him: "I shall have it," and turns the corner in wild pursuit of my father, while I obliterate myself against the hedge. Then in an extraordinary way the road seems to divide and curve and the two men pursue each other while I glide along by the hedge avoiding the horses as well as I can each time they pass me, and wondering each time whether I shall be able to pas-

Another change. I am a woman again. I am above the road, anxiously gazing at the wild course of the two horsemen. It is absolutely mad. The Kaiser seizes the envelope that my father holds in his hand, reads something, and says, "Seventeenth of July You have got wonderful dictation on your side, but we shall have you yet." My father snatches back the envelope and the race begins anew. I observe the little boy advancing. At last he runs into my skirts barely escaping the horses' feet. I awake. I am lying on my back, very hot and uncomfortable.

DREAM XCII: Night of 9th September: To bed soo after a bath and light supper.

There seems to have been a beginning to the dream which I cannot recall. Where it begins to be clear to me I am in a room rehearsing a comedy. A young woman is seated near a man who is my husband but does not at all resemble him. The young woman is fair; my husband is tall, handsome, and his head round. She says to me: "You must not say that I am in love with your husband." Someone, a woman, I believe, who is conducting the rehearsal, explains that the young woman is my husband's secretary.

Change of scene. I am seated in a low chair and my husband. who in the dream is called "George," kneels before me, with his head in my lap and his arms round my waist. I gently kiss the back of his neck. But I know that this is a rehearsal and that the man is not

really my husband. Yet I love him and the kisses please me. A voice says (it is that of the woman conducting the rehearsal): "Someone is coming." The man and I quickly jump up for we must not be seen kissing. I am exuberant and happy, and dance round the room. Someone enters. It is Marjorie (a young girl I knew some years ago and of whom I had lately been thinking); she is tall and beautiful, as ever, and seems not to suspect anything between us. I awake.

I cannot understand the details of the comedy.

DREAM XCIII. Night of 15th September: Second day of monthly period. To bed after a light supper.

A dark complexioned man is leaning over me and giving me little kisses on the neck. He is an Egyptian. The sensation of the kisses sends shivers of pleasure down my back, but at the same time I feel ashamed to experience this pleasure and I say to the man, "Are you not ashamed to be an Egyptian?" There must have been more, but I recall nothing else.

DREAM XCIV. Night of 19th September: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I feel myself suddenly bounding up in the air like a ball. I rise rapidly in the air with my legs very extended and vertical. It is delicious. I float in the air. I am in a vast room with a very lofty ceiling. It seems to be in a palace. Long red curtains, thick and heavy, no doubt of velvet, form an immense canopy, and hang as portières. Still floating in the air, almost stiff, without making any movement of my own, I come near the portières, separate them and pass into another large room. Several people look at me, and I hear them murmur: "I wish I could do the same." I reply: "It is quite easy; it only depends on the elements which compose your being." (I think this sentence was in English; the first one certainly was.) Then the room seems empty except for a beautiful lady in black, seated at a heavy table where a little boy reads to her. The scene is of a medieval palace. I seem to see black and white marble flags beneath the lady's feet. I still float, still happy. The lady and the little boy turn towards me, full of admiration, and I remark to them: "You cannot say now that you have not seen an angel." I awake with a desire to urinate, which I do and go to sleep again. I cannot explain the dream but it was very agreeable.

DREAM XCV. Same night: I see a white curtain which moves and seems to descend along the window, and strike the glass. Then this curtain changes into hail which beats noisily against the panes, like a white curtain. I awake. It is not raining, but I am sure there had been a sharp shower.

DREAM XCVI. Night of 20th September: An almost cold bath just before supper and to bed directly after.

I am in a room with a large open window looking on the sea. The level seems much higher than that of the sea which appears in the distance like a sheet of silver, luminous with sunshine and covered by white sails. Suddenly an immense wave rises, enters the window and gently bathes the naked feet of my elder child. We are both standing near a white bed. His legs are naked; I have on a very short chemise. The wave, which only touches his feet, seems to ascend to my buttocks, though I am still standing. I feel the freshness of the water and have the soft impression of being seated on the wave which agreeably caresses the lips of the vagina, and they seem separated and throbbing. I go downstairs and say to my servant: "When the wave goes we shall have awful mud." I awake. I am sexually agitated and moist, and have difficulty in calming myself. A letter from my friend F. in the morning had referred to the seaside.

DREAM XCVII. Night of 23d September: To bed soon after a light supper.

I am looking on while a well known Pacifist is explaining to a young girl the trams she must take to reach the office. They are bending over a map which I do not see. She is like a pretty teacher I know, but with rather a stupid air which the teacher has not. He explains the map, at the same time wondering to himself, I know, how she can be so stupid as not to find out for herself. Suddenly an invisible person comes and tells her that her bath is ready, and as she fails to go at once I decide to take this bath. I enter the bath which is a cemented hole in the ground. Suddenly I observe the Pacifist at the other end of the bath. We are both naked and facing each other. My legs are separated and I ask myself if he can see my sexual parts. His legs also are separated and I wonder if I can see his sexual organs. I see nothing, and I reflect that if I make the water very soapy no one can see anything. I proceed to do so. A shelf behind my head worries me. I keep knocking against it. I decide to move to the other side. But I can only do so by going near my companion. I do so and we are seated side by side in the water. I awake with a longing to make water.

I had spoken of the Pacifist during the day.

DREAM XCVIII. Night of 27th September: A light supper and to bed after evening at a concert.

I hear music though I cannot catch the sounds, and I ask myself how thought can be rendered in music. I see a little boy making water, or, rather, I do not see the boy, only the golden arch made by the urine. It is an immense arch and I ask myself how that can be

rendered in music. Then a fish is shaken threateningly before my face, and I hear afresh the sounds of music which seem to tell of "the rebirth of the world." I awake with a desire to urinate but too lazy to get up or to make any notes, and saying to myself that I shall not forget, I fall into a light sleep again, but soon awake, repeating the word "rebirth" and get out of bed.

I had lately been advised by a doctor, in connection with a slight disturbance of health, to drink more water, and the results doubtless influenced some of these later dreams.

DREAM XCIX. Night of 19th October, the last day of monthly period.

I see a sort of seashore in a depression made of sand. I say to myself that it would be nice to lie on the sand and be softly caressed by the waves. I am in a bathing dress, with arms and legs bare, and I lie down on the sand. The sea caresses me and I enjoy the sensation, like a wave of velvet rising and falling on my body. Suddenly from another side, in this strange basin, an immense wave from behind me rushes forward to meet the sea. I see that I shall be caught between these two masses of water unless I escape quickly. I run away though the water already reaches my thighs. Then I find myself seated astride of a wall against which I seem for a moment to rub my posterior holding on by both hands. This action seems to excite me sexually and I say to myself that I must masturbate. I wonder where I can do so and suddenly think of the bathing cabin. Then I am there, stretched on the floor with my right hand applied to the sexual parts. I awake, asking myself if it had really happened, or if I had only dreamed it. It was only a dream, of which I am ashamed, but I was much agitated and the sexual region moist. I wanted to urinate and did so, copiously.

DREAM C. Night of the 20th October: I am going to a village near Southend looking for a house for my husband's nephew. When I reach Southend the sea breeze enters my nostrils, and I say: "I must see the sea, if only for a minute. How good it would be to be here with F." But reason prevails, and as I am not there to see the sea, I go on my way to the village.

The most elementary distinction in dreams, as elementary as that between land and water in geography, is, as the earliest scientific investigators of dreaming pointed out, that between presentative and representative elements, or whatever terms may be preferred to indicate the dream elements that are based on actual impressions on the organism at the moment and those based on stored up impressions of the past in memory. It is

a fundamental distinction, but scarcely one that it is profitable to dwell on. Every dreamer—one might almost add in every dream—is working with both kinds of elements, though the presentative element is not always easy to recognize on account of our imperfect knowledge of the condition of the organism. Theoretically, moreover, we can easily imagine a dream made up entirely of representative elements; but it is probable that our theoretical view is wrong. We may say, for instance, that a dreamer who after a hard day's work seems to be continuing his work in sleep, is engaged on a representative dream, but it is highly probable that the fatigued organism stimulates the dream which thus has a presentative element. It is certain, also, that every presentative dream has representative elements; otherwise there would be no dream.

All the dreams here recorded may probably be held to contain both presentative and representative elements, very often quite clearly, and it scarcely seems that much would be gained by making the attempt, which could only be approximate, to estimate their relative proportion.

It may be worth while, and is certainly easier, to consider another common and ancient distinction: the proportion in dreams between representative elements of old and of recent date. It may well be that there are individual or other peculiarities (as of sex, age, temperament, and nationality) in this matter, so that the proportion is worth noting. When we consider the dreams before us from this point of view, it is seen that 21 of them must be put aside as vague or indefinite, for they present pictures which cannot be clearly associated with any single remembered event, recent or remote. There remains 70 which can be associated with recent events, occurring within a few days before the dream, most often the day before, and 45 which can be associated with remote events, sometimes fifteen years back, or in childhood. It will be seen that the new and the old frequently overlap in a single dream. Probably, indeed, in every dream of any length, it would be possible to detect the blending of recent and remote memories.

This is probably a normal result and true for dreaming generally. Probably, also, it is true of dreaming generally, as for the present dreamer, that there is a decided predominance of recent over remote memories. In order to discover whether there is anything peculiar in the balance of memories in the present dreamer we should have to bring forward comparable numerical proportions from other dreamers. In the texture of all fully-formed dreams—dreams that are more than mere floating fragments—we must expect to find the texture constituted by the warp and woof of these two kinds of memories, whether or not the proportion varies Every dreamer's map must show the two blended, just as land and water are blended in the geographical map.

It is perhaps unnecessary to deal further with generalities It is more interesting, it is no doubt more significant for the establishment of individual personality through dreams, to ascertain the chief groups into which a dreamer's visions of the night fell, to find out their relative frequency, and to note their main characteristics.

Something, however, may be said first as to the classes into which the *dramatis personae* of these dreams fell. From the point of view of their nearness to the dreamer I divide them into five classes and I note the number of dreams into which one or more members of each class fall (independently of the exact number of figures belonging to any class in a single dream): (1) Her children, in 18 dreams; (2) her parents, in 13 dreams; (3) other relations (usually brothers). 13; (4) other known people, not being blood relations. 37 (5) imaginary people, 48. Looked at broadly, there are two classes: real people and imaginary people. The imaginary people constitute more than a third of the whole population of the dream world, and play a part therein which is just as real as that of the real people, often indeed a more impressive part. From the point of view of the dream world one might even be tempted to say that the "real" people—the people whose proper place is in the waking world—must be regarded as merely intruders.

With regard to the distribution of classes of people in relation to kinds of dreams, the dreamer herself has made some remarks (not after the present series but after a later series which were noted down in a more summary manner) suitable for quotation here:

"I do not hold the theory that we people our dreams with beings absolutely unimportant or of secondary or remote importance in our life. It seems to me, rather, that we people them either with those who are closely and immediately important to us or, failing these, with utterly fantastic and imaginary beings bearing no connection with our life, abstract people for the most.

"I base this on the following facts:

"(1) In dreams purely physiological in origin, urination (if not associated with erotism), difficult breathing, etc., the characters are more than in any other kind of dreams absolutely fantastic. a vague friend, a flying man, a crowd, and seldom do they present the face of anyone one knows.

"(2) On the other hand in dreams belonging to the psychic sphere (affection, worries, work, disquietudes, and erotism) the characters are either very clearly defined and known people or else again fancy—pure fancy—rather than anyone remote or secondary in one's life.

"For instance in dreams of worries over work it has always been my headmaster or mistress or educational agent who has come in. Most close they are to my everyday life of all important work, and always the head, never other teachers, hardly ever vague, and never bringing remote or secondary people into the dreams.

"Dreams of worries over children are also clearly set. I never dream of children vaguely known to me as nieces and nephews, or of children of my youth, but of my own two darlings or else pure fancies. My own, however, occur far more often than the fanciful. The same applies to dreams connected with parents, brothers, etc., though these are not frequent, the ties of affection, though great, not as great as to

leave deep constant concern or worry as children do or a lover, except on occasions such as long silence, illness, etc.

"Beside all this, dreams are occupied with matters of detail, with people and things close at hand during the day preceding the dream far more than with remote people and things of the past. I find something of this kind in almost every dream I have. A remark during the day, a personality recalled through conversation, a face in a 'bus, offer far more fancies to build upon, for a leading part or for filling in details, than youthful or past things secondary in one's life."

When we survey broadly the sleeping life of this dreamer —and probably of any dreamer—we find that it reflects all the essential and fundamental experience of the activities of the organism, physical and psychic, those actually being experienced in the body at the time and those so recently or so persistently experienced that they have left traces easily perceptible to the dreaming mind. It needs scarcely to be remarked that the distinction between "physical" and "psychic" in dreams, however convenient, is merely superficial. All dreaming, on the one hand, is psychic, wherever the stimuli that set it in action, or that affect its action, may chance to arise. On the other hand, we cannot positively say that all dreaming is not, as regards the nature of its stimuli, physical, for we know nothing of the way in which experiences are registered on the organism. It may be convenient to talk (with Semon) of "engramms" but we do not know what an engramm is.

It is important to insist on this equality of character in the experiences of dream-life. It is all the more necessary because there is always a temptation to introduce our own social conventions in estimating the quality of dream experiences. Social conventions exist in dreams. That is to say, for instance, that the dreamer may be ashamed at finding himself in situations which would cause shame in waking life. But the dreamer is merely playing an unwilling part in a dream which he has not consciously had any part in producing. And that dream-drama is set forth with serene impartiality on a basis

altogether regardless of social conditions and exactly reflecting the functions of the organism in their relatively fundamental importance. In dreams everything that affects the human organism of the dreamer assumes its true value; there is neither "high" nor "low." So it comes about that many things that in the conventionally arranged life of human societies are emphasized are in dreams almost ignored, and many things that in society are almost ignored appear in the first order of prominence.

This is well illustrated when we group these dreams in order in accordance with the natural human functions which most frequently come into play. We find this order to be: *erotic*, 20; *parental*, 18; *eating*, 15; *vesical*, 14; *filial*, 13: *vocational*, 9; *intestinal*, 3. As there are one hundred dreams all these figures are at the same time percentages and the order thus revealed seems to be significant.

It will be seen that the erotic group comes first with the largest number of dreams (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 10, 21, 28, 35, 41, 43, 50, 51, 57, 61, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99), one-fifth of the whole. We are of course dealing with what are termed *manifest* dreams, the dreams of whose nature there can be no question, or, at all events, with dreams of whose nature there can be little dispute; we are not here viewing them psychoanalytically and therefore we are not primarily concerned with the question of a concealed meaning beneath the surface, that is to say, with *latent* dreams; that is a question which still remains obscure, even when we admit, as we can scarcely fail to do that dreams often possess a meaning which is not on the surface.

This proportion of erotic dreams will still, however, seem to many a matter to contest. There are some persons who will be shocked to see so many; there are others who will assert there could not be so few. That still persisting opposition of attitude is due to the historical development of the study of this aspect of dreams. Down to nearly forty years ago even the most serious students of dream psychology had little or nothing to say about erotic dreams. Sometimes they

would deal with the subject of dreaming in an elaborately detailed and apparently comprehensive manner and yet never refer to erotic dreams. It seemed as though their most searching investigation of the sleeping mind had never revealed tc them the play of the fundamental and singularly strong impulse of sex. Then the inevitable reaction took place. The pendulum which had been artificially drawn up to one absurd extreme swung violently back to the opposite extreme. Dream psychologists arose (it is unnecessary to say what persuasiveness the overwhelming genius of Freud lent to their argument) who declared that, so far from not finding sex in dreams, they could really not find anything else!

To-day (although survivors of both the ancient views may still be detected) it is at length possible to take up a more rationally balanced position. On the one hand we no longer pretend not to see the psychic operation of any human impulse; we can impartially accept, and even welcome, them all. On the other hand, we recognize that we are not narrowly driven down to a single root for all the variegated wealth of the mind, whether sleeping or waking. We can map out the vegetation in this rich field, finding different growths with different fundamental roots, although we cannot fail to find frontiers where the growths are blended or the roots uncertain. The efforts of doctrinary controversialists to reduce all these growths to a single genus cease to be of interest. We find it more interesting to trace the enrichment of genera and to determine their relative extent. This can never be quite the same for any two persons or even for the same person at two different periods. That is illustrated even by the example before us, for dreams observed in subsequent years, and even in the year immediately following that with which we are here concerned —some of them I propose to bring forward—indicate, though only in a slight degree, an evolving process of change. They develop because personality develops, or, as it were, exfoliates, revealing ever new phases from within; yet that newness is ever new only within narrow limits—or when the limits seem to be wide it is because we contain within ourselves com-

plementary and compensatory aspects—so that personality always retains its own outlines and those outlines always distinguish it from every other personality. It is the value of dreams that they reveal the real features of this personality more nakedly and in truer proportion than we could ever expect to see a personality revealed in waking life unless we had very intimately learnt to know it, and even then we could never be quite sure that we had justly estimated the exact proportion of its various elements. In dreams that is done for us; we only need the privilege of observation.

There seems to me reason to believe that the relative place of the erotic in the present dreamer's life is justly presented by her dreams—though it would be helpful to compare them with the observations of other dreamers—when we bear in mind that the dreamer was at this time enduring a considerable degree of sexual deprivation at a time of life when in a healthy and vigorous organism the spontaneous sexual impulse is strong. We dream of a thing, as is well recognized, because we want to do it, although, as is less often recognized, we also dream of a thing for other reasons, because it forms part of the logic of the dream, or because we do not want to do it, or even merely because we just happen to have done it. A dream of erotic excitement may occur immediately after erotic gratification and seems then, probably, to be an echo of the gratification rather than a sign of desire; provided, that is, that no actual physical excitement has accompanied the dream. There, indeed, we are brought up to an important criterion: how far are we entitled to call a dream erotic when no physical excitement can be detected by the dreamer on awakening? At least eight (rather less than half) of the present dreamer's "erotic" dreams were accompanied by physical excitement and were therefore erotic in the full sense (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 28, 41, 50, 57, 96). I am disposed to consider myself justified in regarding all dreams erotic in which the psychic content is erotic, quite independent of the physical accompaniment. But it is obvious that when we regard a dream as erotic where there are neither

obvious psychic indications of its erotic nature nor any physical sexual-accompaniment, we tread upon unsafe ground.

I do not propose to examine the details of these erotic dreams. They tell us a great deal about the dreamer's amatory and affective temperament and experience in waking life. But I am not here concerned with analysis, and the reader may therefore be left to study them from this point of view for himself.

It may, however, be of some interest, from the analytic as well as the synthetic point of view, to present a few of the subject's later erotic dreams, mostly dating from the following year. Those noted down seem to have been typical of the later dreams, though they undoubtedly represent the most impressive of them, and cannot therefore be considered quite average dreams. One is tempted to believe that they correspond to the subject's actual development at this period, they present a greater refinement and sublimation of erotic feeling, and the subject herself noted that actual coitus entered less frequently into her dreams. Yet this impression may be fallacious, as is indicated by two early dreams (CI, CII) dating just before the main series, which I have brought forward. They chance to be very instructive in the light they throw on the subject's erotic temperament, occurring within a few days of each other, and illustrating the two sides, spiritual and physical, of her erotic nature. They might very well be regarded as the prelude to the series of dreams which they immediately preceded.

DREAM CI. (This and the following dream as well as CIV and CV are written in English by the subject.)

The dream begins with a dull dreary earth where suddenly comes a dear child, most certainly sent from fairyland. The child looks like a girl though I could not tell the sex and has big brown eyes shining like bright jet. Her locks are a soft golden brown, and, everywhere she looks, beautiful flowers grow, and everywhere she breathes, wonderful light appears. Soon the earth is transformed. I see, right over the hills, far away, a magical light glowing, and going into a wood, I find the undergrowth full of pink and firm anemones. As I marvel at them I notice that, high above my head,

stand tall and splendid red lilies. I do not know where to look, the earth is a real paradise, and I exclaim: "I must gather some lilies for mother." I am just going to break the strong stalk of one of them, when I see, entering the wood, the tall lanky figure of a dear man I know. His beautiful head is a glowing contrast to the red lilies near which he stands. There was no name, but there could be no mistake, it was the head I love so much. He looked grave and somewhat sad, and this caused me to pause in the act of gathering my wonderful red lilies. Then suddenly the beautiful child came into the wood and ran to him. She looked tired and haggard. Her flower-like eyes seemed bigger than ever, but stared strangely as if for ever condemned to remain open. She almost fell into his arms and he supported her as if he had been waiting for her and knew she would come in this dreadful state. The sadness of the face deepens and the child says softly, "They are asking too much of me. I shall have to leave them." And I understand that they are men and women, and that the fairy child is bound to leave the earth. I could not gather the lilies.

There the dream stopped. I never came near him. He seemed not to notice me. I was the mere wonder-bound spectator of this enchanting scene. Would you call this an erotic dream? It left me in a most beautiful state. Was the child Love. Did it mean: Abuse love and it goes, and with it the flower and light, and itself the most glorious flower of all?

DREAM CII. (Two nights later): Last night I had a wicked erotic dream. Coming home from school a man boarded the bus who, I am sure, is a French professor at the great college near here. I had never seen him before but have been shown his photograph. He looked so French, so professor-like, and so like the photograph, that he interested me. Well, in the night, he, of all men, a perfect stranger, not even pleasing to me, did what no man has ever been allowed to do without being kicked in the face. And I simply loved it, though I quarrelled with myself and kept on repeating: "How dare he when only one man is allowed to do this?"

It was an idiotic dream, which left me disgusted at my wild enjoyment.

DREAM CIII: I had a dream last night which, though neither charming nor agreeable, may be of interest as combining erotic and vesical elements. I was in a crowd at a great railway station in Paris, going to take a ticket for my birthplace, and awaiting my turn at the booking office with a number of very French people, in shawls and hatless. People press against me and a fat lady tries to pass in front of me saying: "I was there before you," to which I reply, knowing she is telling a lie: "Indeed! I am going first however."

Which I proceed to do, elbowing my way, I fear. I ask for a third class ticket for —. The clerk says: "Have you your papers?" I reply: "No. I did not know they were needed." He tells me the gentleman beside me will tell me what I must do. Then I see a man at my right who explains vaguely that I must go and see M. —, pay two francs, telegraph for my papers, etc. (I don't recall the details clearly.) I see myself quite small, like a school girl, in a light dress, and thinking that by pretending to be innocent I may get through without all these worries; so I innocently say: "I have a passport at home," and think to myself that I will telegraph to my servant, who is at a hotel with the children, to send it. The man is taken in by my angelic air, says, after the clerk has given me my ticket: "Come with me to see the superintendent [the word I think in English] and the matter will be arranged." "But I shall lose my train?" "Oh, no, you have plenty of time." So we go, I, quite small, beside him, and telling him that I have been to England several times during the war and must therefore have a passport in order. As I walk or rather run after this man who strides ahead, I drop a sixpence and then a half penny which roll on the ground. I stoop to pick them up when to my horror I find they have rolled in front of some men's urinals, but not wishing to lose my sixpence half penny I pick the coins up quickly and awkwardly and go on. We reach at last a room, which I enter, following the man, without at first realizing that the place is full of urinals (holes in the floor covered with earthenware) and I put my foot into a pool of golden urine. I become very red and uncomfortable, and then I see that my companion is opening his trousers and preparing to urinate. I rush out and knock against a large, strong, short-skirted woman (of the "Land Girl" type), carrying a bucket, who has come to clean the urinals, and who says to me smiling broadly: "You made a mistake?" which makes me feel still more confused. But the man comes out as though he had noticed nothing amiss and we enter another room which looks at first like the other, but I soon notice that, above holes in the floor, are taps, at one of which my companion washes his hands, afterwards saying to me: "Where is my handkerchief then?" He searches his pocket in vain, then suddenly throws himself on me, takes me in his strong arms, draws my head back and leaning over me seeks my lips. I struggle and exclaim: "What are you doing? I shall call out!" I see behind me a window through which is visible the station crowded with people. I repeat: "I shall call out!" and I try to do so but he plants his tongue in my mouth saying: "I know how to prevent that!" This seems horrible to me at first and I continue to struggle. He is powerful like the navvy who sometimes appears in my dreams; he holds me as in a vise, and

little by little I begin to find that agreeable. He seeks to raise my skirt—a skirt of a golden color—in front—and I aid him in doing so! He is exciting me with his finger in a most agreeable way when I awake.

It was a dream of the handsome brute kind, such as two years ago my erotic dreams nearly always were, though of late much more rarely.

DREAM CIV: She had been to see her friend F., who had a sore throat.

I was out for a walk, rather in a hurry, very busy, I believe, on going shopping. When at the corner of a quaint little French street there was a man waiting for me. It annoyed me as I had nothing to do with men, so I pushed on hastily, never looking at the man. When I came back, however, I began to wonder if he would still be there, and on coming to the corner I saw him and was not at all surprised to find that it was F. In a teasing mood, and giving myself the excuse that I was too busy, I passed him, head in air, though pleased and happy that it was he. I had no sooner started on my way up another quaint little street than I was sorry for what I had done, and felt I had been extremely unkind, but on looking back I saw F.'s sad and somewhat sexually greedy face (which is a look I have never seen on his real face) peeping at me through the doorway of an open-air sort of "lavoir," and looking sadly resigned to my naughty enticing ways. I then pictured what he must have done to have the chance of seeing me. I saw him, retrospectively, so to say, entering boldly the lavoir full of women at work washing, crossing it to cut short the street corner, and, when he saw me looking back, hiding himself hurriedly, while I, playing hide and seek, came softly against the wall to surprise him. When we saw each other face to face we both looked radiant and happy, as in real life, but automatically each put out a long tongue to show the other (oh, horror) that it was black with a throat lozenge (such as I had given F. during the day) which meant we were both suffering from sore throat, and must not kiss. It was a gesture as of two children, and with the same mirth and gusto. In the end, however, the tongues united in a real kiss, and then in high and childish bliss we walked up the narrow little French street lightly, arm in arm, swearing mutually: "We shall cure one another." Then I awoke extremely happy at this ridiculous yet so delicious little dream. I wanted to urinate.

Like the previous dream, this dream may be regarded as erotico-vesical.

DREAM CV: The beginning is vague. I am with W., a young lawyer to whom I was engaged more than ten years ago. He is

urging me to something, but it is very vague and I recall no words or gestures, only a desire on my part not to yield, and a feeling of boredom that he should be so pressing. At last, still suppliant, and now with his arm round my waist, he is beginning to move me when he hears a sound in the next room. He goes to see what it is; it is F who is there, looking sad and overwhelmed, and I mysteriously seem to see him through the wall. Not less mysteriously, I know that F. is pretending that he feels it to be quite natural that I should take a lover of my own age, but his dejected air contradicts that assurance. That would have settled the matter, but in dreams our hearts are made of stone. W. comes back from the room, laughing cynically, and somehow indicating that he cannot believe that F. is my lover. He seems sure of his approaching victory, and while F. is preparing to retire and leave us entirely alone he catches sight of the impatient W. in an act which he would no doubt have postponed had he realized, like me, F.'s sad attitude. It was the placing of his finger beneath my skirt, and penetrating the sexual parts. For the moment I was strongly excited and forgot F.'s sad face. I even believe that for a few seconds I expericnced a delightful languor. But suddenly I saw F. leave the house, looking crushed. I heard someone say: "They cannot make him eat; he will never get over it." Then I knew that it was F. I loved, that I needed his magnetically vivifying caresses, and to the astonishment of W. I rapidly threw on a rose colored dressing gown, and ran up the stairs, to find myself soon in F.'s arms and see his radiant face bending over mine. It was immensely sweet. But W. had followed me. He was there in front of us, and still sheltered in F.'s arms, I said to him: "Yes, this is the man I love, and I shall never love any other." Meanwhile, apparently attracted by the disturbance, a number of boys and men seemed to be seizing and insulting F., while I (a good Pacifist!) suddenly became a tigress, violently throwing at them whatever projectiles I could find and protecting F. with my body. I awoke.

DREAM CVI: While still, as it seemed to me, half awake, I was seeing and caressing F.'s head. This continued in dream, very happily. Suddenly the bed seemed to become immensely long, and F. appeared, far away at the foot of it, only his bearded face showing, as it rested on the sheet, gazing towards my legs. At my end of the bed I was white and small lying on my back, with feet towards the threatening beard. Then the face began to advance towards me like a long serpent on its belly, and suddenly the head is between my legs, and I have the impression of coitus, but cannot say whether it was not just a kiss. Then I awoke.

DREAM CVII: This dream occurred just before a visit to Cambridge, which place I associate with W. who was at that university.

I see W. in my dream, though not at all resembling him in physical appearance (but I am never able now to recall his features). He is tall and slender, with long dark hair, the air of an artist in the popular notion, and a negligent but elegant costume. We seem to have met after years of absence, and he looks at me with attention and tenderness, as if to see if I am unchanged. Then in a slightly biting tone, his eye becoming rather hard and cynical, but his face yet keeping, as though in spite of himself, a ray of tenderness, he throws out the remark: "No need to say, you have much thicker eyebrows than the rest of your family, and that indicates passion, tragic passion, but still passion. Vous êtes une grande passionnée!" As, with intense and tragic desire, he cries out these last words, the agitation and suffering of my friend affected me too in the same way, although at the same time the words he used made me smile, and then laugh, for I seemed, below all this, to see F. whom W. could not see, and, at the reference to thick eyebrows in connection with tragic passion, my overflowing and assured joy associated other ideas. How could he not see that passion is always the sister of joy! And then the idea suggested a little secret, for "thick eyebrows" are associated in my mind with a certain little triangle of dark hair elsewhere. These thoughts, difficult to render, passed panoramically across my mind, while my friend looked at me with a wounded air, puzzled at my gaiety, and so I, softening the outburst of a laugh which might hurt him, replied: "Ah, if you had said that two years ago I should really have been frightened. But now I can no more be frightened, no more; it is joy!" This phrase rearoused my friend's ardours, and he began to soliloquize on his side: "Passionate, yes, passionate. Tragic perhaps; but she will be my wife." And I, who guess what he is feeling, am full of pity. How can I say, without wounding him, that there is now F., and that after the joy and light that have come to me I can never belong to him, that he belongs to the past? I do not recall whether I said this to him. The dream became vague as I awoke.

DREAM CVIII: This dream begins with the idea that a Chinaman is to be my husband. I do not know whether my mother was the despot in this matter but I am being put into an immense bed, and they, (who remain vague) bring to me a Chinaman who is to sleep with me and be my husband. Horror! this man grimaces like a monkey; his nails are cut short, but with a sharp projecting point in the middle which transforms them into claws. When he comes near me these points prick my skin like needles and his body is hairy. The physical repulsion is painful and agonizing and no monster could be better fitted to provoke it. But he does not take me, someone interrupts. Two young girls are looking for a bed and they

propose to occupy that next to ours in the same room. But the sight of the monster shocks them; they rush out with tragic gestures, making with raised hands and arms, in the direction away from which their faces are turned, the classic gesture of certain Egyptian bas reliefs in pushing off a horrible vision. But it seems to be a country in which beds are scarce, for these girls had hardly left before a whole procession of others passes through with the same end in view; at last two remain and, in spite of the Chinaman, occupy the vacant bed. My man was thus obliged to keep quiet, to my great relief

The scene having changed, I was in the street with my Chinaman and several young girls; we were walking in a row, one might almost say arm in arm, the Chinaman at the end of the line and I at his side He had become singularly changed. His bronze or coppery complexion suited him wonderfully; he was handsome, he was noble, and now completely shaven, with all his horror and grimacing gone. I felt myself leaning against him, and the presence of all these women embarrassed both of us. Suddenly my companion seemed no longer able to stand it, and as if by magic we both entered a room, leaving the young girls behind There my personality became doubled. There was one me on the bed—it must have been me and it spoke French distinctly—but there was also another me remaining spectator. The woman on the bed as lying on her back and she said in pure French to the Chinaman (and the words remain very clear to me): "There is a flower; the most beautiful of flowers, and so finely constructed." Was this a command? My Chinaman seemed to understand it so, for he approached his sweetheart (she was certainly that now), and turning her over on the bed, with a light movement, the thin drawers that covered her fell as by magic, and discovered two beautiful buttocks, rosy and firm, at the edge of the bed. Having only admired (but not touched) what he had thus revealed, my Chinaman, still in a charmingly playful way, turned this flower" onto the other side, thus exposing the sexual parts, which were like those of a little girl, without any shadowing hair. He seemed struck with astonishment at the beauty of this sight and still not daring to touch stood back the better to contemplate the sight, finally drawing away to a corner, where he squatted on the floor. The French woman on the bed, now modestly lying on her back, was a little astonished that he should go away, and after a few moments she said to him gently: "You know there is another flower and I should much like to know if it is well made." The Chinaman then, quite naturally, unbuttoned himself and drew out an organ which was small but erect and firm as though made of bronze, with a patina of copper, harmonizing with his face, which was so gentle and firm and noble. I do not know which admired it most, the woman on the bed or the woman who was looking on, but

both felt great admiration for what seemed to be an object of art. And suddenly this beautiful object became a serpent, grew elongated and opened its mouth, but still in an altogether artistic way, and then the Chinaman rose and came and made love to the little woman in a position which I am sure none ever thought of. He lay down beside her, both of them on their backs, and seeming not to touch her (he always seemed to fear to use his hands as though in his admiration he desired to minimize the contact) but I know that the serpent did his work, drawing himself out and twisting himself extremely, but so sweetly and voluptuously, with no trace of venom; I cannot say that I was violently stirred, it was all so subtle; I cannot even recall the entry of the serpent; the dream tells me that it was so, but I do not know; I doubt it; I only hear divine music which my Chinaman was playing for me on a flute. What music! I really cannot describe it, any more than his way of playing it while lying close beside me, his two beautiful bronze muscular but rather slender arms holding the flute to his lips and raised towards the ceiling, both lying on our backs, so calm, so peaceful, so serene, that the sense of what the dream openly declares to have taken place was lost in the sounds of the flute, which filled me with ecstasy.

The me, spectator, was during this time much occupied in seeking some method of shutting a door formed of two mattresses to prevent the profane noises and gross language of two harridans quarrelling on the first floor from penetrating to the lovers. It was specially what one of these vixens was saying which scandalized the spectator me, a woman doing journey-work for the proprietor of the house. She was making a furious onset on the mistress of the house on account, she said, of the scandalous goings-on. She had profanely attempted to enter the room in the midst of the lovers' ecstasy. I had quickly chased her out as one throws out filth, but her loud talk with the mistress of the house seemed to me a sacrilege and I was so afraid that it would be heard on the bed that I vowed I would sew together these mattresses, which persisted in falling back on me, if I could not otherwise hold them in place. Then I awoke.

Why a Chinaman? That I do not know, but it was a jewel of a dream, which made me laugh afterwards. My son had been to see *The Tempest* and told me of Caliban and his costume and sharp claws; that clearly influenced the dream.

DREAM CIX: This dream took place four years later and is of rather different type, seeming to indicate a more mature stage of development.

I cannot remember exactly how the dream began, but I see myself in bed with my favorite brother (lost in the war); we were both naked and lying spoon-fashion, I with my back to him. (It was the position in which I had actually gone to sleep.) It is my brother,

but at the same time it is Death. He is dear to me. We are loving each other tenderly but yet he is Death as well as Love, those two divine things, which he is forever in my thoughts since Death took him from me. This mystic lover—Death, Brother, and Love—is loving me and caressing me, and I feel very happy with his flesh against mine. He caresses me with his hands, covering all my naked body, especially the thighs and legs, with large slow movements full of tenderness. I feel all through how much he is a lover, but also how much he is Death, and how sweet and tender. Though my back is turned to him, I seem to see him, lean and bony, like a skeleton, hardly covered by flesh, and yet that flesh is so sweet to me, and the head, which I also seem to see, is small (as those of skeletons seem to be compared with those of the living), bald, beardless, but not terrifying; without definitely recalling my brother's features, I know that it is his face, rosy, with a tender rosiness like a child's face and quite unlike a death's head. Yet it is indeed Death that is loving me, and at the same time it is indeed my brother. After these pleasant caresses, he sits up and throwing back the bedclothes and finding me lying flat on my back he raises the nightgown which I then seem to be wearing (before we had both been naked) and uncovers my legs, stomach, and body, which is then seen to be, on the left side, from beneath the breast to low down on the belly, adorned by a very beautiful picture in colors, a landscape. My brother says tenderly, and with gentle pride: "That is the expression of our love, which you have produced," and I am lost in wonder. I wanted him to go on caressing and loving me, so that other beautiful things should come out and cover my legs and thighs with fine landscapes, to express in color all that I am feeling; but my brother says gravely: "No, that is not for the present. To find in colors the expression that you are seeking you need solitude." Here the dream became vague. The name of B. seems to float before me and the words "expression in colors." (Here it should be explained that B. is the author of a book, read just before I went to bed, in which I had much admired the power to express color. It may also be added that my brother was a painter.) After my brother's remark I felt at first a little sad that he wished to leave me alone—it is so good to be loved—and then I felt that he was right. Still I need company and I decide to leave my brother's bed and go and sleep in my sister's. She is lying, not yet asleep, in a small bed which I ask her permission to enter. She consents, even seems pleased, but soon falls asleep, and we are in an uncomfortable position, back to back, her rather large buttocks against mine. In sleep her body arches, and her bottom is thus propelled as a sort of battering ram, pushing me to the edge of the bed, so that I fear I shall fall out and begin to

taink that it is not pleasant to sieep with a sister who is so inhospitable and whose buttocks are so fleshy and firm. Then I awake for a few seconds and on going to sleep again find myself with my brother—here again also my lover and Death—both of us naked Agnin he is loving me with large tender caresses and again, as before, he throws back the bedclothes and lifts my nightgown very high, then kisses me at length between the legs, so that I nearly lose all sense of the real world, save of my brother's gentle hand covering and caressing my left breast. He stops in the midst of the long kiss to ask: "Would you like me to kiss your breasts?" But I, in a trance, reply, "No, go on," and the delight of that kiss again absorbs me entirely. But he stops, and seeing me lying flat on my back gazes at my legs and body; on the left from below the breast to the bottom of the belly there was a great brown patch. My Brother-Lover-Death exclaimed: "There is no more picture, but that is where it was; it has left traces. Everything in you, with the help of our love, is preparing for it."

After that I seem to remember no more I awoke much moved by this dream which seems to contain the mystic and erotic essence of my intimate life and affections.

Before passing on from the erotic dreams of this subject, which have now been revealed, with singular frankness, in all their aspects and all their intimate personal recesses, from the crudest to the most spiritual, it may be of interest to consider briefly the personality of the lover in these dreams. We are not here called upon to do this analytically, because, without going beneath the surface, these dreams reveal manifestly and quite accurately the emotional phase the dreamer was in real life passing through. It used to be said, and is indeed still often repeated, that in dreams there is a "censorship" which suppresses or distorts wish fulfilments. That may be prominently true in the case of many abnormal or neurotic dreamers, but such censorship is not pronounced in the case of normal, healthy dreamers, and indeed the significant fact for us to remember is that, as Freud has truly said, the heavy pressure of the "censorship" is really suspended, or at all events very much weakened, during sleep. Therefore it is enough to summarize the results synthetically. It will be found that the largest number, as many as eight, of these erotic dreams were enacted with completely unknown men, of lower social class,

usually vigorous working men, ultra-virile, inclined to be rough and aggressive, occasionally dark-skinned foreigners: in this group the physical excitement was most apt to be pronounced and most easily detected on awakening. Of the other dreams, one concerned the man to whom she had been engaged many years earlier; three her husband whom she had not seen for a year or two before this series of dreams began; six a new friend for whom at this time her affection was growing; one a more distant friend; one a man of her own class only known by sight and for whom she felt no attraction; one a half allegorical figure associated with her brother; one was of masturbation; one of swinging; two were mixoscopic, the sexual excitement arising from the scene witnessed

The erotic picture thus presented seems fully adequate to all the excitations likely to be presented in daily normal life. Yet the largest group of all, the first, cannot be thus obviously explained, and corresponds to no pronounced emotions in the dreamer's waking life. It thus becomes of some psychologica interest.

There is little doubt that what is misleadingly calleo "marriage by capture" has been common in primitive society. There has not usually been any violence or rape involvem: the woman has retained her right to decide; but the man has exerted a show of force, and so is enabled to manifest his robus virility while she is enabled to manifest her feminine modesty. The courtship in this group of erotic dreams is clearly of the nature of "marriage by capture." The dreamer is impelled to invent a powerful and primitive lover whose sudden and ardent advances alarm and repel and disgust her; but gradually she is won over, the lover seems more and more attractive, and the scene tends to end in intense physical and emotional satisfaction. It would seem that we may properly regard dreams of this group—which are without correspondence in the dreamer's waking experiences or desires—as atavistic: but only in a very restricted sense That is to say that they are the correlated psychic aspect of the most fundamental primitive sexual desire. When in the sleeping woman the phy-

sical sexual impulse is making itself felt apart from her daily civilized life and her personal affections the ancient deep-seated associations of that impulse will assert themselves and the dreamer imagine that she is playing her part in a "marriage by capture." Most women, asleep or awake, are aware of the presence within them of this primitive desire to be carried away by force, even though in actual experience they would resent it and never yield to it. In dreams they can give it free play. I would propose to term the dream of this type *the Marriage-by-Capture Dream.*

Flying Dreams.

I introduce the discussion of these dreams immediately after the erotic group, because there is some reason to think that in part—though, I believe, only in part—they lie on the borderland of the erotic group. When I wrote at length on such dreams in my book, *The World of Dreams,* many years ago, I did not find that they were ever erotic. I associated them with exaggerated rhythmic muscular movements, especially with the rise and fall of the chest wall in more or less excited respiration. The evidence seemed to make that clear, and I had no evidence in favor of a sexual origin. Then came Freud who asserted that dreams of flying are the expression of a sexual wish, a kind of symbolization, of sexual origin yet without organic stimulus. It might, of course, be possible to attach too much importance to this assertion. Freud at that time believed that the majority of dreams are the expression of erotic wishes.[1] So it seemed to me that he had no choice—

[1] Thus in *Die Traumdeutung* (3d. ed., 1911, p. 205) Freud writes: "The majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and express erotic wishes." He merely added, as by an after-thought, that he would not "exclude the appearance" of numerous dreams dealing with hunger, thirst, etc. Fourteen years later, in his "Selbstdarstellung" (Grote's *Medizin der Gegenwart,* 1925) Freud states the matter much more clearly: "I have never set forth the opinion, often ascribed to me, that dream interpretation shows that all dreams have sexual content or lead back to sexual impulses. It is easy to see that hunger, thirst, and excretory pressure may just as well produce dreams of satisfaction as any repressed sexual or egoistic tendency." Thus stated—though he has not always stated it so clearly—Freud's position is the same as that I maintain.

evidence or no evidence—but to make the same assertion of flying dreams. But I was quite willing to take the suggestion seriously, and I gave fresh attention to the matter. Freud had brought forward no convincing evidence on the point, but I found that—while the respiratory origin of some dreams of the group could not be questioned—there was ground for believing that an erotic element must not be excluded. I found that in some of these dreams a distinct erotic coloring could be traced, and also that such dreams tend to disappear in late life when definitely erotic dreams also tend to disappear, though this later consideration is not decisive since in later life all dreams tend to become less vivid and less definite. It will be seen that there are two dreams of flying in the present series (LII and XCIV). On account of the interest of the subject I asked Mrs. N. to make further records of such dreams during the three or four subsequent years, carefully noting the circumstances under which they occurred. This she was kind enough to do, and I am thus able to bring forward six additional and highly instructive dreams of this class.

DREAM CX: It was a very agreeable dream. I was flying on a huge aeroplane with many planes, and I was able to move about on the wings of the monster, like a fly on the wall, without even endangering its equilibrium.

I am suffering from a sore throat.

The dreamer subsequently added that during the five following days, still suffering from her throat, she had two other similar flying dreams.

DREAM CXI. Menstrual period: I had a rather pleasant dream of flying last night. I was floating in the air and being admired by a little crowd, amongst which was one of the masters of the school. "It is quite easy," I explained, coming to the ground. I proceeded to demonstrate this: "Take a long breath, lifting the chest; then, always holding your breath, bend down on your knees and take a sudden bounce, springing like a piece of elastic." I went on to do so. It was most delightful, but, alas, I awoke.

This dream is of peculiar significance because we find that, even in the dream itself, the dreamer realized the respiratory foundation of it.

DREAM CXII: Last night I dreamed I was in a kind of office with a man, dressed in brown, rather fat, and a stranger to me, who

was my boss He told me that some document was missing but that we should find it in Irene's room (Irene is pure fancy), where he had gone to wash his hands. So we went up together to find the document, but, once in Irene's room, the man changed and beoame my friend F. and suddenly lifted me high i. his arms, bringing me down again to sit on his hips, with my legs clasping Him tight and the sensation of his coat and buttons against my bare flesh, for the flying motion of lifting me had raised my skirts like a balloon. The same movement brought my face above his, so that I looked down on it. Then I put my tongue forth just to touch his lips, but suddenly it became hard and swollen and I pushed it far into his mouth. It was so sudden that he was quite thrilled and his happy face amused me and I laughed cheerfully; I was feeling happy and highly mischievous. At the same time I felt strangely excited sexually, though this seemed only due to the contact of my bare flesh with the rough coat and a button close against the vulva. But then the dream became confused and fantastic, and the feeling of pleasure disappeared.

DREAM CXIII: I do not remember the beginning, but I see myself floating in the air. Unlike those flying dreams in which I simply let myself be borne up by the air passively in a vertical position and in a state of delicious ecstasy, I am full of energy and, as it were, swimming in the air. I make a movement of the legs, though only one leg seems to move, rather similar to that in swimming (in former years I often used to swim) and my body is extended horizontally on the side, while moving forward. In these movements of the legs it seems to me that people below can see beneath my skirts to the sexual parts, and that annoys me. I attempt while swimming to drape my skirts chastely around my legs. But all my efforts are vain. I suddenly find myself in a vertical position, with a man gazing at me from below. He makes a sign to me to descend, and I plane down to earth. I am no sooner there than this gentleman caresses me with his hands between the legs. I can feel his finger and I think (though I am not quite certain) that at the same time he was slightly smacking my buttocks. I felt much thrilled and excited, to such a degree that in my dream I felt a strong desire to masturbate and dreamed that I was doing so, with such a sense of reality that on awaking I felt sure that I had really done it.

I have a bad cold and am unable to breathe through the nose, so was sleeping with my mouth open.

DREAM CXIV: I have had a flying dream which was clearly erotic and apparently with normal respiration.

The beginning was very vague, bringing in a friend of my youth with her beautiful complexion, and a man, a perfect stranger, small and with beautiful hair. When the dream began to interest me was when, leaving my friend, I started to leap about in mid air in the most delightful way, laughing at the stranger below and teasing him, as I thought he would not be able to imitate or catch me. My position was not that usual in flying dreams, though there was no idea of swimming. I do not indeed recall the position in the first movements of rapid leaping and flitting about. Soon, however, I see myself with legs bent at the knees, as if I were kneeling in mid-air but with the knees much apart. The motion of the air lifted a thin chemise above the hips, and thus exposed the sexual parts to the little stranger below me. Then, very slowly and with great pleasure, I seemed to descend on his lips and receive a most delicious kiss in mid-air.

DREAM CXV: I had gone to bed much worried with the troubles of the day and full of fierce revolt against society in general. I tried to soothe myself by thinking of the calmness of F.

I do not know at what hour of the night I seemed to find myself, suddenly, quite naked, in a beautiful landscape bathed in dazzling sunlight. I was walking on alone full of joy to be thus bathed in light; my skin grew firm, my breasts stood out hard and round, with two little points. Only there remained on my body the wrinkles of childbirth which my hands instinctively tried to hide, while my heart said gently to me: "They are the wounds of the war to which women go; he cannot but love them." I knew that he must love all the little defects of my body, and I lived in joy to think that at all events my skin was growing firm for him and my breasts regaining their beauty and youth. And now, I said to myself, I can tell him that I have discovered a corner in the world where one may walk quite naked in the sunshine, and without shame, even of one's imperfections. I continued to walk, intoxicating myself with the air and sunlight, but I was no longer alone. There were inquisitive people around me, possibly sympathetic, but I was not sure of them, and I began to fear that, after all, the world was returning to torture me again. There was only one, a Chinaman, of whom I felt sure, for he followed me in an ecstatic dream and seemed to wish to kiss my feet every time they touched the ground. He had understood my way of celebrating the worship of the sun, and he followed me like a great artist or a great child, to be at my side to help or guide me. He was disturbed, as I was, at the crowd, not knowing whether or not they would spoil everything. "Could we not find a corner where we could be quite alone?" Saying this to him, I saw before me a superb avenue where the sun seemed to

play through a kind of golden foliage. The Chinaman (I do not know whether he really had the traits of that race or whether it was simply a label applied to him in the dream) then made a sign that he understood and that nothing could be more favorable than this avenue. As soon as I entered it the crowd disappeared and I could more easily abandon myself to the joy of nakedness and freedom. But now I was no longer walking; I was dancing, or rather flying, near the tops of the trees, with dance rhythms in the air, seeking to leap forward and ever higher. It was a combined flight and dance, with half descents and bounds (I do not recall having had this sensation before), and with a laughter more delightful than that of humans. The Chinaman continued to follow me in ever greater ecstasy, seeming to fear nothing but my fall. At a little cry of mine he anxiously asked what was the matter. "It is nothing," I said, "only some holly." I had got into a clump of holly, very highly situated. But I once more bounded into the air. Then the dream was suspended and completely changed its character. I was on the ground again and with a cloak around me, and a procession of acrobats, giants, dwarfs, hunchbacks, and jugglers passed before me, apparently emerging from the avenue. The dream had been delicious at first, but it gradually took on a rather nightmarish character.

I may conclude this series of flying dreams with two by other subjects, also both women.

DREAM CXVI: I had dreamed many times of flying but the scene of the dream had always been out of doors, when I had seemed sometimes to float to the top of tall trees picking flowers from the highest branches, or when in a field or meadow I had tried to teach others to fly. None of these dreams had ever seemed to have any sexual connection. But last night I had a quite different flying dream. I was lying on a couch with a man whom I had known only as a friend but whose fine physique and handsome face I had always admired. At the end of a long voluptuous kiss, which ended in an orgasm, I floated from the couch to the ceiling, circling the room several times, and then awoke as I was about to take from the wall a picture which would ordinarily have required a ladder to reach.

The last dream of this series is recorded by a woman medical student, aged 30. I here condense it.

DREAM CXVII: She had been spending the evening with a man to whom she felt a strong attraction, and had been smoking rather excessively. She took tea on going to bed. In the early part of the dream she is waiting, a little impatiently, for a man who, the last

time she saw him, wished to make love to her but for whom she felt no response. He appeared, and the dream continues in the subject's words: "With him there is a boy of eight or nine years of age. He is a beautiful bronze color, like some Indian, brown eyes and hair [she recalled later that he was like an attractive picture she had recently seen of Otto Braun as a boy], and is absolutely naked. I admire him intensely. I talk to him and he replies in a deep musical voice. Then my favorite brother comes on the scene and admires him, too. He puts his arm around him caressingly and touches the boy's penis. I am worried and wonder how I can tell him to desist without attracting the boy's attention. Then I am relieved for my brother has stopped. They fade away. I still seem to be in the same place. I hear the noise of an aeroplane (they always fascinate me) and run to look at it. I see it take a dive and am horrified. Then I see it again with relief. The scene changes. I am in a field with several other people and a number of men are flying, but instead of aeroplanes they have wings, strapped to their waists, which open out as they fly. They offer to let me and other women try. The wings are strapped on and we start running round a sort of course. Soon I feel my wings have caught the wind and I soar most deliciously for a few moments. Then I come down again. I try hard by running round to rise again but the wind always seems wrong. The wings are taken off and we hand them on to a fresh crowd of people.

Before summarizing the results of these dreams of flying it may be helpful to refer to the most instructive investigation of this dream-type hitherto made. Mourly Vold, whose posthumously published work in experimental psychology, *Ueber den Traum,* is a classic in the study of dreaming, by the methodical care with which it was carried out and the scientific caution in the statement of its conclusions, devoted a certain amount of attention to flying dreams.[1]

Mourly Vold definitely associates flying dreams, not only with unsupported soles of the feet but with respiration (though respiration of a light and agreeable kind), even as a *sine quâ non,* but he admits he was not able to bring forward objective evidence of this association. He also attaches a certain signifi-

[1] Professor J. Mourly Vold, *Ueber den Traum,* 1912, vol. ii, pp. 791 *et seq.* He makes no reference to Freud, and his observations (from 1876 to 1897) were of earlier date than Freud's writings. They had not appeared when I published *The World of Dreams* in 1911.

cance to flexed extremities which he had sometimes found associated with these dreams. It should be noted that Mourly Vold was well aware that the sleeper is constantly subjected to a great mass of stimuli, motorial and others, of all kinds, so that only the most powerful of these can pass the threshold of sleeping consciousness, thereupon using their predominance to effect a harmonious psychic coördination with the other conditions.

The most powerful motive to flying dreams Mourly Vold found in vibration, not of the limbs but of the body, and especially of the loins. The activity thence arising, he regarded as "obviously of sexual nature." The muscular vibrations are of the same nature as those which in a stronger degree produce actual detumescence; but they arouse more vaguely voluptuous and sentimental emotions, and these express themselves in a flying dream. So that, according to Mourly Vold, it is rare for such dreams to accompany actual orgasm but common for them to precede or follow it. He states that during some twenty years he analyzed twenty-five flying dreams of his own. In fifteen of these he was able to observe some degree of sexual vibration on awakening; in the remaining ten he noted no such manifestation, but he considers that as these mostly belonged to an early period he may possibly at the time have failed to detect it. He regards such dreams as being most frequent in youth and in the convalescent period after acute illness. He legitimately argues that the feelings, not only of enjoyment, but of pride and self-complacency which accompany the dreams are further evidence of their erotic origin. He also makes the interesting suggestion that the typical witches' dream in old days, of riding on a broomstick to the Devil's Sabbath, may be regarded as an erotic flying dream conditioned by the special superstitions of ancient times.

It might have confirmed Mourly Vold's opinion on this point if he had known of any folk-lore evidence of the erotic significance of flying dreams. This has been supplied by Professor Seligman who has lately stated, on the authority of a personal communication from Dr. Röck, of the Vienna

Museum, himself Tyrolese, that in Tyrolese folk-lore the flying dream is regarded as a preliminary to a sexual emission.[1]

These observations of Mourly Vold's, thus confirmed by folk-lore, I regard as carrying great weight. They are not responsible for the modification which has taken place in my own view, for that occurred earlier when, in the light of the Freudian conception, I re-surveyed my own experiences and found reason to believe that I had overlooked an element which, while far from being so clear as in Mourly Vold's experience, was yet traceable—to a degree that caused me to feel surprise I had not suspected it before—to a sexual source. But Mourly Vold's evidence is decisive for at all events the possibility of the occurrence of this factor in flying dreams, and the more so as he was by no means an investigator with an *a priori* determination to find a sexual causation of dreaming.

Freud's slight discussion of the matter, while highly suggestive, carries less weight, if only for the reason that he gave a less detailed and scrupulous attention to the matter. He discusses flying dreams in his great book on dream interpretation.[2] Stanley Hall would have found an atavistic origin for flying dreams in the experiences of the ape-like ancestors of men when they flew from branch to branch among the trees.[3]

---

[1] C. G. Seligman, Presidential address on "Anthropology and Psychology," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. liv, 1924, p. 44.

[2] *Die Traumdeutung*, 3d ed., 1911, pp. 201–4. Freud admits other explanations, such as a horror of pollution. "Some faint reminiscent atavistic echo," Stanley Hall would say ("A Study of Fears," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 1897, p. 158.) "Do we not dishonour the soul," he asks (p. 169), "by thinking it less complex or less freighted with mementoes of its earlier stages of development than the body?" This point of view has been more recently supported by Dr. C. S. Myers in a discussion of "Heredity in its Physical and Mental Aspects" at the Oxford (1926) Meeting of the British Association, where he argued that what is inherited is something more akin to mind than to matter.

[3] If so we might expect to find such dreams more prominent among more primitive peoples. But among, for instance, the Lango tribes of the Sudan, Driberg states (*Man*, Aug., 1927, 94) that they are unknown. I may remark here that Stekel (*Der Fetischismus*, p. 453), from the psycho-analytic standpoint, explains dreams of flying quite differently, as not reminiscent but symbolic, and characterizing ambitious people. It would certainly be plausible to suppose that rising in the air indicated a desire to rise in the world. But flying dreams occur in all kinds of people, and often in those who have no marked ambitions.

Freud finds the explanation, not in the early experiences of the race, but in the early experiences of the individual, when as a child he "flew" into his uncle's arms, sometimes in these movements, he adds, sexual sensations being aroused. No attempt is made to prove that such childish experiences are associated with later dreams of flying, or even to prove that in their absence dreams of flying fail to arise, though evidence of this kind would obviously be valuable. Yet Freud regarded this speculation as "good ground" for rejecting the evidence (now here made more definite) that the conditions of the sleeper as regards skin sensations, respiratory state, etc., are able to evoke such dreams.

Some years later, however, in his lectures on psychoanalysis, Freud very briefly touched on dreams of flying, and other typical dreams, in a way that suggested that he was no longer able to speak so definitely on the matter, and was willing to leave the interpretation of such dreams to the gradual widening of our comprehension. His discussion of the matter was slight and hardly satisfactory, but it was suggestive. It sufficed to induce me to review my own experience and seriously to revise my interpretation of these dreams long before I saw Mourly Vold's book.

It is now possible to realize the significance of the flying dreams in the present series. As they are presented in full it is enough to sum them up briefly. There are ten (twelve if we count the two similar to CX, but not recorded in detail) of them, all but two in the same dreamer, and all in women. In one there was no traceable cause but a desire to urinate on awaking; in two (really four) there was obvious respiratory trouble due on one occasion to a sore throat, and in the other to inability to breathe through the nose. In as many as seven (even eight if we include a dream that occurred during menstruation and may possibly therefore be of sexual origin) the dream either contained sexual suggestions or else,[1] and more

[1] I could add a further dream by a fourth dreamer who imagined she was being violently made love to by a man who in real life does not attract her, while both were gazing from a window at a huge aeroplane; this dream was felt to be unpleasant.

usually, was accompanied by definite erotic feelings; and in one of these there was also at the same time respiratory trouble. There are thus only one or two dreams of the group that we cannot account for. We are justified in believing that in some dreamers, in a most pronounced way, flying dreams are erotic. We are also justified in believing that this is not the only factor in flying dreams, but that, in the absence of the sexual factor, the respiratory factor is amply effective.[1] Finally it is seen that the respiratory and sexual motives may act together.

A consideration of this group of dreams, I am now convinced, thus amply justifies a modification of the view I put forward in *The World of Dreams,* confining the causation of such dreams to disturbed or excited rhythm of the chest or heart. Accurately speaking, it is not so much a modification as an extension of that view which is required, for sexual activity also is ultimately a muscular rhythm. The original view that a flying dream may be purely respiratory is decisively confirmed by such dreams as CX and CXIII which were accompanied by definite obstruction to respiration in the nose or throat. The view of Freud that flying dreams may be associated with sexual excitement is confirmed by the definite occurrence of the phenomena of flying in what are distinctively erotic dreams. Moreover we find—and in two dreams—the coincidence of respiratory phenomena and sexual phenomena in the same dream, indicating an "over-determination" (to use the Freudian term) of visions of flying by two allied classes of muscular rhythm operating in association. Further evidence scarcely seems necessary, for it would hardly be possible to adduce any more precisely to these points.

---

[1] Mrs. N. remarks that the suggestion of swimming in a dream such as CXIII, with difficult breathing due to catarrh, may be evoked by the sensation of the resistance which has to be overcome in respiration. Ferenczi (*Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*), on a very different basis, believes that swimming, with its suggestion of fish, water, etc., is the symbol of both coitus and the fœtal position in the womb, so the dream of swimming would imply an actual reminiscence of previous aquatic life in a lower vertebral stage. Before we accept this fancy as fact we must, of course, wait for evidence; if we have to wait a long time we must not feel unduly anxious.

Vesical Dreams.

This group of dreams resembles the group of flying dreams in raising a similar problem as to the question of sexual origin. The point of view that we shall here find reason to adopt is that in sleep, as we know also to be the case when awake, sexual excitement is aroused or increased by the pressure of a full bladder, but that the impulse of urination, being fundamentally a primitive and distinct instinct, can act independently. exactly by the same right as the impulse of sex, in constituting dream activity. The present dreamer, as has been pointed out, having a readily contractile bladder, is peculiarly liable to dreams in which urination is prominent, so that we may expect to find illustrations of various types of vesical dreams in her experience. It is important to note that there is no history of enuresis in childhood. It seems, therefore, of interest to record a few more of her dreams in this class, noted down during the three or four years following the series already here recorded.

DREAM CXVIII: I cannot remember how it began. I only know that I am practicing urination in front of F., and that it pleases me infinitely. He seems to be in a corner of the room, and we are laughing and joking together. In the dream I see myself lying flat on my back, or at least I know that I am in this position, and a huge fountain rises up almost vertically and with prodigious force. Then I am standing though I still do not see myself, the jet alone being visible. Suddenly I draw F.'s attention to a buffet with glass doors provided with curtains midway up the window; all along the panes golden pearls are dropping, seeming to detach themselves from the curtain, one by one, and well-rounded. I call F.'s attention to them, though I do not recall speaking; it is all very vague, and we laugh at the sight. It is my fountain which has scattered in golden drops behind these curtains. We are full of admiration for these pearls to which the sun, penetrating into the room, has given the golden tones. All the panes of the buffet are glistening with gold. The curtains seem of the same color, and everywhere gold is streaming and falling in drops. It is fairy-like Then I wake, greatly wanting to urinate and also with a strong longing to masturbate, which I did, and some time after urinated very copiously; it seemed very hot.

DREAM CXIX: I have had a delightful dream with rivers of flowing water. I was hunting for a pretty sight of my childhood, a

water mill, for me full of dazzling magic. I was in my dream going to this mill with some kind but vague companion, and asking everyone where it was. I was always following water, for the most part swelling and impetuous, and sometimes as in a mirage, and from the top of lovely hills I could see the mill in the dstance in a glory of glittering water. Copious urination on awaking.

DREAM CXX: I arise to urinate and do so largely. On returning to bed and sleep I dream that I am in a shop buying a hat; a shopman shows me one, a fancy Tam o'Shanter, and I declare that it will never suit me. But on putting it on I find myself very pretty, and I place the corner at different angles, pulling here and there, making one or another lock of hair appear, turning before the glass under the eyes of the man, who approves. Then I try a sky-blue velvet ribbon round the Tam o'Shanter but it does not suit it. Suddenly I see the shopman, who is strangely like my grocer, leaning over his counter and whispering mysteriously to a pretty little lady close to me, "She [that is to say I] will tell you how that goes; she bought one of them the other day." I understand that it is a syringe for very intimate injections, and I protest, a little embarrassed, that I have not it with me; but, smiling in a cunning way, the tradesman to my great astonishment points to the instrument in the basket on my arm. It is in fact there, brilliantly new and exposed in all its nudity. Very surprised I exclaimed, "I must have left it in my basket all these days." The tradesman very affably hastens to say to us: "If the ladies would go to the back of the shop it would be easier for them to show how it works." We are now in a pretty little room like a hall, apparently at the back of the shop, where I feel it will be easier to explain than in the shop before a man, but to my horror I suddenly see that my grocer is still there, although he makes himself small and is always very obsequious; he never leaves us for an instant. He is seated on the last step of an oak staircase behind us, and is of course listening without seeming to, and always preserving his polite tradesman's smile. He makes me feel horribly uncomfortable but I begin my explanations in a firm voice and scientific manner. The lady is seated before me, a large black hat shading her face; I am turning my back to the grocer. I explain, "Here you place a tube which goes " I see the tube but the explanation is confused. I cannot explain where the tube goes and I try vainly to convey the idea of a tank of water. There is another tube which also goes towards the water; I see the water but my explanations are not forthcoming; I am awkward and cannot explain what I want to. But suddenly I see the sexual parts of a woman opening like a flower. Whether they are my own I do not know, for now I only see delicious fountains arising, I know not whence,

but without doubt from me, for I am covered with the drops which fall back.

I am cold; I awake to cover myself; I still want to urinate, but more moderately; I do not do it, however; the dream is so stupid that I get into bed without doing it in order to see what will happen, but nothing happens.

DREAM CXXI: In the first part of the dream I had been vainly waiting at a railway station for my sister. After having seen many trains pass, I said to myself: "It was ridiculous to invite her when she is just starting for America; of course she is very busy and has gone out shopping." Then the idea came to me: How does one translate into French "she has just gone out shopping"?—"Elle est partie faire des courses." And therewith I am logically transported into my classroom, making my pupils translate, "She has just gone out shopping." The head master is in the room, grave and solemn. He says, "Now, now, what is the French for that sentence?" Suddenly I feel a terrible desire to urinate. What can I do? Brilliant idea! I will sit on one of the benches as I often do, and then I will let it all flow. But I shall have to raise my skirt; I skilfully do so and sit down with assurance and dignity. There are spaces between the boards of the bench. It comes! What a torrent, what a noise, and what a relief! In spite of myself an expression of beatitude passes over my face. The children must know nothing, so I repeat in a very loud voice, "Elle est partie faire des courses," and the head master, who has mentally changed into my friend F.—although in appearance he still remains the head master of real life—this ambiguous F. becomes my accomplice, repeating in a very loud voice: "Voyons, mesdemoiselles, elle est partie faire des courses." But I cannot keep it up, the noise is too terrible, the cascade too impetuous, and my happiness too great; in spite of all F.'s affectionate little signs of encouragement, I am silent and given up to my enjoyment. F. tries hard to drown the sound, he talks loudly, he is agitated, but one terrible little girl has discovered everything by leaning over, and while F. continues to repeat, "Voyons, mesdemoiselles, elle est partie faire des courses," and when I at last stand up, our pupils are all leaning over towards the pool and pointing it out to each other.

Then I wake with a feeling of laziness, astonished that I have no wish to urinate, and wondering whether in spite of appearances it was really a vesical dream. I half turn round and fall asleep on my stomach to a new dream which begins with a slight caress at a region so excited that it must after all have wanted to urinate as it always is so when one wants to badly. I say to myself, "I would like to be whipped a little, that would be delightful," and I raise my nightdress.

A light hand seems to give me two little slaps and then wander over my buttocks. I can no longer contain my enjoyment. I am shaken by great thrilling movements. I awake in the midst of an orgasm; my nightdress is raised but my hands are not near, so that I can hardly believe that I raised it myself, though I am not sure. Anyhow I then had to urinate.

DREAM CXXII: It seems to me that there was a green and soft lawn and near this lawn a small cottage. My mother and I and a third person (who was vague but I think a woman) were on the lawn and were much worried how to undress and go to bed (though there was no bed there). Our worry was due to the cottage being inhabited by a witch who seemed to be able to see everything and whose chief concern was to torment people. One of her tortures was to prevent rest. I cannot recall actually seeing the witch but I felt her as a constant presence, wicked and obsessing, small with a crooked chin, extremely swift and active, able to see everything and to know everything. By what miracle we had escaped her vigilance I cannot tell. But anyhow we succeeded in undressing and concealing ourselves beneath the flowers, my mother beneath a rose, a single great red rose on a bare, slender rose-tree, without any other flower or any leaves, and I under another rose, I think, but am not sure, while our companion seemed to have disappeared.

Our flowers, however, were not a protection for long; the witch saw us and prepared our punishment, which was to consist in an avalanche of water suddenly falling on us from above. A benevolent spirit (also felt but not seen) wished to save my mother and suddenly her rose and rose-tree began to grow until they reached fabulous proportions. I had the feeling of being drawn up from above, while I saw the rose-tree growing as if magic fingers armed with a magnetic fluid were making it rise and rise and rise. I was wonder-struck and I believe that my rose-tree, too, was growing (although that is vague), but suddenly, coming from above, a flood of-clear rustling water fell heavily on my mother's rose-tree. Poor mother came from under her rose, falling like an ant beneath the gale, and like an ant she was small and frail and of course dripping with water, a dress of black taffetas clinging to her body and shining with reflections of silk and water. I seemed to have escaped the flood; my only anxiety was my mother and my fear lest she should catch cold, etc. I awoke and had to urinate.

The evening before I had been reading the chapter on magicians, kings, and gods in Edward Carpenter's *Christian and Pagan Creeds*. It may be remarked that "aller cueillir une rose" (to go and gather a rose) was formerly in France, as the English equivalent in England, a polite euphemism for to go aside and urinate.

DREAM CXXIII: I dreamed that a troop of comedians bearing the name of my own family, of whom it chiefly consisted, was giving a representation of some old-fashioned play and I was very anxious that it should be successful, since, though not acting myself, the reputation of my relations was at stake. I was in the audience. The play must have been Greek, and was acted, as it ought to be, in an open theater with seats in a semicircle on a hillside. The actors down below looked small and their efforts seemed to me rather to miss the mark. I was afraid this great drama would not be finely interpreted by these people who were so dear to me. My anxiety was great. Suddenly my friend F. appeared on the stage as one of the troop. He was dressed as a hunter, carrying a kind of primitive rifle with a great beard spread fan-like, looking fierce and terrible and puffing in a frightful way to imitate the noise of the rifle. His cheeks were puffed out like those of a cherub when represented as blowing to produce the North Wind. Everyone thought how silly he looked, but after a moment's hesitation I disagreed with everyone, thinking that no greater artist had ever been born and that this realistic way of imitating the spitting crack of a rifle could not be surpassed.

In place of an altar in the middle of the stage was a small building looking like a Y. M. C. A. hut and reserved for lavatories. Between two acts I decided to disappear there and found at the end of a long corridor a closet where, standing over the seat and slightly bent forward, I let fall a great stream. Coming out in the corridor I found that I was not yet relieved and looking behind I saw another closet which, however, did not seem inviting, so I resolved to empty myself in a huge foot-bath on the floor in the corridor. This I did in a standing position, legs each side of the bath and skirts held up thinking how enormous these streams were. Then I awakened with an urgent desire to urinate.

DREAM CXXIV: She dreams that she is with an early boy friend P. He has done something wrong in his French lesson. His punishment is to be changed into a fish, rather like a haddock, but very large, and so swallow an enormous quantity of water which he must retain; if he fails to do so he will die. The water seems to come from a spring or waterfall and the fish is placed underneath it with gaping mouth trying to catch it all. All the time the dreamer is conscious that the fish is P. and that she must save him from death as she is fond of him. But he is unable to retain the water which flows out from near his tail. He wriggles about and is very wretched, as is the dreamer. The only way to save him if he cannot retain the water is to collect it in a bucket as it flows from his tail, and not a drop must fall outside the bucket or he will die an

once. In her anxiety the dreamer puts him in the bucket, holding him under the stream and watching the bucket getting full, frightened lest it should overflow, and perpetually changing the bucket as soon as full. Then she awoke with a desire to urinate.

The same dream—almost identical in details—had occurred to her once, and she thinks twice, before. Most of her vesical dreams are pleasant, but this with its anxiety and the disagreeable sensation of touching the fish was unpleasant.

The next dream, dating some two years later, is the last of this group recorded.

DREAM CXXV: I was with my friend F., very happily and lovingly walking in the country, and suddenly I wanted to urinate. F. said to me: "Nothing easier; there is no one about; you could even raise your skirts." So I stood with raised skirts, and the stream jetted forwards just like a boy's, and I enjoyed it like a mischievous boy. The wind suddenly raised my skirts behind, though without wetting them, for I held them firmly, and at the same time by its force drove the stream to one side, in what seemed a deliciously playful way, so that I had to make a sudden movement of the hips to bring it into a straight line again, and even at the same time, just like a boy, I seemed to use my hands to guide it, as though furnished with a boy's little apparatus. The wind repeated its game, and I mine, several times in succession, to our great amusement, for it seemed as if the stream would go on forever. Then the scene became vague, the operation ceased, I dimly saw people in the distance and wondered if they had been able to see me. Then I lost sight of F. and went in search of him.

It will be seen that, with the eight supplementary dreams, the present series includes twenty-two dreams of vesical type. This is possibly the largest series of mostly consecutive dreams of this type so far brought forward, and it may well enable us to form fairly certain conclusions concerning such dreams in their broad outlines. They form, we may well be entitled to believe, an unusually large proportion in the dreams of this subject, and that not because she belongs to the urolagnic type, abnormally sensitive to what I term Undinism—although that may be so in a slightly and scarcely abnormal degree—but simply because of an acquired irritability of the bladder, the result of childbirth. This fact is, however, itself instructive. It enables us to realize clearly—what surely might have been

suspected—that the vesical dream exists in its own right and is not a disguised form of some other type of impulse.

Many years ago Jung stated dogmatically that the vesical dream is in children an infantile sexual surrogate and in adults the garment of a sexual impulse.[1] In other words, whether as substitute or disguise, the vesical dream is always erotic. It is probable that Jung has since modified that view. He has perhaps realized, at all events, that the impulse of vesical contraction is often of imperative urgency, and that no day-dreams about a sexual-surrogate are needed to account for it. But this view is still worth noting, as perhaps not yet entirely extinct. The wide survey afforded by the present investigation shows us that, for ordinary vesical dreams, no such far-fetched explanation is demanded. We see that in a subject whose erotic dreams are very plain and undisguised, vesical dreams form, for the most part, a distinct class and they form a large class for a definite reason which involves no sexual factor. It were strange if it were otherwise. We are concerned with an excretory function which is zoölogically more ancient than sexual conjunction and is capable of existing in the absence of sexual organs. The supposition that it has no psychic autonomy is too fantastic for serious consideration.

I have, however, been careful to point out that while vesical dreams inevitably form an independent class, we cannot say more than that they are "for the most part" distinct from other classes. They are without doubt often closely connected with sexual impulses; that fact is as inevitable as their fundamental independence. In both sexes the vesical sphere and the genital sphere are bound together. When an impulse arises from one of these spheres there is always a possibility that it may involve the neighboring sphere. Whether it does so, and how far it does so, naturally depends largely on the condition of that neighboring sphere and the extent of its irritability at the moment. In one direction it is a fairly familiar fact, both to men and women, that a full bladder

[1] Jung, "L'Analyse des Rêves," *L'Année Psychologique*, 1909.

heightens sexual feeling, while, in the reverse direction, it was known even to Brantôme, four centuries ago, that in a woman sexual orgasm may occasionally cause sudden and involuntary expulsion of the contents of a full bladder. These phenomena of waking life occur, as we should expect, on the psychic plane of sleeping life in a much more vivid, dramatic, and picturesque way than is possible in waking life, for now the mind is on its receptive side in delicate and precise adjustment to the stimuli that reach it, without being liable to deformation or repression, in one direction or another, by inhibiting influences from its own higher controlling centers. The facility of association between the vesical and sexual centers is probably, it seems to me, indicated by the usually pleasurable and sometimes romantic character of vesical dreams. There seems no obvious reason why a purely excremental somatic need should become idealized and pleasurable before its fulfillment. As a matter of fact, the dreams aroused by the need for defecation (and those that proceed from the gastro-intestinal canal generally) do not seem to be idealized or to become pleasurable (see, for instance, the three dreams of this kind in the present series, LV, LXX, LXXXII), and this is intelligible when we bear in mind that little or no involvement of the sexual sphere is here possible. (The anus comes within the sexual sphere, but the anus is not here involved.) In the dreams of the present subject, it will be noted, vesical dreams follow closely after erotic dreams and flying dreams (which we have seen reason to associate in many cases with erotic dreams) by the large proportion containing elements of a romantic and pleasurable character. There are many indeed which are not of this character, and these we may perhaps regard as of more exclusively excremental origin, not involving in any degree the sexual sphere. About 12 out of the total of 22 may be said to be of this character, and were either commonplace, as when a water-tap is seen or a bath or visions of children urinating, or else actually distressing as when alarming floods seem to be taking place. The rest, of which five (3 per cent. in the original series) were definitely erotic, are of pleasurable and often charming

nature.[1] The subject is enjoying the spectacle of fountains and rivers and lakes in Nature or she herself is urinating copiously and sometimes producing fantastically beautifully fountains. There are three of this last type (which occurs in the dreams of other women) and one of them erotic. Another of them must be specially mentioned (CXXV) because it belongs to a type of dream otherwise unrepresented in this subject's dreams.

The tendency to adopt the mental attitude and habits and costume of the opposite sex is one that I term sexo-esthetic inversion, or, more simply, Eonism. It is a tendency which, in a slight degree, is found in otherwise perfectly normal people, especially girls and young women. I have elsewhere in this volume described a case in which it existed only in the dreams of a young married woman. The present subject has shown no clear trace of this tendency, either in waking life or generally in her dreams. But in this dream, which stands alone, we find a distinct trace of this tendency emerging, and the dreamer imagines herself as urinating like a boy and finds great pleasure in so doing. It may be noted that Adler has already referred to this practice in girls, or the attempt at it, as a common indication of what he terms "masculine protest," though it must not be supposed that the adoption by woman of the erect attitude for urination is to be regarded as necessarily or commonly a "masculine protest."[2] It is often adopted and even with great satisfaction by women who are completely heterosexual; thus a sexually normal young woman doctor notes: "I have discovered that this posture gives me an enormous and curious pleasure."

When we survey the whole series of vesical dreams here

---

[1] It is possible that some of the dreams classed as erotic (like Dream VI) may be of partly vesical origin. But we cannot say that a dream is of vesical type when it contains no actual or manifestly symbolic vesical elements.

[2] Karl Abraham went much further and fancied (*Klinische Beiträge*, p. 301) that in a woman to dream of floods of urine itself necessarily indicated a strongly marked "masculine complex." There was no such complex in the present case, and to have imagined it would have led us entirely astray.

presented we may see that they include nearly all forms, direct and indirect, realistic and symbolic, which such dreams tend to take. In five of them the dreamer pictures herself as fantastically or more prosaically performing the act; but in all the other dreams the act is either objectified or symbolized, so that there is no indication in the dream that the dreamer is herself experiencing the desire for it. In two dreams children are seen urinating. But in all the remaining dreams—some two-thirds of the whole number of such dreams, and as many as twelve out of fourteen of the original series—the idea of urination is never presented to dream consciousness at all. We may say, indeed, that there is perhaps no class of dreams in which the underlying motive is more often concealed and presented dramatically and picturesquely in a symbolic form than in vesical dreams. The test of such a dream is, of course, the sensation of vesical pressure on awaking or the presence of an urgent desire to urinate. That was nearly always verified by the subject in the present investigation. But even in the absence of such verification, when we are once familiar with these dreams we cannot easily fail to recognize their vesical source. Rivers, fountains, lakes, reservoirs, baths, water-taps, fish, swans—such images, well illustrated by the present subject, seem to be those commonly called up to dreaming consciousness by a full bladder. That was noted as regards some of these symbols by Scherner in Germany in the middle of the last century,[1] so it would seem that these symbols are largely independent of the subject's age and nation and rooted in the mechanism of the human mind.

It must not, of course, be concluded that in ascertaining the somatic stimulus that arouses a set of symbols, even when these symbols tend to be widely spread among very different people, we have said all that there is to say. It is well recog-

[1] R. A. Scherner, *Das Leben des Traums*, 1861, pp. 187 *et seq.* He showed much insight in tracing the vesical symbolism of dreams and noted that it included fear of danger from floods and (in case of a mother), drowning of her child, when vesical distension was extreme, though the dream was pleasurable if distension slight.

nized now that a dream may tell us far more than the source of the stimulus that evoked its symbolism. Even the symbolism thus directly evoked may differ widely, and differ significantly, in its character. Thus in another married woman, Mrs. C., of about the same age as Mrs. N., a frequent vesical dream is of being pregnant or in childbirth.[1] It seems an entirely natural vesical dream, the pressure of the bladder being interpreted by sleeping consciousness as pressure of the womb. But here an interesting and perhaps deeply significant fact emerges. Mrs. N., who has had two children, with difficult confinements, and therefore might be expected to experience such a dream, but who has no wish for more children, has no dream of this type to record; it is Mrs. C., who has never had a child but who would much like to have one, to whom the dream is liable to occur. This not only brings out clearly that it is not merely the nature of the stimulus to the dream, but the disposition of the dreamer on whom the stimulus acts, which fashions the dream, but it also seems to indicate a great fundamental truth concerning the nature of dreaming. Dreams are not only based on the past, with its actual experiences and ingrained impressions, they are also based on the future with its merely desired experiences and impressions. Dreams are not determined solely by a force from behind, but also by a force from in front. In a large number of dreams, even when the fact may not be immediately apparent, we are really concerned with a wish-fulfilment.

It is noteworthy that Mrs. N.'s numerous dreams of water seldom became associated with fire, although the combination of fire and water is very common, and is recognized in various countries. The following dream by another lady may serve to illustrate this association: She seemed to be in a wood with a man friend (with whom she had actually walked through a wood a fortnight earlier) and proposed that they should lie down together on the grass. She then noticed the ground was wet, and the friend objected, but they remained lying. She next observed splashes of fire between the trees,

[1] She writes, for instance: "Last night I dreamt again that I was having my much desired baby. I needed to micturate badly on rising; hence the congested feeling that started the dream."

but her friend said it was water. She thereupon realized that it was water, coming towards them and threatening to overwhelm them, and was frightened. She could now plainly see approaching streams of water and woke with a strong desire to urinate (having drunk much water the previous evening), but with no consciousness of sexual excitement. It will be noted that the fire is spoken of as appearing in "splashes," as though it were water, and it is evident that there are many links between fire and water, the one calls up the other, the sensation of water is sometimes "burning," and smoke resembles steam. Freud refers to this association in dreams as connected with earlier nocturnal enuresis (*Die Traumdeutung*, 1911, p. 204), as also Adler, and Ernest Jones (*Essays in Applied Psychology*, p. 306). Epilepsy has been recorded with enuresis and dreams of fire (*Ztblit f. Psychoanalyse*, 11 Jahrgang, Heft 9, p. 535). In Japan there is considered to be a connection between enuresis and fire (Krauss, *Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, p. 188). Westermarck has been impressed by the associations in popular belief in Morocco of fire and water (*Marriage Customs in Morocco*, pp. 121-2), and elsewhere (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. i, p. 300) states that in Morocco it is held bad to play with fire at night, and he who does so, especially if a child, will wet the bed. As far away as Ancient Mexico the belief in the unity of fire and water was marked. The Fire-God was the patron of water, and the Fire-Goddess was marked by the sign for rain. The Comanches expected rain from the Sun-God, and the Tarahumari of today pray to the Sun-God for rain (K. T. Preuss, "Der Ursprung der Menschenopfer in Mexico," *Globus*, Bd. 86, 1904, p. 117).

Dreams of Eating.

Dreams of sexual and allied origin have of recent years attracted such wide attention—by a reaction from the almost complete neglect which was formerly meted out to them—and they have aroused so many interesting and debatable problems, that there is a tendency to neglect the dreams which have their source of stimulation in other organic impulses. When, however, we are concerned with the synthesis of dreams we are compelled to recognize impartially the whole of the sources from which dreaming proceeds. If we do this, it is not surprising to find that the great fundamental function of eating is almost as conspicuous as that of loving; if indeed we include the whole digestive process, the incidence is about the same

In the present series, against the 20 erotic dreams, we have 15 that are concerned with eating, and 3 of intestinal origin, in all 18. When, however, we remember that we have seen reason to conclude that the purely erotic group must be enlarged by additions from the vesical group as well as from that of dreams of flying, it may seem that food and digestion, which constitute so much more regular and constant an element in life than sex interests usually furnish, is inadequately represented. But, it must be pointed out, that is precisely the reason why eating plays a relatively small part in dreaming. It is the strong and irregular impulses that are likely to affect dreaming most conspicuously, while the constant and rhythmic action of the heart and lungs, so long as they are not stirred into unusual activity, fails to touch dream life. In the person of sound digestion, living a simple and normal life, eating in this respect tends to become more analogous to breathing than to sexual activity. No doubt there are individual variations, and in the dreams of another woman, in whose life, it may be, the question of food is more interesting, dreams of eating have a larger place, being 26 per cent.

It must not be supposed, however, that the food dream presents no problems.

Two of the food dreams in this series have indeed no obvious significance and no known relation to the actual condition of the dreamer's digestion at the time. But of the rest it is noted that 8 took place after a light or early supper, and 5 after a heavy supper, often immediately before going to bed. Two of the dreams of food after a light supper were merely a repetition of what had taken place during the day, and they may not, therefore, have had any reference to the dreamer's condition at the time of dreaming. The other dreams were either of preparing food or of seeing others eat or of being present at a meal or in a restaurant. It is probable that some of these dreams were associated with the actual readiness of the dreamer's organism for a meal.

It is well known that a state of hunger or of semi-starvation conduces to dreams of large and delicious meals. Ex-

amples have been recorded in the narratives of many travelers who have undergone privations.[1] Some have been brought forward by Freud, as well as by earlier investigators of dreaming, although, as Freud rightly points out, the significance of such dreams is not necessarily exhausted in the statement of their primary somatic source of stimulation. These dreams are, obviously, dreams of wish-fulfilment in its simple and direct, so-called infantile, form.

But, as we shall see, there are other dreams of food which cannot thus be explained as dreams of wish-fulfilment. They form a large and common group, and they are conveniently ignored by the writers who believe that wish-fulfilment is the key that will unlock all doors in the world of dreams. We find that 5 of the dreams of copious meals, or of dining at a restaurant or of seeking a restaurant, occurred after partaking of a large meal or on going to bed immediately after a meal. It is evident that this group of dreams cannot be regarded as -of wish-fulfilment. If wish-fulfilment is the rule in dreams then they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. But, as Darwin was wont to insist, apparent "exceptions" are highly significant; they cannot attract our attention too strongly, for they indicate that our rule is not large enough, and that we need a more fundamental rule. It may be quite obviously true that the stimulus to the dream, in a large group of food-dreams, has been furnished by the wish for food. But a wish, it must be remembered, is a non-intellectual conation, outside the sphere of reasoning, and dreaming is essentially a process of *reasoning*—the fundamental process, that is to say, in the minds of men and other animals[2]—and the wish can only be an external stimulus which has chanced to set the reasoning process to work. When the organic state is that of

[1] So also among half-starved war prisoners; see, for example, Dr. Amadeo dalla Volta, *Studi di Psicologia e di Psichiatria sulla Prigionia di Guerra,* Florence, 1919.

[2] "Our conceptual logic," Jules de Gaultier truly observes (*La Sensibilité Métaphysique,* 1924, p. 28) "exists virtually in the mentality of other biological species than man. It is not reason, pure reason, which distinguishes man from other animals; it is, on the contrary, that which he has in common with them."

hunger, the reasoning process, answering to the wish the organism transmits to it, sets up the appropriate mental process. And when the organism transmits an impression of repletion the reasoning process again begins to work. But this time it is not to fulfill a wish, it is to explain, which is an equally native function of the reasoning process. When a sensation of repletion is transmitted to the sleeping mind the natural mental reaction is a picture of eating, the dreamer imagines that he must be engaged in absorbing a copious meal, although —unlike the case of the really hungry dreamer—the picture may not be agreeable, and the food eaten sometimes seems unpleasant or disgusting, even filthy. This class of dream is by no means confined to the present dreamer. It may be found in the experience of many, if not all, dreamers, although its significance has not always been apparent to dream analysts. It may most easily be discovered in the dreams of those whose digestion is imperfect, especially when they have been tempted to indulge in a too late or too unwholesome meal.

The three intestinal dreams, which presented the act of defecation, were probably due to a slight impulse to the fulfilment of that act. In two of them there was slight colic on awaking, and the third occurred on going to bed immediately after supper.

The food dreams of this subject are confirmed by the experience of another subject—the woman dreamer previously mentioned—of whose dreams I possess a very long series. Thus, on one occasion, she had indigestion and nausea from eating just before going to bed food which did not agree with her. On falling asleep she dreamed of large dishes of food which, although not hungry, she was eating, very slowly, in order not to waste it. Then the dream continued with the discovery of lice which she killed with much disgust. Here we see clearly how dreaming is fundamentally a process of reasoning. The message of repletion is sent to the mind which thereupon, to account for these phenomena, assumes the act of eating. But as absence of hunger is reported the mind is obliged to assume that eating is due to a sense of duty, and, further, in order to

account for the disgusted feeling of nausea experienced, the mind argues that something very disgusting must have happened, and supposes it to have been the discovery of lice, a supreme symbol of disgust to the modern civilized mind. In other dreams of the same subject belonging to this group filth and excrement are introduced to account for the dreamer's sensations.

In my book, *The World of Dreams*, I endeavored to make clear the essential part played by the logical process of reason in all dreaming which goes beyond the mere presentation of disconnected images. It is common to speak of dreams as lacking in logic and reason, but it is actually the reverse; they are full of logic and reason. There is ground for bringing that fact forward in this place since the reaction of the sleeping mind to gastric repletion furnishes such definite evidence of a logical process. A *wish*—and especially a *wish for explanation*—furnishes the motive force in the elaboration of the impressions and memories present to sleeping consciousness. It is strictly a *conation*, the movement of an impulse in a particular direction. But it cannot furnish an explanation of the dream itself or reveal its mechanism. It is, if we like, the fuel; but it is not the engine. That is in the sphere of reason, and though we may often (not always) find the reasoning bad—sometimes wildly or fantastically bad—because of the limited, peculiar, or distorted nature of the material which sleeping consciousness has to deal with, it is still reason. If the logical process of reason could be abolished during sleep there could be no coherent dreaming at all, nothing but unrelated impressions and memories.

Dreams of Clothing.

Dreams of clothing and dressmaking and embarrassing absence of dress may here be mentioned, since food and dress are to be considered as associated needs, alike resting on a physiological basis. The dreams in which dress is merely noted without becoming a guiding motive in the dream may be disregarded. We then find dress may be said to be an active part

of the dream in 12 per cent. of this series. I do not propose to discuss the various aspects of these dreams of clothing, merely remarking that the subject may probably be said to possess a fairly average and feminine interest in the subject of dress and that she frequently makes her own dresses. Bearing this in mind the part played by clothing in her dreams seems by no means excessive, being rather less than that played by food. It may be of interest to compare her in this respect with the other woman dreamer of whom I have a long series of dreams. This subject has taken an active interest in dress and in dress reform; she is also rather unusually interested in food. In her dreams clothing (as well, it has already been noted, as food) plays a large part, in no less than 34 per cent. of the dreams, so that with her, though interest in food is unusually marked, interest in clothes is even larger.

A certain amount of attention has been given by some writers to dreams of embarrassing absence of dress. In its typical and pronounced form it hardly seems that the dream of this type comes into Mrs. N.'s experience. There are, however, two dreams of undress (II and XXXII) and these are instructive as showing the origin of this type of dream. It is probable, indeed, that careful examination would usually reveal the real source of such dreams and that there is little need to devise any fantastic explanation of them. The dreamer really is in a state of undress, and it would be strange indeed if the consciousness of that fact failed at some moments of semi-awakening to penetrate to consciousness and cause embarrassment.[1] Both these dreams, it is instructive to note, occurred on going to bed immediately after a hot bath, and one was accompanied by a sensation of cold ultimately followed by a reaction of heat and then became erotic; this succession seems

[1] Professor Maurice Parmelee has mentioned to me the perhaps significant fact that while he formerly had such dreams, they have not occurred since he has investigated the German *Nacktkultur* Societies and became used to being naked in the presence of persons of both sexes. When the fact of being naked is no longer associated with embarrassment, we may suppose, it no longer makes any impression on dreaming consciousness.

natural. Freud regards such dreams as exhibitionistic.[1] I have no evidence for this explanation, which will not suit the present case.

Dreams of Traveling.

It may be thought strange to introduce this group. There seems to be, however, from observation of many dreamers, good reason to believe that such dreams—with which I include dreams of preparing to travel and preoccupation with luggage—have, in a large proportion of cases, a common origin, which is really organic.

This need not seem surprising when we consider their number. In the present dreamer's experience we find that they account for 13 per cent. of the whole number of dreams, so that dreams of traveling were more frequent than dreams of clothing and almost as frequent as dreams of eating.

No doubt a certain proportion of such dreams are simple memories, determined along paths which have no traceable relation to the dreamer's present organic condition, just as some of the dreams of food certainly are, and most of the dreams of dress. The present subject, during the war, in the years immediately preceding this series of dreams, had been obliged to undertake numerous journeys in France, sometimes under difficult and painful conditions, and memories of these experiences might easily recur to sleeping consciousness.

But there is a considerable group of traveling dreams which I regard as the rationalization by the sleeping mind of an actual organic condition of the blood-vessels of the head and the nervous system. This can often be demonstrated. Thus in another subject, who had been living for many weeks far from railway trains and noisy thoroughfares, I have a record which is to this point: he went to bed and woke up with a slight headache and during the night dreamed that he was wandering about a busy thoroughfare where many trains were passing along, and he was vainly seeking to find one going in

[1] S. Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 1919, pp. 167-71.

his own direction. It is fairly obvious that to sleeping consciousness the throbbing head recalls the vibrating railway train and finds in it the symbol, and the explanation, of the sensations actually experienced. In Mrs. N.'s records no note was made of the presence or absence of headache or other similar cause of the numerous dreams of traveling, with, however, two exceptions, but they happen to be crucial. These dreams (XLVII and XLVIII) occurred on two successive nights when quinine had been taken as a prophylactic before going to bed. It is well known that ringing of the ears, or pronounced pulsation of the blood-vessels of the head, tends to occur after a dose of quinine, and its occurrence is specially noted in the record of the second dream. During both nights the dreamer was haunted by images of luggage or railway trains. There can be no doubt that, in our society, the railway train is a normal symbol of a throbbing heart. With the increase of aviation the aeroplane will probably tend to take the place of the railway train in this type of dreams.

It would be easy to consider other aspects of this series of dreams. That, however, the reader if he chooses, may easily do for himself. The object of the present study has not been to investigate a particular person, and still less to analyze a particular case. The object has been to illustrate a method. This has been rendered possible by the gracious and highly intelligent assistance of a charming lady who has condescended for this occasion to become the *corpus vile* in which *experimentum fiat*. Therewith, it has, I hope, been made clear that, while the value of dream-analysis remains unquestioned, there are yet certain pitfalls into which when too narrowly followed it may sometimes lead; and that an important complementary guide to knowledge is furnished by the method of what I have termed dream-synthesis.

VI.

THE CONCEPTION OF NARCISSISM.

The figure of Narcissus had wandered down from classic times to modern times, from legend into literature, and thence into popular phrase, long before it entered into sexual psychology. I do not propose to trace these wanderings. It cannot even be said that they always help us to understand the scientific re-incarnation of Narcissus. But it is worth while to note a few of the sign-posts on the road.

The history of Narcissus in classic times was long ago traced by Wieseler. He considered that Narcissus belonged to the Thracians, being specially associated with places that were their seats or closely connected with them, this being also supported by the relationship of Narcissus to Selene and Endymion who were specially honored among the Thracians. The myth thus, he believed, originated from the symbol, the kernel of the myth being nothing else than the history of the flower. Narcissus had a water-god as father because the flower grows by the water, and his mother was Liriope because the flower is a lily. The name of the personification is the name of the being's symbol, and the name indicates the effects of frost, terror, syncope, death, these effects being attributed to the action of the plant. To the ancients generally Narcissus came to represent not only cold self-love but praiseworthy abstinence, while later some philosophers of the Platonic schools found in this figure a deep sense and a morality for life.[1] But for the most part Narcissus continued to be, as commonly represented in ancient art, a beautiful nude youth by a pool, languishing for love of his own fair image. How far the modern psychological conception implicit in this figure was vaguely apprehended remains obscure.

---

[1] F. Wieseler, *Narkissos*, 1856.

It has, however, recently been suggested that there really was present in the Greek mind the idea of Narcissus as embodying an attitude of mind which would now be termed autoerotic. In a fragment of a comedy by Kratinos there is an uncertain phrase which Meineke reads as "the olisbos of Narcissus."[1] The olisbos, as we know, was primarily an instrument for the sexual gratification of women. But there is reason to believe that even in the days of Greek myth it was recognized that such a device could have a masculine use *per anum*, and there is a story of Dionysus in point.[2] Kratinos would thus be making fun of a Narcissist, though as he wrote in the spirit of caricature and parody he was only concerned with a physical manifestation of that disposition.

The figure of Narcissus was, however, clearly predestined to be the emblem of the absorbed self-love of youths and maidens who had not yet reached the stage of falling in love with another person of the opposite sex. It has, moreover, always been familiarly at hand, for it has chanced to assume its most charming and elaborately detailed shape at the hands of Ovid,[3] who has come down, alike through medieval and Renaissance days, as the most attractive and popular of all the poets of antiquity. In Ovid's poem we see Narcissus, the beautiful youth who has disdained the love of Echo,[4]—herself, as Otto Rank expresses it, "the personification of corresponding acoustic self-mirroring,"—condemned, for punishment, to fall

---

[1] Quoted by Athenæus, Bk. XV, 676. (In the English translation by Yonge, vol. iii, p. 1080, where the phrase is left in the original.) As regards this instrument, see Havelock Ellis, *Studies*, vol. i; also *Herodas*, edited by Headlam and Knox, 1922, p. 288, and F. S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, 2d ed., Ch. XIV.

[2] See Hans Licht, "Olisbos und Narcissismus," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Dec., 1925. Prof. Licht regards Meineke's reading as highly probable.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, lib. iii, 339 *et seq.*

[4] It is interesting to note that it is Echo who brings us to the Greek explanation of the origin of masturbation. Pan was in love with Echo but could never succeed in laying hands on her, and his father Hermes, out of pity for his unsatisfied desire, mercifully taught him the secret of masturbation, hitherto unknown. But masturbation was known to other gods before the days of Hermes and the Greeks, for among the Egyptians we hear of "masturbating gods." See W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der Alter Ægypter*, 1899, p. 7.

in love with the image of a beautiful youth he saw in the water, not knowing that it was his own image. Through Ovid, Narcissus has entered the European poetic tradition.

Calderon in Spain, in the middle of the seventeenth century, may be said to effect the transition between the classic and the modern approach to Narcissus. It was a subject that appealed to Calderon's romantic love of the dream-like and the visionary which he often dealt with so happily. In *Eco y Narciso* he narrates, in three "Jornadas," following the general outline of the ancient story, the life of Narcissus, the unreturned love for him of Echo, his relation to his mother, and his own self-love, the nature of which his mother explained to him. The whole is related in Calderon's beautiful musical verse, in a sort of pastoral drama of which, in English, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* is the type; but no clear modern interpretations are yet revealed.

An important stage was reached when Milton, a few years later in the seventeenth century, represented Narcissus in that feminine shape to which in modern times his attitude has always seemed best fitted, and showed the first Mother of Mankind in the typical Narcissistic attitude of adolescence before she had met Adam. Later, Eve tells Adam how she had heard a murmuring sound of waters from a cave, flowing to form a silent pool. She proceeds:

> "I thither went
> With unexperienct thought, and laid me downe
> On the green bank, to look into the cleer
> Smooth Lake, that to me seemed another Skie,
> As I bent down to look, just opposite,
> A Shape within the watry gleam appeard
> Bending to look on me, I started back,
> It started back, but pleasd I soon returnd,
> Pleasd it returnd as soon with answering looks
> Of sympathie and love, there I had fixt
> Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
> Had not a voice thus warned me, What thou seest,
> What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
> With thee it came and goes."[1]

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, 456-469. At a much later date Doughty described his Adoma in the same situation.

It may not be out of place to remark here that the poets, alike in dwelling on water as a mirror and as revealing the presence of what seems an independent being, are true to the facts of primitive life. Thus Ehrenreich, in his expedition to Brazil among tribes untouched by civilization, found that the Bakairi were not impressed by a mirror; they called it "water."[1] Water is the primitive mirror, the only way primitive man has of objectifying himself, of seeing his own soul. Holmberg, referring especially to the Lapps, remarks on this as explaining the early belief in spirits that dwell in the water, and points out that when the Lapps say that the soul dwells in the water they mean that man sees his own image there.[2] A similar relationship is today seen in the dreams of youth. Thus in Forrest Reid's autobiographical book, *Apostate,* which contains much about dreaming in early life, a dream is recorded in which the youth imagined himself gazing at his own image in a pool, an image, however, entirely unlike his real self—which caused him no surprise—but much more like that he would wish to be. The dream was so vivid that on awaking he had to get out of bed to look at himself in the glass to make sure no miracle had occurred.[3] This dream would now be regarded as exquisitely "Narcissistic."

It can scarcely surprise us to find that Rousseau, who was so great a pioneer in the discovery of the modern soul, had not failed to invoke Narcissus. It is certainly remarkable, however, that it was when he was himself at the age of adolescence that his attention was drawn in this direction. *Narcisse ou L'Amant de lui-même* was a comedy, not performed until 1752, but stated by Rousseau to have been written at the age of eighteen. In the scanty extant letters of Rousseau in youth I find no indications that point to *Narcisse.* He had just then first met Madame de Warens, but one gains the impression that his life was much disturbed. At the age of nineteen,

---

[1] P. Ehrenreich, *Zt. f. Eth.*, 1890, Heft 3, p. 97.
[2] Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der Finnish-Ugrischen Völker,* 1913, p. 45.
[3] Forrest Reid, *Apostate,* 1926, p. 102.

however (in 1731), he was occupied with plans of idylls and beginning to think that music and musical composition would be his career in life.[1] It is here that we must place the origin of *Narcisse,* but we may be permitted to believe that, when he produced it twenty years later, it had been much revised. It was produced anonymously at the Comédie Française, though Rousseau acknowledged the authorship immediately afterwards and professed much indifference as to the play and its fate.[2] Next year (1753) it was published. The long Preface, however, tells us little about the play. The story is of a young man, engaged to be married, who is much occupied with his own personal appearance and with feminine details of the toilette in the care of it. His sister, to tease him, secretly has a portrait of him painted in which he is dressed as a woman and this is placed in his room. He fails to recognize it as himself, falls in love with it, and cannot rest until he has seen the original, meanwhile trying to postpone his marriage. All ends well, however, with his discovery of the trick, and his marriage.

We may leap over more than a century to the *Genio y Figura* of the distinguished Spanish writer, Juan Valera. This is one of Valera's best novels, and reminiscent of his own life as Ambassador to the Argentine. We are here only concerned with one passage in the book, but to that passage special significance attaches. The heroine, Rafaela la Generosa, a Spanish courtesan of the higher grades, writes here, in her "Confidencias," of the admiration she aroused in her Argentine maid: "But I do not think she flatters me when I get out of my bath and she dries me and looks at me with a thrill of pleasure and says: 'Ah, my child, every day you grow more beautiful. Lucky the man who may look at you like this!' The fact is that I also look at myself with much complacency in large opposite mirrors and feel in full agreement with Petronila's opinion. I will confess all: when Petronila has left me alone, I do a childish thing which whether it is innocent or vicious I hardly know. I only know that it is a purely con-

---

[1] *Correspondance Générale,* vol. i, p. 14.
[2] *Correspondance,* vol. ii, pp. 33 *et seq.*

templative act, a disinterested admiration for beauty; what I do is not out of gross sensuality but æsthetic Platonism. I imitate Narcissus; and to the cold surface of the mirror I apply my lips and kiss my own image. This is the love of beauty for beauty's sake; the expression of affection in a kiss towards what God has made manifest in that disembodied reflection."[1]

Novelists have not only noted the spirit of Narcissus in their creations, they have sometimes demonstrated it in themselves, consciously or unconsciously. This is perhaps true of Oscar Wilde, the author of *Dorian Gray:* It is indeed supposed by Merejkovski to be also true of one of the greatest of novelists, Tolstoy.[2] But the evidence for this statement is far from clear, and it is hardly supported by Tolstoy's *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth,* which is generally regarded as a truthful picture of the author's own intimate feelings in early life. At the beginning of the section on Youth in this book he has a passage much to the point where the writer says that when nearly sixteen he spent much time in looking at himself in the mirror: "However I always turned away with a vague feeling of depression, almost of repulsion. Not only did I feel sure that my exterior was ugly, but I could derive no comfort from

---

[1] Juan Valera, *Genio y Figura,* 1897, p. 181. How true to life is Valera's narrative may be seen by quoting a few sentences from the statement to Sadger (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen,* pp. 448 *et seq.*) of a young actress of 21: "I like being naked, as in the morning when washing; I take everything off, and at last wash myself, or usually let a chamber-maid do it, as formerly my mother did. As she washes and dries me I like looking in the mirror and it does me good, as though it were massage. When I am alone I like lying down and reading with my hand held to my breast. As a small child I liked running about the house naked and was not at all ashamed. Nor am I ashamed today before anyone. I have a longing to go walking in the moonshine with my friend [a handsome young officer], both of us naked, and to know how he would behave when he saw me quite naked. I once served as a model to a painter and hoped he would want me to take all my clothes off. At last he did. I stood naked and looked at myself in a mirror, and admired the picture in the mirror so much that I quite forgot the presence of the man. . . . When I have been manicured, and my hand looks beautiful, I kiss it. I also kiss myself in the mirror."

[2] Merejkovski remarks (*Tolstoy as Man and Artist,* p. 69): "We may say of him that from the moment when, as a child of three, he first noticed and admired his own young naked body, he has never ceased to worship it."

anv of the usual consolations under such circumstances." It seemed to him that he was quite commonplace, just like a simple moujik, with the same big feet and hands. "All this seemed to me very shameful." Here we have described for us an attitude which seems that of the real Tolstoy throughout, a sensitive admiration of beauty, a constant preoccupation with self, at the same time an anxious self-dissatisfaction. It was Tolstoy's attitude even to the end and it seems to indicate not so much self-worship as defective Narcissism, though it must be added that from a psychoanalytic standpoint it would be quite possible to regard it as excessive Narcissism.

Tolstoy, whose insight into others was so profound, had no corresponding insight into himself. We admire his self-description; we are less sure of his self-comprehension. Marie Bashkirtseff, though not a novelist, was an artist in psychology and not only knew how to describe herself but also how to comprehend herself. She was an exquisite type of a mental state which had not yet been named, but she herself invoked the name of Narcissus in connection with it. In the very last of her letters she refers to "this unique and marvelous me, by which I am enchanted, and which I adore like Narcissus."[1]

It is a state of mind, which, as we shall have to recognize, is common in women, and another Russian woman, Madame Merejkovsky ("Zenaïde Hippius"), wife of the well-known writer, and herself described as a charming person and accomplished writer, has written: "I love myself; I am my God."

All these writers, when describing in themselves or in the creatures of their imagination the mental state of Narcissus, had no thought of presenting a condition of mind which formed, or could properly form, a subject of study for the student of sexual psychology, normal or abnormal. But after the middle of the nineteenth century, when sexual psychology was beginning to become a recognized study, we find—under

[1] *Lettres de Marie Bashkirtseff*, p. 277.

one name or another or under no definite name at all—various references which here concern us.

Thus in Italy, Nicefero in 1897 described numerous cases, all in adolescent Italian youths, which we should now consider to have an extreme or even morbidly Narcissistic character. One, a healthy boy of fifteen with good heredity, would derive pleasure from the spectacle of his penis becoming erected, and even the idea of this would give him voluptuous emotions; he would also draw and color a picture of the organ and gaze at it when masturbating. Another youth had no pleasure in masturbating unless at the same time he could see his legs. A third youth of sixteen, in good health, had much pleasure in masturbating before a mirror which showed his sexual organs, and he said that this practice was quite common in his college.[1]

In Germany, about the same time, Moll described the occurrence of more or less erotic self-admiration in several cases, especially in connection with homosexuality. Thus he tells in detail of a man of 43, with a high degree of sexual hyperæsthesia and sexually attached to both men and women, who found much pleasure in gazing at his own image naked in a mirror, and who would compare his shape with that of other men he knew.[2]

In France, Féré, about the same time, gave the name of auto-fetichism to the case of a girl who was in the habit of kissing her own hand and at the same time experiencing sexual excitement.[3] All such cases, even if scarcely representing true or complete Narcissism, suggest its presence. We are approaching the point at which the conception began to take more precise shape.

Like other people, I had of course been familiar with so well-known a poetic figure as Narcissus. I had, moreover, read on publication with much admiration Valera's novel *Genio y Figura,* and been impressed with his description of Rafaela. It was, therefore, inevitable that when I became acquainted in

---

[1] Nicefero, *Le Psicopatie Sessuale,* pp. 25, 27.
[2] A. Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis,* 1898, p. 824.
[3] Féré, *L'Instinct Sexual,* 2d. ed., pp. 271, 275.

real life with a woman who possessed these characteristics in a high degree I should recall the image of Narcissus. This woman, perfectly healthy, by none regarded as anything but normal, and clever in business, I described in 1898 (the year after the publication of *Genio y Figura*), in the earliest paper to which I gave the name of "Auto-erotism," as the extreme type of the tendency. She is still living, nearly thirty years later, still unmarried, and now able to retire from business to a country estate she has purchased in her native county. She has never known—though it might please and would certainly amuse her to know—the stimulus she has provided to psychological conceptions.

In this first paper, "Auto-Erotism, a Psychological Study," in the St. Louis *Alienist and Neurologist,* vol. xix, April, 1898, I wrote: "To complete this summary of the main phenomena of auto-erotism, I may briefly mention that tendency which is sometimes found, more especially perhaps in women, for the sexual emotions to be absorbed, and often entirely lost, in self-admiration. This Narcissus-like tendency, of which the normal germ in women is symbolized by the mirror, is found in minor degree in some feminine-minded men, but seems to be very rarely found in men apart from sexual attraction for other persons, to which attraction it is, of course, normally subservient. But occasionally in women it appears to exist by itself, to the exclusion of any attraction for other persons." etc. In the volume of my *Studies,* containing the study of Auto-Erotism, which appeared in the following year, this discussion was further elaborated along the same lines.

At this point comes in Näcke, although not in time to be mentioned in my Study. I had been in friendly relations with Dr. Paul Näcke, Superintendent of the Asylum at Hubertusberg near Leipzig, for many years. He was accustomed to send me his publications when they appeared, and I to send him mine; he would summarize mine in German medical periodicals and I would summarize his in the English *Journal of Mental Science.* He was a man of vigorous and pioneering intellect who did much good work along various lines, though not of a specially original character, and was quick to take up and elaborate, though often in a critical spirit, the ideas struck out by other workers. Himself born, in what was then St. Petersburg, of a German father and French mother, he was international in his outlook and delighted to keep in touch with fellow-workers in other lands; we never met though from time to time he wanted me

to come and stay with him; it was perhaps his good fortune to die just before the Great War which could not but have been a cause of deep grief to him.

So to Näcke in the ordinary course went immediately a reprint of my first paper on Auto-Erotism and in the ordinary course his notice of it speedily appeared. I have a vague and perhaps erroneous notion that there was an early notice I cannot now recover. The chief notice, which naturally came into the hands of German psycho-analysts who never saw my paper, appeared in the Dutch *Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen*, No. 2, 1899, and the German *Archiv für Psychiatrie* for 1899 (vol. xxxii, No. 13), on "Kritisches zum Kapitel der normalen und pathologischen Sexualität." This article deals fully with my *Alienist and Neurologist* article and in the course of it he writes: "Viel seltener als das Tagträumen ist der Narcismus, die Selbstverliebtheit. Hier ist die Grenze gegen blosse Eitelkeit zu ziehen und nur dort, wo das Betrachten des eigenen Ich's oder seiner Theile von deutlichen Zeichen des Orgasmus begleitet ist, kann mit Fug und Recht von Narcismus gesprochen werden. [I had not said this, and cannot accept the statement.] Das wäre dann der klassischte Fall von 'auto-erotism' im Sinne von H. Ellis. Nach ihm soll Narcismus besonders bei Frauen sich finden, vielleicht weil der normale Keim dazu 'is symbolized by the mirror.' Auch hier giebt es noch viel zu forschen." It will be observed that Näcke does not put forward the term "Narcismus" with any air of inventing a novelty, but apparently simply as a translation of my "Narcissus-like tendency."

Thus I seem responsible for the first generalized description of this psychological attitude, and for the invocation of Narcissus; the "ism" was appended by Näcke. It seems correct to attribute to me the description of the condition as a normal state with morbid exaggerations, but the *term* should only be attributed to me in association with Näcke, though Näcke himself used it as though it were my term.

The matter is trivial, though a little complicated, but desirable to explain since various people have shown a wish to know the precise origin of a term which has since been so widely used.

The next step was taken by Freud and the psycho-analysts and it represents the decisive moment in the later development of Narcissism. In the first edition of Freud's almost epoch-making little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, published in 1905, there is no reference to Narcissism. Freud was certainly at that date acquainted with the conception in its

earliest form, for he there adopted the term of "auto-erotism" with which in my writings it was associated. But in the second edition (1910) there is a reference to Narcissism, which is here regarded simply as a stage in the development of masculine sexual inversion, the subject being supposed to identify himself with a woman (usually his mother) and so acquiring self-love. Sadger, about the same time, recognized Narcissism somewhat similarly. Then at once the conception began to develop in the hands of the psycho-analysts.

To Otto Rank in 1911 is owing the earliest important study of Narcissism on strictly Freudian lines.[1] He begins by stating that while various investigators have touched on this "pathological condition" as he calls it, since I first called attention to it, "apart from one or two very interesting casuistic and literary indications, especially by Ellis, nothing has become known as to the origin and deeper significance of this singular phenomenon." He then proceeds to deal in detail with the definitely Narcissistic dreams of a young woman in whom this condition was in waking life well pronounced. Rank argues that there was a latent homosexuality of which the subject was not herself conscious. She was attracted to a man and had thus passed beyond the stage of early normal Narcissism. But she stated: "I can only love him when he loves me, else I couldn't." Rank considers this remark significant, as indicating that for a man she can only experience a love which has made a circuit through her own person. It is mentioned that she would sometimes feel sexual excitement when seated before a mirror doing her hair, and Rank refers, though only passingly, to "the apparently very intimate connection between Narcissism and masturbation." Rank's study, full of interest and suggestion, was marked, as his work has always been, by its wide knowledge of the earlier scientific and literary suggestions of the subject in hand.

The first and most important study by Freud himself in the development of the conception of Narcissism dates from

---

[1] O. Rank, "Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iii, 1911, pp. 401-426.

1914.[1] He assigns to Rank the credit of having given to Narcissism "a place in the regular development of human beings," Narcissism, he imagines, having previously been merely a perversion.[2] By this extension, Freud more carefully and more characteristically states, it becomes "the libidinal complement to the egoism of the instinct of self-preservation, a measure of which may justifiably be attributed to every living creature." Especially in persons whose libidinal development has suffered disturbance, their own selves are taken as the model. They seek themselves as a love-object and their type of choice of love-object may be termed Narcissistic. The human being has two primitive sexual objects—himself and the woman (usually his mother) who tends him. "Thereby we postulate a primary Narcissism in everyone." In the end it may sometimes dominate the object-choice. So there are two types of object-choice: (1) the *anaclytic* (Anlehnungstypes)—the leaning up against preference—of which the mother is the primary embodiment, and (2) the *Narcisstic*. Complete love of *anaclytic* type is properly characteristic of men. In women, there is more likely to be an intensification of the original Narcissism. "There arises in the woman a certain self-sufficiency (especially if she ripens into beauty) which compensates her for the social restrictions on her object-choice." But in childhood this is normal. "The charm of a child lies largely in his Narcissism, his self-sufficiency and inaccessibility, just as does the charm of certain animals." In the Narcissistic object-choice there are various alternatives, according as a person loves (a) what he is himself, (b) what he once was, (c) what he would like to be, (d) someone who was once part of himself. Adler's "masculine protest," Freud adds, contrary to

---

[1] S. Freud, "Ueber Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. It was some years later reprinted in Freud's *Sammlung*, Fourth Series, and translated into English in Freud's *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, pp. 30-59.

[2] On this statement I may comment that while Narcissism was first put forward by me as the extreme form of auto-erotism, auto-erotism in my sense is not a perversion.

what Adler himself believes, is really Narcissistic, though derived, Freud considers, from the castration complex.

In later writings Freud has frequently introduced incidental references to Narcissism extending, or sometimes modifying, the earlier psycho-analytic conception. Thus in 1916 he stated that the libido of the early Narcissistic phase is not *completely* transferred to objects; "a certain degree of Narcissism continues"; the libido can flow backwards and forwards between object and ego, and in so doing is performing a healthy function. In the same year, writing of the Narcissism of sleep, he makes this point clearer: "Narcissism and egoism are one and the same; the word Narcissism is only employed to emphasize that this egoism is a libidinal phenomenon as well, or to put it in another way, Narcissism may be described as the libidinal complement of egoism." Near the end of his *Lectures* Freud explains the Narcissism of dreams: "In the sleeper the primal state of the libido distribution is again reproduced, that of absolute Narcissism, in which libido and ego-instincts dwell together still, unified and indistinguishable in the self-sufficent Self."

It was inevitable that, in Freud's conception, Narcissism should become a characteristic of primitive man, and thence that he should trace to it the origin of magic, as an exercise of excessive Narcissism. But the general Narcissism of man has, Freud considers, received three blows from science: (1) Copernicus destroyed the belief in the centrality of the earth and so gave human self-love a cosmological blow. (2) Evolution, through Darwin, taught that man is an animal, and so Narcissism received a biological blow; and finally (3) psychoanalysis showed that man is not, as he thought, master in his own house, but subject to instincts and influences from the subconscious not completely under his own control, and so Narcissism received a psychological blow.

In the fourth edition (1920) of the *Drei Abhandlungen* Freud presents Narcissistic ego-libido as the great reservoir out of which object-love is put forth and into which it is again withdrawn, the primitive condition realized in the first child-

hood, and still maintained beneath later outgrowths of the libido which merely conceal it.

It may be added that other psycho-analysts of Freud's school usually speak in the same general sense on this matter. Thus Sadger refers to Narcissism as "a frontier conception, in which the separation of the sexual impulse from the ego-impulse is reduced to a fundamental unity." He regards it as essentially normal, only its fixations and extravagances as pathological. A certain degree of Narcissism is compatible with object-love, for "everyone is in some degree in love with himself." But he adds the significant observation that what we can place to normal egoism should not be reckoned to Narcissism. We must sharply distinguish between self-seeking egoism and libidinous Narcissism which rests on an over-valuation of the subject's own body. It is an attitude characteristic of the child, and the attitudes of his elders favor it; Sadger quotes a remark of Friedjung that to get on with a child, as in clinical examination, one must appeal to his Narcissism. In women, Sadger believes, love usually remains at this stage. "It is herself she is loving in love, and with a man only because he loves *her* and not on account of his own qualities. She does not need to love but to be loved. On that account she is free from the sexual over-valuations which are peculiar to men in love." Sadger also thinks that friendship is not so much, as some have supposed, a spiritualized homosexuality but an extended Narcissism, and we speak of our friend as our 'alter ego."[1]

Even the psycho-analysts who have fallen away from strict Freudian orthodoxy, usually continue to attach great importance to Narcissism. Thus Stekel, even in his later voluminous writings, still gives an ever greater importance to Narcissism, though along his own lines. He regards hate as more primitive, more primary, than love, which he considers a "Kulturprodukt." Love is originally directed only towards the self. Every creature is originally oriented in a Narcisstic

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, pp. 21, 74-5.

direction. Thus Narcissism becomes the source of altruistic feelings: I love you because you give me pleasure. Hence the love of the suckling to the mother or nurse. In another direction, Stekel regards Narcissism as offering the explanation of all sexual perversions: they are all manifestations of wounded self-love. The Masochist, the Sadist, the Fetichist, are all really occupied with themselves, although apparently the object of their desire is outside themselves. "All the various morbid variations of the sexual impulse are but mirror pictures of the morbid inner nature."[1]

Sadger's brief discussion of Narcissism, while that of an orthodox Freudian psycho-analyst, brings out points of difficulty in its definition which Freud himself, who avoids definitions because his conceptions are always growing and expanding, had left undecided. But they have not been disregarded by others, outside the field of psycho-analysis, and have perhaps induced some psychologists to be shy of Narcissism on account of the vast and shadowy outlines it has sometimes assumed. McDougall in his *Abnormal Psychology,* while most sympathetic towards Freud's general conceptions, gives but small space to Narcissism. Rohleder, indeed, places it (preferably with the awkward name of "automonosexualism") among the three fundamental sexual impulses: Narcissism (sexual feeling towards the self), homosexuality, and heterosexuality. But he regards it as rare, having only met with a few cases, and he defines it strictly. He holds that it does not exist unless there is definite sexual feeling. Otherwise we merely have an exaggerated vanity. He regards it as related to other anomalies, to transvestism and especially to fetichism. His cases, one a very complete type, are all in men. He believes that the cause may be an inborn defect in the sex-center of the brain.[2] This standpoint is obviously far removed from that

---

[1] W. Stekel, *Sadismus und Masochismus,* 1925, pp. 15, 486. In his *Psychosexueller Infantilismus* (1922), Ch. XXII, Stekel discusses Narcissism at length, defining it as the condition of being in love with oneself, and normal in the child, while most adults have a period of Narcissism.

[2] Rohleder, *Vorlesungen über das gesamte Geschlechtsleben des Menschen,* 4th ed., 1920, Bd. iii, Ch. LI.

of Freud, for whom Narcissism is a normal stage of development.

Hirschfeld in the main agrees with Rohleder—though not regarding the phenomenon as so rare—and uses his term, automonosexualism, to cover Narcissism, with other extensions towards transvestism, fetichism, exhibitionism, etc., not usually so covered. Hirschfeld decisively rejects the Freudian doctrine that Narcissism is a normal stage of all psycho-sexual development, or that the Narcissist belongs to a definitely youthful stage in which he permanently remains. The failure to react to sex attractions is a specific defect which must have an exceptional and weighty cause we do not yet know. It is a well-defined sexual perversion, with relationships to other perversions, especially scoptophilia. Hirschfeld suggests that there is a kind of splitting of personality, one part looking on at the other, an "ideal partner," as Petermann had previously supposed, to account for the mirror fascination.[1] One may note, however, that this "ideal partner," another self, is normal and not uncommon in the day-dreams or even the actual dreams of children, who invent an entirely imaginary companion to share their feelings and experiences.[2]

Freud, as we have seen, was not to be held back by any precise practical clinical considerations. In his hands the conception of Narcissism took on a new significance and became of immense importance. Everything that Freud has touched—that indeed is always the mark of genius—takes on a new significance and becomes of importance. For my own part, I regard this transformation as a legitimate application of the original observation from which Narcissism started. For me Narcissism was the extreme form of auto-erotism, which, it must be remembered, was a term devised to cover all the spontaneous manifestations of the sexual impulse in the absence of a definite outer object to evoke them, erotic dreams in sleep being the type of auto-erotic activity. Auto-erotism was thus not

---

[1] M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie,* Part I, Ch. VI.

[2] This phenomenon has often been described, recently by Forrest Reid in his autobiographic book, *Apostate,* Ch. X.

properly a perversion though it might become so when deliberately pursued at the expense of the normal objects of sexual attraction. The psycho-analysts in adopting the term "auto-erotism" have given it a different meaning which I regret, as being both illegitimate and inconvenient. For the psycho-analyst "auto-erotism" generally means sexual activity directed towards the self as its object.[1] That is illegitimate, for the ordinary rule is that a word compounded with "auto" (like automobile or autonomous) means not *toward* itself but *by* itself. It is inconvenient because if we divert the term "auto-erotism" to this use we have no term left to cover the objectless spontaneous sexual manifestations for which the term was devised.

However this may be, having narrowed and changed the conception of auto-erotism it was difficult for Freud to retain Narcissism within its limits. Narcissism became a later stage of what in the infant had been auto-erotism. And while I had regarded all these manifestations as, though in origin natural, not of invariable occurrence in the life of every individual, Freud sought to establish them as almost inevitable stages in the development towards adult sexual maturity, perhaps normally indispensable.[2] It was an impressive and fruitful conception, though when thus universalized, it could not but be regarded by many as somewhat speculative.

That indeed has been the attitude of many of the most able and cautious of the older representatives of sexual psychology outside psycho-analysis. Thus Löwenfeld, whose opinion always deserves attention, after tracing the conception of Narcissism back to my earliest observations, and remarking that it only becomes a perversion when it leads to actual sexual excitement, adds that he cannot agree with the psycho-analysts that Narcissism is a normal stage of transition between auto-erotism and object-love, though inclined to agree with Rank that it rather favors homosexuality.[3] Within the Freudian

---

[1] But Dr. Ernest Jones states that he regards auto-erotism as object-less, and Narcissism as distinguished by having an object, the self.
[2] *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iii, pp. 53-4.
[3] Löwenfeld, *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 5th ed., 1914.

School that latter view has from the first been specially maintained by Sadger. "We can say of homosexuality," he observes, "that it is the Narcissistic perversion *par excellence*," adding that the chief characteristic of inverts is their vanity (a statement, however, that is not always true) and that they never forgive a wound to their Narcissism.[1]

The classic Narcissus was a youth, though always represented as of rather feminine type. My own first observation was in a woman, as was that of Rank, who remarked that this characteristic forms a good piece of the whole normal feminine disposition, especially in constituting vanity. One may recall, with Róheim, the Japanese saying, that the sword is the soul of man and the mirror the soul of woman. As it is a man who is speaking there may be interest in turning to a feminine psychologist. Dr. Else Voigtländer, who is not a psycho-analyst, in dealing with the problem of sexual differentiation has some remarks that are worth quoting, and the more so as she seems to show no awareness of the existence of the conception we are here discussing. After pointing out that masculine activities are directed definitely to an object, confined to that object, not streaming out beyond it, and ceasing with the attainment of the object, she continues: "Feminine activity has *not the same clear relationship to an object;* it is lived out in quite another way, *in itself*, exhausting itself in its own movement, in its own excitement, having its course in itself, in its own interior, and therein the woman lives and moves, swimming as it were, in her proper element."[2] It seems evident that by this statement, which is further developed, a feminine distinction is indicated which may perhaps

---

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, p. 148. A special association between Narcissism and homosexuality is also asserted by K. W. Gerster, a pupil of Stekel's ("Beziehungen des Narcissmus zur Homosexualität," *Fortschritte der Sexualwissenschaft*, Bd. ii, 1926). He believes that in homosexual persons there is a polar tension between the masculine and feminine elements of the personality, and that this can only be bridged over by Narcissism.

[2] Else Voigtländer, "Zur Problematik der Geschlechtsunterschiede, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, July, 1923.

and ambition, gives a case in which the game of baseball proved a sublimation of urination, with its boyish competitions, the same feeling of power recurring, and even the same parabolic curves of the ball as of the stream; but Frink is careful to add that he is unaware whether this is a general symbolism or merely true for a few individuals.[1] Stekel, again, truly points out, with reference to the alleged association between urethral eroticism and ambition, that ambition may be found in persons showing all kinds of sexual anomalies.[2] Probably it may also be found in persons showing no evidence at all of sexual anomalies.

So far as I am aware, no convincing evidence, if indeed any evidence at all, has yet been brought forward to show any close and special connection between enuresis, or urethral eroticism, and ambition. The supposition has probably arisen in the notion that that was what the urinary competition among boys and the "penis-envies" of girls—imagined to be common in enuretic and urethrally erotic subjects—might be expected to lead to in the transformations of adult life. In some rare cases it is possible that this is what actually occurs. But in most cases the childish competitions of boys and the "penis-envies" of girls are far too slight and transitory to lead to anything. When, moreover, we turn from aprioristic notions to facts, as revealed in the special group of Undinistic subjects, ambition is rarely found to be a pronounced element in the character.

"Aggressiveness" has further been stated to be the dominant trait of the "urethral type" among women.[3] This seems, according to my observations, to be almost the opposite of the truth. Reversely, moreover, I have sometimes noted that in the women who are unsympathetically described as "aggressive," whether or not inclined to homosexuality, there is a complete absence of urethral eroticism. It would almost have been more plausible to argue that urethral eroticism is a substituted activity for the absence of aggressiveness.

---

[1] H. W. Frink, *Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, Oct., 1923, p. 481.
[2] W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, p. 59.
[3] Schultze-Hencke, Art. "Urethral Erotik," in Marcuse's *Handwörterbuch der Sexualwissenschaft*,

III.

It will have been seen that Sadger's conception of Urethral Eroticism may almost be superimposed on the conception of Undinism, and though my own observations and views of this anomaly began to be formed before the publication of Sadger's paper, I have in some points been assisted by that paper. But at the same time Sadger's conception may fairly be regarded as too narrowly based. The very name of "Urethral Eroticism" seems a little eccentric and even inaccurate, for—and this Sadger himself tacitly admits as he develops his theme—the urethra has, at the most, only an incidental and occasional connection with this condition, in which it may indeed be true that a psychic complex grows up around the act of urination but scarcely around the urethra. By thus concentrating his attention onto an anatomical point Sadger also failed to allow for the fact that we are here concerned with an attraction which tends to be associated with, and even merged into, the general power of water over the human mind.

Sadger, as well as more recently Stekel,[1] regarded a love of water generally as merely a "sublimated urolagnia." When, however, we consider that man is descended from ancestors that live in the water, and that water remains a prime necessity of all life, it is clear that water must inevitably be a source of pleasure even if a specialized urinary function had no existence, so that to trace the whole human love of water to a urinary source is a conception far too fantastic for serious discussion. The urinary function has its important place, but it is coordinate rather than supreme. That is why it seems better to indicate this psychic trait by a term like "Undinism" rather than by a narrower term like "Urethral Eroticism."

Stekel has brought forward a detailed case, in a man, which well illustrates the origin and nature of what I term

[1] Stekel, *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*, p. 184.

"Undinism."[1] He regards it as a case of apron fetichism, and it is quite possible so to regard it. But, as the history shows, and as Stekel might himself admit, the apron in this case is merely a symbol and the underlying condition is that of Undinism. It is the more interesting because it shows how in Undinism the vesical element may remain in the background and any such label as "urethral eroticism" be altogether out of place. The case is that of a man aged 30, of high ability and organizing capacity in business, who in childhood wetted the bed and experienced pleasurable sensations in the wetness thus produced. At the age of 10 he once entered his mother's bedroom without knocking, to see her wash herself. She was naked and held an old apron before her as she turned to tell him to go out. That was the origin of the fetichism, which was thus secondary, while the vesical interest has always been subordinate, and chiefly marked in recent years when he has become interested in urination (and also defecation) in children. He is attracted to women (but they should wear an apron) when they are wading or bathing or in wet clothes, or in bathing costume; sea-bathing with a woman is intensely exciting to him. But he has also found water in itself highly pleasurable from at least the age of ten, and apt to become sexually exciting, as when fishing. "Water always exerts a fascinating influence on me," he stated; "I am always drawn to the water and especially to great sheets of water. For eight years I was a cyclist and always wanted to go to lakes. I would seek an inn or a café with a view over a lake, or a terrace overlooking it, and was immensely happy when I found it. I could sit lost in contemplation of it. I would fall into a kind of ecstatic day-dream. In Trieste I only stayed in rooms with a view over the sea, and spent all my spare time sailing, gazing for hours at the waves. Storms and the movement of the sea have a directly sexual effect on me."

There is a tendency, shown by Sadger, as well as by many who have followed him, to emphasize the sexual elements

[1] W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, 1923, Ch. XII.

in the psychology of urination. Such elements undoubtedly exist and often play a highly important part, as may be seen in the histories that follow. But it is necessary to insist that they are not the whole of urinary psychology. We are concerned with a primary function which may exist independently of sex, and indeed actually existed long before sex appeared in the world. If the human species were propagated independently of sex the urinary function would still exhibit many of the emotional and ideational reactions we may experience today.

From the psycho-analytic standpoint Sadger claims that all pleasurable attractions, all *lust* feelings, constitute a whole in which the more specific sex feelings may be indistinguishably merged. Even if that contention may be accepted, it still presents us with a confusion rather than an explanation, a settlement of difficulties which is much too cheap to be helpful. It seems far more satisfactory to recognize that the Undinism of childhood, with its interest in water and in urine, while this may easily tend to become associated, or even identified, with specifically sexual interests, yet possesses at the outset an independent basis. The earlier psycho-analytic view asserted that all children are sexual; the later *lust* theory left the question open; from a wider standpoint we may perhaps recognize a range of normal variation by which some children are stirred, and others not, by definitely sexual interests. But if we imagined a being possessed of a urinary mechanism but no sexual mechanism, it cannot be doubted that the basis would be present for a pleasurable psychic complex. It is scarcely a hazardous assumption that in a great number of children, in whom specific sexual interests are still largely latent and undeveloped, this is precisely what we witness. The sexual interest develops, sooner or later, on this urinary interest, and after puberty so overlays it that normally it becomes inconspicuous or is soon driven altogether into the subconscious. But it is usually in some degree traceable.[1] It may be very clearly

[1] I have lately been told that in a large secondary co-educational school in the East End of London, some of the boys about the age of puberty will squirt urine (previously emitted into a can for the purpose), with a water pistol, on to girls of the school.

traceable and definitely conscious in persons who, although they have developed normally at puberty, possessed at the outset a very strong urinary complex which was sexually colored in a high degree.

This is well illustrated by the following history of a lady in the United States whom I never met but was in frequent correspondence with till her death. She originally wrote to me in reference to a paper I had published on the psychology of color, telling me of her own reactions, mostly pleasurable, to yellow, which she regarded as a color usually treated with undue contempt. Later there appeared a probable significance in her preference for this color. I replied in acknowledgment of this note, and three years later the writer of it sent me a longer and more intimate letter, accompanied by a history of her own early development. Thereafter she wrote at intervals, with further facts about herself, or incidents she encountered, which she thought I might find of interest.

The subject, Mrs. R. S., was at the time of sending her first letter aged thirty-two. She was a happy wife and mother, and of good social position, leading a full and varied life, with many interests, but without any undue stress or strain. She was of high intelligence, and possessed intellectual, artistic, and social aptitudes. There are no known gross defects in the heredity. She came of robust and philoprogenitive people who endowed her with a richly emotional life, keen sensibilities and much capacity for enjoyment, as well as a high character leading her to cherish lofty though not extravagant ideals. There were strong passions on the father's side; her mother was very cold, and she once wrote a minute and subtle account of the sensory, mental, and emotional differences between her mother and herself. There were, however, no traces of conflict or self-suppression in this subject's character, for the many-sided vitality of her nature enabled her to radiate her energies after marriage into manifold healthy channels by an unusually easy process of sublimation.

At the same time she was not a robust child and had various illnesses which at times impaired her physical vitality. She was, however, a healthy baby, had no fits, and there is no history of nocturnal enuresis in childhood. As she had no brothers or sisters near herself in age she was often alone though she led a healthy outdoor existence, and her imaginative life was thereby fostered.

Her earliest remembered sex-feelings date from the age of six or seven when a little boy with whom she was playing offered to show her what the placket in front of his kilt was for. "I went accordingly one day with him," she said, "to the closet and I looked

with curiosity and admiration upon his penis during urination. We were discovered upon this or a subsequent occasion and threatened." She remembered shortly after this playing with a little boy who was digging little wells in the soft soil. "We hunted for worms to place in the wells which the little boy filled with urine. But I only remember the interest with which I saw the worms wriggle and cannot recall seeing the child perform the act, which should have aroused interest as it was probaly the second time I had seen it done, and, as well as I can think, the last."

When about nine she stayed in a house with a girl and boy who were somewhat younger. The girl wished to play with her sexual parts but this was distasteful to her. The boy was playing with his penis. "I was eager to see the little boy playing with himself, and it gave me a decided pleasurable sensation. He was a Rubens cherub, all golden and brown, and I never forgot the picture."

Soon after this she invented a day-dream which she played in imagination for many years, until, if not beyond, the age of puberty. "I built up a town where freedom between men and women existed, but it was altogether in regard to urinating that the orgies were pictured. This act was a pleasure as well as a religious ceremony, and I revelled in inventing new ways and devices whereby these exhibitions were made more inviting. All my pleasurable sensations were connected with the bladder." It is unnecessary to emphasize the significance of this pseudo-erotic ideal in the vesical psychology of early life.

It is not an ideal that appeals to all chilldren. "I ventured once," the subject wrote, "to tell a little girl with whom I had now to play, something of my town. But she was shocked, and that hurt me. I remember inducing this girl to let me get down and look at her, and I also attempted to discover in myself, by the use of mirrors, the position of those parts which gave me so much pleasure. I experienced longings to perform the act of urination in company. I liked best to stand or kneel, and I was desirous to be near a boy when I did it. This was never even remotely attempted. My last thought on going to sleep was of playing with a penis, although I had scarcely ever seen one and never the whole body. I was wild to hold one between my fingers." She recalled the first time she saw a garden hose and was allowed to hold it in her hand. "It seemed delightfully like holding a penis, and familiarity did not detract from the sensation.[1] I recalled this the other day when using one and wondered if it was merely association that reminded me of the sensation of pleasure."

---

[1] Abraham ("Female Castration Complex," *Int. Jour. Psychoanalysis*, March, 1922, p. 15) refers to "the great enjoyment many

She had other day-dreams in which the emphasis was all on the penis though still as a urinary organ. "I imagined that in a cottage near a yard we frequented there lived a woman, middle-aged and coarse, who had taken for her adopted son a boy of about my age. The woman looked like the witch in *Hänsel and Gretel.* It was her delight, I fancied, to fondle his penis, and I planned all sorts of delightful ways of toying with it. I did not approve of the woman's conduct, and I believe I made it a moral tale by having the boy leave her in indignation as soon as he had reached years of discretion." It must be added that at this time, and up to the full establishment of menstruation, she was unconscious of the existence of the vagina and knew nothing whatever of the sexual functions of the penis.

During this period, before puberty, various girls of her own age tried to induce her to play with her own sexual parts, or with theirs, but this was not agreeable to her, and she never fully entered into any sport of this kind. She preferred her own dreams. Unlike the other girls, also, she could not bear to expose herself in the presence of other persons, though, at the same time or a little later, she had occasional unfulfilled impulses of self-exhibition in pretty underlinen.

At the age of thirteen (a period when she was suffering from nervousness, depression, and loneliness) she began to menstruate. The facts of the sexual life now first became known to her. She also began to experience acute sexual desire before the onset of the periods; during one period of especially marked sexual restlessness she constructed a paper penis, without quite knowing its exact shape, and wore it; this gave her much satisfaction, and she felt that the organ belonged to herself rather than to another person.

It was at this time that she began to become liable to voluptuous dreams which she could not exactly recall, except that she often seemed to be possessed by a vague and monstrous being. During all her girlhood she would often awake as in ecstasy clasping her own body as if it were that of an imaginary being and moving herself rhythmically as though in connection. (This evidently continued, it may be noted, after marriage; "during our early married life, particularly," she wrote, "we not infrequently awoke to find ourselves in the sexual embrace, not in the least knowing how we had come there.") She was sure, when she came to recall these experiences carefully, that such transports were often induced by a full bladder. Sometimes—this was always about the beginning of the menstrual period—she seemed when she awoke to be suckling a baby. She herself noted it as a significant fact that it was always a boy baby. This dream lasted through life.

---

women obtain from using a hose for watering the garden, for here the unconscious experiences the ideal fulfilment of a childish wish." Abraham failed to explain why he dragged in the "unconscious.

She now became ashamed of her vesical day-dreams; moreover, "during the next three years I was interested and occupied, and I did not have as many day-dreams as formerly." Not only had definite sexual desire become established, but at the age of fifteen she was initiated, in an entirely beautiful manner through the study of botany, into all the secrets of reproduction. It would seem, however, that the vesical day-dreams had merely fallen into the background of consciousness; although less indulged and now replaced by a stronger interest, the feeling of shame had not sufficed to destroy their powers of giving pleasure. Perhaps they had fallen less into the background at puberty than she herself came to believe. This is suggested by her remark on another occasion: "I realize that, had I not, at a fairly early age, fallen in love and led thereafter a normal sexual life, I might have cultivated the art of urination, for its own sake." The more, as she herself observed, she tried to recall the impressions of her early sexual life the more she realized what an important part the bladder had played. "It is not so with my husband," she adds; "he cannot recall ever being interested in it in the least, and yet his dreams at night frequently involve urinating." It would seem, however, that urinary images had little part in her own erotic dreams. She could not give details on this point; "such things do not impress themselves upon my mind now because I realize their import and I can scarcely remember them in the morning." But, so far as remembered, her adolescent erotic dreams were neither of urination nor coitus. "I do not believe urination played a part in my dreams and unconscious thoughts," she wrote of this period, "but I cannot definitely say so. I cannot recall them so as to describe them further than that sometimes a powerful form seemed to possess me."

It is a highly significant fact that at least as early as puberty—she could not speak more definitely—the subject became aware that she secreted an unusually large amount of urine; this continued throughout life. She also regarded her bladder as unusually large and unusually sensitive, and she believed that the connection between the bladder and the sexual organs was in her case perhaps unusually intimate. Her erotic dreams before marriage she closely associated with a distended bladder; the association seemed less close after marriage, doubtless disguised by the normal sexual life she led.

But the bladder continued to play a part in psychic life during adult years. "I some years ago discovered for myself that a slightly distended bladder increased the excitement conducive to intellectual work of a creative kind:[1] I have of course noted that a full bladder increases sexual excitement. To urinate while swollen with sexual desire is highly

[1] This has been noted by other women. Thus a lady, aged 30, tells me that she discovered for herself that a full bladder is a stimulus to intellectual activity, and has sometimes kept it full with this object.

enjoyable, and, were it not for æsthetic considerations, one might develop special forms of erotic satisfaction for these occasions. Any form of auto-eroticism is, however, detestable to me and such indulgence would therefore be impossible. [But this statement is qualified by a later statement.] I may say, however, that in itself a slightly distended bladder is always gently exciting, and the act of relieving it is perhaps more of a pleasure than the discharge of any other usual function."

While, therefore, puberty led to a recession of the vesical phantasies, it by no means eliminated the vesical element from psychic life. That element was, indeed, fostered by the tendency to polyuria which necessarily both heightened the pleasure of urination and increased the pressure of the bladder on the sexual organs. But this vesical psychic interest was henceforth consciously subordinated and controlled.

During adolescence she was admired by various men, but she held them at a distance, for, as is usual with people capable of strong passion and deep attachment, she had no inclination for trivial flirtation. She was consequently regarded as cold. But she admired various men in secret. From the age of fifteen to seventeen, also, she loved a woman some years older than herself with the passionate absorption of her whole soul, though she was shy of revealing the extent of her love to its object. There was no definite sexual excitement associated with this adoration, which was, however, of a very jealous kind.

From time to time she continued to suffer from periods of unsatisfied sexual tension, and at the age of seventeen or eighteen she spontaneously discovered the act of masturbation (practised with the finger). She was shocked at her own practice, which never became a frequent indulgence, for about this time she began to use a vaginal douche for menstrual pain and this proved an agreeable solace which replaced masturbation.

At the age of eighteen she met and fell in love with the man whom a few years later she married. After that, whatever external trials she encountered, there were no sexual troubles or difficulties; the marriage proved throughout happy and congenial.

In sending me the intimate narration of her own experiences, of which it has been here necessary only to use portions, she ended up with the words: "But the tale of my life is only begun." Within a year of writing these words the tale of her life was ended. After her death her friends testified with enthusiasm to her varied intellectual gifts, to her social graces, to her personal fascination, to her beneficient activities in the service of others. With her letters before me, telling intimately of herself and constantly glancing off in innumerable directions, written with the delight which reserved and sensitive people feel in being able to reveal their true selves, I have no doubt that these witnesses are true.

The foregoing summary of what seem to be the chief relevant facts in the subject's early life may suffice as an introduction to the dreams now to be presented. The record began with the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, which occurred at an interval of many years after the previous pregnancy. Her attention was now for the first time, at my suggestion, fixed on her dreams. This attention, as she herself spontaneously noted, seemed to have no effect in rendering the dreams more frequent or in changing their character. "When I am well and not over-tired," she wrote, "I do not dream. I can almost foretell the date of my menstrual period by the coming on of dreams two or three nights before. Unless I am living without sexual satisfaction they are merely troubled dreams such as one might have if the digestion were disordered." Pregnancy was a period lacking in sexual satisfaction; "any sexual excitement at such a time would be contrary to my convictions." On the 27th August, when already four or five months pregnant, she wrote: "During the first two months I had two sexual dreams, induced by bladder pressure. I did not keep the dates nor do I remember anything about the dreams (without a distinct effort it seems impossible for me to recall a sexual dream in the morning), but it occurred to me that they might fall at regular periods. Then I had one on the 19th July, exactly the date I should have menstruated had I not been pregnant. But the next fell on the 26th August, so my idea of periodicity was dispelled."

This dream, therefore, which is the first of this series, was really the fourth erotic dream of the pregnancy. All the dreams are presented in the precise words of the dreamer, with her own comments included.

Dream I. 26th August.

It may be noted, in order to explain the material of which this dream is built up, that (1) the evenings previously the subject had been discussing the emotional effects of poetry with an acquaintance who mentioned that her sister, under treatment for a nervous disorder, was compelled to refrain from reading poetry because of its effect upon her nerves; (2) during several previous nights she had seemingly been awakened by lines of poetry running through her head, and had even got out of bed to verify some of which she was not sure; (3) she had the day before spoken to her brother-in-law, just returned from a journey, of the death of a very remarkable cat during his absence. "This was a strange animal and uncommonly luxurious in his tastes. At night he went to bed with the children. When he desired to be fed he became so insistent that he caught at our dresses and untied our shoelaces and threw himself in our way. He was ever eager to be fondled and would

cry and twist as if in pain, and when noticed behave with voluptuous grace." (4) This brother-in-law slept in a large antique four-poster bed, while she herself preferred a simple low bed; (5) the previous evening, when dressed for a ride, she threw off her jacket, while waiting, on account of the heat and lay on a lounge; her husband, thereupon, came in, sat beside her, admired her arms and kissed them. This gave her a glow of pleasure, but no excitement, and her husband, also (as he told her next day) had experienced no sexual excitement.

"My dream began by bits of verse running in my head. I cannot recall it clearly, but it was old poetry, some isolated phrases I have always liked from Donne and this from Campion:

"But still moves delight
Like clear springs renewed by flowing,
Ever perfect, ever in them-
selves eternal."

(I had read no Jacobean poetry for years.)

"Then I said to a man whose face was partially turned toward me and who seemed buried among manuscripts and books: "Once I made a parody on 'To Dianeme.'" I said this in a flippant way, as though I were trying to cover a fault.

"After a pause during which I grew more uncomfortable, he turned and said sadly, "That was sacrilege." This man seemed like an accusing conscience, but his look of reproach was soon transferred to the cat waiting to be fed. Its eyes had become large and human, but the tail had a humorous twist very like the cat that revealed the knavery of him who stole the tarts in the Caldecott picture book. After having given the cat milk and regarded its usual graceful airs, I said something apologetic to the man in the matter of my lack of taste, adding: "I have a copy of Shakespeare's sonnets in my hand and it is a *good* edition." I handled the familiar leather covers [no sexual association with the odor of leather, as she explained later], and the pride in my book comforted me for the misery I felt about the parody.

"Then I went to the high four-poster bed where my husband had already retired. I was irritated because I had to sleep there and the discomfort of climbing so high was very clear. I had the book of sonnets in my hand and, perceiving my companion to be in an indifferent mood, I turned on the light and began to read. My eye took in

"When to the sessions of sweet silent thought,"

not line by line, but the whole thing at once—a weird sensation.

"I felt provoked to remain unnoticed and, feeling excited myself I thought, 'If this keeps up, I can't stand it. I believe he is becoming impotent. I shall have to get satisfaction from somewhere.'

"At that moment he began to kiss me and stroke my arms and my delight was but increased by my surprise.

"Yet, feeling he must be less desirous than I, I commenced to fondle and arouse him further. This I was unable to do for I cried out that if I were not gratified at once I should have hysterics. I snatched the penis and attempted to crowd it into the vagina but found this—owing, as I fancied, to my extreme state of excitement—difficult and painful.

"At this crisis I awoke to find myself in the unhappy condition of having a distended bladder and a hot, wet, and palpitating vagina.

"As far as I can tell, I have never dreamed of sexual intercourse with any definite man but my husband, and among the mass of unpleasant incidents it is at least agreeable to know my dreams have nothing in "the irregular and uncertified line," as the Romany Chi expressed it."

This may well be so, but it is clear that other men besides her husband played a vaguely accessory part in the erotic imagery of her dreams. That is to be expected in the erotic dreams even of the most whole-heartedly faithful wife or husband and must not be taken as having any profound significance. In this respect erotic dreams correspond to erotic revery in the daytime. A woman in her erotic day-dreams may experience sexual excitement (whether or not followed by masturbation) in connection with the figure of an attractive male acquaintance who is not in love with her, with whom she is not in love, with whom she has never had or even desired to have any intimate relations, and while she is all the time in love with another man.

This dream well illustrates how the original vesical impulse (indicated by the lines referring to the flowing stream) arouses an erotic impulse which becomes predominant and draws to its service all recent related mental imagery, here, notably, first in the form of poetic sentiment,[1] and then in the image of the cat which had clearly im-

---

[1] Shakespeare's sonnet XXX runs:

"When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought."

"To Dianeme" several of Herrick's most delightful lyrics were addressed, and it is not clear to which the dreamer here referred. One of them has a definite urinary allusion, rare in poetry:

"Show me that hill where smiling Love doth sit
Having a living fountain under it."

Another contains the lines:

"O Dianeme, rather kill
Me, than to make me languish still!
'Tis cruelty in thee to the height,

pressed the subject in waking life by his curious simulation of erotic emotion. The cat may, in any case, be regarded as an erotic symbol, while milk is everywhere a symbol of semen.

It is also interesting to note how the growing sexual excitement of the dream is accompanied by a growing sense of confusion, of apology, even of sacrilege, although these feelings are dislocated from the sexual phenomena to which they seem to belong and attached to a trivial misdeed, the parody of Herrick's poem. A look of reproach, it will be noticed, is turned on the innocent cat, evidently a symbol of the dreamer's erotic condition, waiting to be fed. This feeling of guilt may perhaps be connected with the fact that the dreamer is, at the same time, imagining herself in her brother-in-law's bed, although dreaming that she is with her husband. There is probably some significance in the insistence on the possession of the good edition. It may be recalled that in the subject's early Hānsel and Gretel day-dream there was a somewhat similar blending of indulgence and disapproval.

Dream II. 16th September.

"Yesterday I had a very slight headache for which I was unable to account. When I undressed for bed, I noticed my nipples were sore and darker than they had been. Then I recollected this was about the date of my menstrual period. I gave no further consideration to the matter and I did not wonder if I were going to have a dream.

"After I was in bed my husband, who is occupying a room in a remote part of the house, came into my chamber to get some clothes. After having performed several little services for me, he merely called out a goodnight as he left the room. The character of the parting of lovers who are accustomed to regard the night as ill that severs those it should unite, caused me to think of something I intend writing you in an attempt to controvert your remark about the benefits of separation. I commenced to form this letter in my mind, asserting my belief that an artificial separation is unnecessary when children are allowed to come to married people since the enforced bodily separation during pregnancy seems sufficient. There

---

Thus, thus to wound, not kill outright;
Yet there's a way found, if thou please,
By sudden death, to give me ease."

Campion's lines are from the lyric "Rose-cheeked Laura, come, in *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*. It is remarkable that they should have been reproduced so accurately, if they had not been read for years, and one suspects that the dreamer may have verified her quotations.

is a spiritual rebirth and a renewal of love which comes with the first cry of the child and this seems a contribution of nature toward making monogamy tolerable.

"I continued my imaginary letter until I fell asleep. I awoke about one o'clock. I usually awake about two and warm myself a dish of cocoa. I try to avoid this when I can, and on this occasion I merely drank a full glass of water and urinated. At two I awoke from my dream.

"The dream was very chaotic but I will recall all I am able.

"My first recollection was wanting a cigarette. I should state that I have not smoked in some six or seven months and then but occasionally. I only indulge when I am enjoying a long evening of conversation with my husband or one of the two or three men who are close friends and who are smoking. I like them, though, but forbear just as I do from wine, tea and coffee, which I almost never allow myself. I suppose it is because these things are seldom used save in the company of the men I am most attached to, that they have a slight—a very slight—suggestion of sexual attraction.

"So, then, I wished for a cigarette and, not being able to find one, I thought, 'Dr. Ellis will give me one.' Quite as I desired, I felt on the floor beside the bed and found an entire box. Then I got out of bed and began not to walk, but to *float* (in a perpendicular position) less than a foot from the floor. I floated out of my room onto an open balcony that adjoins it from which I viewed the misty night landscape. Then I floated into the bathroom where my husband stood nude in the moonlight. His skin is exceedingly fair and I have always thought the flesh of his arms and breast very beautiful, with the blue veins showing under the delicate covering. I admired him as I floated in, the moonlight striking on his breast and shoulders. (I am quite sure in these dreams his face is always obscure if not in shadow). I floated beside him and put my arm about his shoulder wondering that, owing to my noiseless entrance, my embrace did not startle him. The contact of the flesh excited me. I took the soft penis and commenced to rub it against the clitoris. This was easy because, floating off the floor, I was above him. When it became partially erect, I forced it into the vagina. Then I awoke. I was not experiencing the orgasm as is usually the case but there was moisture of the vulva. I put my hand on my abdomen and, not being entirely sensible, felt startled to find it big. I turned on my side that the change of position might dispel the dream. I became conscious of a bladder full but not uncomfortably distended. Regretting I had not taken nourishment before and remembering that the glass of water had probably filled the bladder, I arose and warmed the chocolate. I was very hungry.

"I think there might have been other causes than a full bladder contributing to the dream. There must have been some congestion for my feet were cold, my head and hands hot, and I afterward had a severe cramp in my leg.

"At 7 A.M. my temperature was 97.7° F. and it has been normal or very slightly subnormal all day."

In this dream the vesical impulse was evidently not strong and constituted merely a contributary cause, as the subject herself recognized, in pointing out that there was probably an element of pelvic congestion associated with the cold feet. Possibly it was owing to the absence of any great amount of bladder distension that sexual excitement failed to reach the orgasm.

The conspicuous part played by the cigarette in this dream cannot fail to be noted. It is now recognized that the cigarette may sometimes be a sexual symbol, and this has been supposed to be due to a resemblance to the penis. The subject in the present case more reasonably suggests that the slight sexual suggestion of the cigarette in her mind was due to its association with the idea of familiar intercourse with husband or masculine friends.

It may further be noted that there seems to be a trace of what psycho-analysts term *transference*, here, however, to a person whom the dreamer had never seen.

The imagery of floating then enters the dream. It has been too hastily assumed that floating or flying in a dream always indicates a sexual wish. It may well be, however, that it has that significance in the present case, for as we see, the act of floating serves here to bring the dreamer into a definitely erotic situation. The subject was not liable to dream of flying, though in youth she had had dreams of falling.

During this month, it may be noted, the subject was, on the whole, in excellent condition. "I am feeling well and very happy," she wrote, "and I hope to produce a god."

Dream III. 5th October.

"Last night I had a dream which was of a sexual character but it was not marked by any outward manifestation of excitement. When I awoke the sexual organs were entirely passive but the bladder was distended.

"The dream was in retrospect and the passionate mood was as something that had passed away. I dreamed it was morning (but it was not the present time), and I was relating to my husband how I had suffered through the night from sexual desire, that I had hesitated to arouse him, sleeping in another room, and how I had tried various means to gratify myself. He replied that he, too, had

been restless all night from the same cause and had not liked to come to me. In my dream I reviewed the attempts I had made to allay my passion but I cannot recall more than one. Yet this one is interesting.

"I dreamed I was telling him how I had pressed the labia together over the clitoris until it became erect. Spasmodic contractions of the vulva followed which were intensely exciting but in no way satisfying. This well illustrates the close sympathy between the bladder and the sexual organs in women, and is a case of one function symbolizing that of another, the contractions of a distended bladder no doubt suggesting the contractions of the sexual organs under excitement.

"I have often thought the natural tendency felt by women and little girls to squeeze the lips together when attempting to retain urine, or under excitement of any kind, must press the clitoris so that voluptuous sensations follow. To press one leg against the labia and then the other, at the same time voluntarily contracting the urethra, is a common method often noticed. As I look back at my own childhood, I remember the pressure of the soft fat leg against the labia which in turn pressed the clitoris, while the bladder was distended, as an agreeable if not a voluptuous sensation.

"Perhaps this was unconsciously performed in my dream."

There seems no occasion here to add to the subject's own sagacious comments. This may be said to be predominantly a vesical rather than an erotic dream, the sexual imagery being here a symbol of the real vesical tension. There was no real sexual excitement.

Dream IV. 7th October.

"Two nights after the first October dream, I had one of slightly sexual character. There seemed to be no emotion experienced on my part. My husband came to me and told me he could not endure this abstinence (owing to my pregnancy, of which I seemed conscious) and I replied that it was quite unnecessary that he should so suffer, that I was sure indulgence would not harm me—and so on. I could remember very little of the dream when I awoke, except he seemed petulant rather than excited, and that it seemed impossible for us to be alone together, the house being full of people. The bladder in this case was but slightly distended."

This is a wish dream of simple type. It may be said to represent the erotic dream in the earliest and most elementary form, not yet developed, to any emotional activity. As is usual in dreaming, the impediment to the fulfilment of the wish is disguised, as the "houseful of people,"—in reality the womb filled by the child.

Dream V. 11th October.

"I had an interesting dream but unpleasant to remember and to tell. I was in a large women's tailoring establishment. Counters of woolen goods were displayed and a number of women were being fitted. I chose and had cut and tried on a black and white shepherd's plaid of small pattern.

"This place melted into an establishment, also full of women, which seemed conducted for the sexual gratification of its customers. It had none of the character of a brothel and no Oriental atmosphere. It seemed as business-like as the tailoring establishment. I saw but one of the women. I was led upstairs into a bedroom. On a wide bed was a man, small, withered and very like an automaton, who was evidently the property of the woman occupying the chamber. He was offered me but I waved him aside, saying that I could not endure to have him near me, that his presence made me fairly ill. He therefore crouched, almost fell to pieces as though he were made of wood, in one corner of the bed. I should have said he was fully dressed, partly bald and made no effort to attract. The woman who lay on the bed was large of frame, but not coarse, neither young nor fair and certainly business-like. I felt or expressed a desire to have my clitoris rubbed. She offered herself and I, taking the usual male position in intercourse, pressed my own against hers. This gave me the most intense throbbing in the clitoris. I at once awoke to find it erect and the bladder much distended. Other sexual organs were undisturbed.

"I suppose it is folly to attempt an apology for such utter depravity as this dream would indicate. I realize I am not responsible for inherited tendencies and I believe we all have homosexual desires which might—under certain circumstances—be aroused.

"Yet I have not cared much for the companionship of women, and for close contact, never. No woman has ever been able to inform herself of any facts of my private life. The common and innocent intimacies of girlhood made little appeal, and confidences of older women have ever been detestable to me. Yet beauty in women makes a strong appeal, and even—on the stage—has, I think, excited me sexually, and once, I am sure, off the stage. Usually, though, it is difficult for me to make a proper show of cordiality to women."

The interesting feature of this dream is certainly the emergence of a homosexual element in an entirely normal subject who was quite unconscious of possessing any homosexual tendencies, though as a girl she had cherished a passionate non-physical adoration for a woman. It has sometimes been maintained that a homosexual dream infallibly indicates a homosexual tendency. Careful observa-

tion shows, however, that this is a rule to which there are many exceptions.

The opinion is widespread that children have bisexual tendencies, and a homosexual trace would thus be regarded as the revival of an infantile character. It is perhaps in favor of such an interpretation that the active and aggressive part played in this and some other of the dreams by the feminine dreamer is certainly a childish characteristic and has been noted by Bell and others as marking the sexual manifestations of little girls. The subject herself clearly recognized this as true of her own childhood; she wrote:

"It seems worth while to remark that in the dreams I have recorded I seem to take the aggressive part. It was so in the sexual impulses of childhood. My clitoris then seemed a sort of penis with which I wished to act." It may be recalled that even in her adolescent years the paper penis she once made and wore seemed to be an organ that belonged to herself, and was a very definite indication of the "penis-envy" of girls.

I may add that the subject's comments on this dream are entirely concordant with the attitude of a large number of reserved and feminine women, not only as regards the difficulty of intimacy with other women, but also as regards the sexual appeal of beauty in women. This is not the manifestation of a homosexual impulse (although it is of course strongly felt by inverted women) but is due to the fact that womanly beauty and grace have become the general symbol of sexual fascination, a symbol, therefore, by which women themselves are to some degree affected, however normal they may be. In such a case the feminine onlooker may be said to be sympathetically excited by the emotions suggested, rather than carried away by any masculine desire to possess the person suggesting these emotions.

Dream VI. 17th October.

"I dreamed of riding in a motor car with a man of whom I am very fond. He does not attract me sexually in the least.

"We were stopped by a common friend who is a musician. I complained of a headache and the man with whom I was riding drew my temples against his cheek, saying this always cured my headache. I was much embarrassed that he should do this before our friend. Moreover I did not care for the contact of his flesh although I felt I had liked it on other occasions.

"Apparently there was a period of dreamless sleep before I found myself seated alone in a swing which is suspended from our garden veranda. It has just occurred to me that I have spent many evenings in this swinging seat with the man I was with in the dream motor car.

The connection did not strike me until now. The dream was very fantastic. I rocked gently in the swing and urinated, the water forming a fine spray which whirled as fountains sometimes do. The spray went far away from me and there was something ethereal about it, for I remarked it did not in the least wet my clothes. My skirts seemed to open out in a flower-like manner to allow the fine stream and mist to play."

This dream (which opens with an association between riding and headache not uncommon in dreaming) interestingly illustrates the frustrated or accessory part frequently played in this subject's dreams by men other than her husband. Slight physical contact is initiated with the friend, leading to a sense of embarrassment which is attributed to the presence of another friend. The erotic process is now developed (the friend still playing a part, now become latent) by the introduction of the swing. The act of swinging actually tends in some cases to produce sexual excitement and (as I long since pointed out) swings are associated with erotic festivals in various parts of the world. We know, moreover, that the present subject, even in her adolescent days, would awake from erotic dreams finding her body in rhythmic movement. We hazard little, therefore, in concluding that the swing is here an erotic symbol. But the process is carried still further. The rhythmic motion of swinging culminates in a forcible act of urination. This may fairly be regarded as here the symbol of orgasm. The dreamer omitted to mention any notable distension of the bladder on awakening, the omission, as she subsequently explained, meaning that no such distension was present. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the imaginary act of urination here sprang, as is often the case, from a vesical impulse. Moreover, there are cases in which normal men, when the sexual orgasm is occurring during sleep, dream that they are urinating, and that the urinary stream is of great volume and force, although these men have no sexual association with the act of urination in waking life. (In this dream we see, too, that the urinary stream had a forcible and fountain-like character, which recalls the contention of Sadger that the urinary stream furnished the idea for fountains). We know, moreover, that our present subject in early life felt an intense and quasi-sexual interest in urination. It is reasonable to suppose that that interest here reappears, and the reason for its reappearance may not be obscure: the faint sexual emotion aroused by the male companion in the motor car is thus enabled to discharge itself, symbolically, without moral reproach.

We see here a process the reverse to that displayed in Dream III. In the earlier dream the sexual imagery may be regarded as a symbol evoked by the vesical impulse; in the later dream the urinary

imagery is a symbol evoked by the sexual impulse. This relationship between the two spheres, of which either may be primary, corresponds exactly with what we know of the sexual and vesical activities and their mutual relationships during waking life. It is a fact that in young girls sexual tension may be relieved by urination.

At the end of the month the subject writes:

"This closes the account of erotic dreams for October. During the month I did not once experience strong excitement, or the orgasm. At about the period of menstruation, I suffered considerably from inflamed ovaries and congestion and nervousness, but the dream of the 17th shows the only depression noted in my sleep."

Dream VII. 21st November.

"I dreamed I was laboriously climbing the stairway in the house where Tess d'Urbervilles spent her bridal night. I felt the same dread of the pictures of her ancestors sunk in the walls that she is depicted to have felt. I thought my clitoris was elongated (perhaps the size of a small baby's penis), that it was exposed, and was erect.[1] It ached and some one said to me: "Press your finger upon it. That will give relief"! When I did so the contact of the harsh, dry, finger hurt. The same voice thundered: "Wet your finger." This I was reluctant to do. The person—who never materialized— urged me. I finally put it in my mouth. The saliva began to flow. At this point I awoke with a full bladder."

This I should regard as a mixed vesico-erotic dream, the imagery being symbolic both of erotic and urinary processes. As in other of the subject's dreams, the imagery is at first only remotely though definitely erotic, to become more markedly so as the dream progresses.

We see here clearly the early desire so often attributed to young girls for a large and penis-like organ, corresponding to the actual relatively greater size of the clitoris in infancy.

Dream VIII. 16th December.

"I dreamed I saw a woman dressed for the evening in a frock of my own. It is of blue silk and fashioned in a surplice effect to disguise my figure at the present time. I wear with it a net yoke. The woman had discarded the yoke and thus made of it an evening dress. As I looked I saw the draped front was fastened so that a

[1] It is sometimes said that women often dream of the clitoris being a penis; see e.g. *Ztblft. f. Psychoanalyse*, Jahrgang IV, Heft 9, p. 530.

portion of the right breast and all the left breast were exposed I thought, 'Why, that is my breast.' Then I noticed her hair. It was my own. The identitiy of the woman, however, remained intact. I approved the color scheme and noted the effect of the blue upon the hair and how the dark red nipple stood out, accenting as a jewel might. I was highly pleased. Then I noticed that the gown was open lower down. I saw the brown pubic hair was parted and curled back on either side. It had been done with curling tongs (I have never owned a pair) and I thought, 'That is neat, and a good idea, too. But she is not in evening dress. She had made her toilet for sexual intercourse.' Then I awoke, but after I awoke—it seemed to me—I thought, "I must get some curling tongs!"

"My bladder was, as usual, full."

In this dream we see the usual gradual progression towards an erotic climax which is never quite attained; the vision, at first dim and shifting, is, as it were, ever more and more definitely focused on the central point of sex

It can scarcely be described as a homosexual dream. It evidently represents a manifestation of Narcissism, all the more interesting as the subject showed no exaggerated tendency in this direction during waking life, beyond an evident admiration for her own good physical points, especially hair and skin. As so often happens in dreams, what was merely germinal in waking life developed in sleeping life.[1] The advantage of this dream process is that the dreamer is thus enabled to enjoy her own beauty to the utmost, without scruple or reserve.

There were no further dreams in December or indeed any unquestionably erotic dreams at all during the remainder of the pregnancy. "I have been awakened many times by pressure from a full bladder," the subject wrote towards the end of December, "but the dreams have not occurred. I am glad to know that writing them does not induce their greater frequency." At this time the subject was becoming more disinclined for the effort of writing. Most of her time was now spent lying down. She also, for the first time, became vaguely apprehensive of danger in the termination of the pregnancy.

The last dream recorded was not regarded by the subject as erotic, but opinions may differ on this point.

---

[1] Otto Rank, in his study of Narcissism (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, 1912), brings forward a somewhat similar dream in which the dreamer sees a portrait of another woman which she recognizes as really presenting her own features in a favorable light.

Dream IX. 23d January.

"I dreamed of walking in a garden enclosed by a wall. There was but little shrubbery. A naturalist and his assistant were collecting specimens and it was assumed that I should assist them. The impressions of our work are vague. After a time I saw snakes of the usual size with their heads against the wall where green things grew. The bodies extended into the clear spaces and they lay straight and still with stiff, pointed tails. I was expected to pick them up and place them in jars which the men carried for that purpose. This I could not summon courage to do. I excused myself, saying, 'But my father could do it. He did not mind picking them up by the tails at all!' Then I awoke. I do not know whether I arose and drank a glass of water or whether I merely thought of doing so. At any rate, I fell asleep at once again and dreamed of taking up a glass to drink which, instead of water, was filled with a thin, writhing snake.

"The intestinal disturbance was marked. For some days I had been troubled—due, perhaps, to warm weather and my own increasing inactivity—with intestinal indigestion accompanied by slight headaches and loss of appetite. Disliking particularly at the present time to resort to drugs, I concluded, after the dream, to do so and since then I have been perfectly well.

"An interesting incident of the dream is the allusion to my father who has been for some years dead. When I was, I think, eleven, possibly twelve, he was one evening about sunset working in his garden. I was going from him into the house. He called he had something for me, and, turning, I saw a long angle worm which he had hung across his forefinger. I shuddered and ran from him, crying hysterically for a long time. I believe I then first realized that my former childish admiration and interest in snakes and worms had turned to loathing. It is odd that an event of twenty-three or four years ago should be so casually referred to in a dream."

It may be added, however, that this definite revival of a forgotten incident from childhood supports the conclusion, suggested by some of the earlier dreams, that we have here been frequently concerned with the re-emergence of infantile ways of thought and feeling.

"I have come to think," the subject continues, "that intestinal disturbances, in women at least, tend to arouse erotic thoughts, if not erotic dreams, just as bladder pressure seems to do. From personal experience and inquiries put to others, I believe there is a connection between snake dreams and intestinal indigestion. I

think that women have these oftener than men. (I have more than once wondered if the snakes seen in dreams caused by indigestion are not really the intestines made visible. This idea I had considered too fantastic to speak of to anyone until I heard of autoscopy). I had, however, had no snake dream for—I should think—more than a year, and certainly not during the last nine months."

It is noteworthy that though the subject thus associated indigestion with snake visions, and both with erotic impulses, it never crossed her mind that this dream might be erotic. Yet the dream has in it imagery—the stiff snakes that are to be put into jars, and the emotional excitement accompanying this operation—which suggests a sexual significance.

As the subject in this case happened to be specially interested in the psychic significance of the snake, it may be worth while to quote some of her experiences and feelings in this connection: "That the penis in the process of erection is like the swelling of an angry adder," she wrote, "I suppose everybody has suggested. It surprises me, however, to find no mention of the resemblance between the movements of the serpent and of a woman in the transport of the sexual embrace. The movements of the Oriental dances which have for their object the stirring of the passions must suggest these sinuous movements of the reptile and, to those who have seen snakes mating, the entire enwrapping of the man by the woman must at once occur.

"I had a dream, years ago, which seems to me significant. I saw a woman lying on the floor of the palace of an Oriental king. She was endeavoring to arouse the passion of her lord who sat in a remote part of the hall. Slowly, by twisting her body one way and another, she worked her way toward him, while he bent toward her, hypnotized by her sensuous grace. I have thought there is a certain resemblance to the perfect stillness of the serpent before it strikes in the attitude of a woman who is being wooed. Suddenly she darts out her arms and smothers the man in her embrace.

"I have for long pondered over what seems to be evident, the growth of the fear of serpents with the coming of puberty. I remember, when about six years old, thinking snakes were pretty, and once, finding one dead in the road, offering to pick it up and pet it, but an old man, who was my walking companion, told me it would not be dead until sunset, which mystery added another fascination. I cannot trace my change of feeling but the horror of crawling things grew upon me until it obsessed me. When I was about eleven, I had hysterics because an angle worm was held up to view. Snakes haunted my dreams and I suffered tortures at the thought of them. I was told that this horror would be diminished if I ever

killed one, and this I managed to accomplish when I was about eighteen. When I found how easily they were disposed of, I did somewhat overcome my loathing, and now, when meeting them in a state of nature I am little affected. I am made almost ill, however, if they writhe. Just darting about, a bright spot of color amidst the green, they seem a part of the serene landscape."

These remarks by a single subject may alone suffice to show that the question of the psychic significance of the snake is somewhat complex. To assume that whenever the snake image recurs to the mind we are in the presence of a symbol of the penis reveals a crude and childish conception of symbolism.[1] There is a case of a man whose first and vivid memory in early childhood was of finding a brilliantly colored dead snake. In such a case we can evoke no sexual associations. The snake, by its shape, its color, its behavior, its method of progression, the halo of terror due to its frequently venomous character, would always be a highly impressive object even if the penis had no existence, and sexual symbolism were altogether excluded. Anyone who in a snake country is suddenly confronted by a hissing snake finds no need to invoke any sexual associations in order to explain the impression he receives. The snake is a natural phenomenon with a highly complex impressiveness on the human mind. Its sexual symbolism, while undoubted and definitely met with in varied parts of the world,[2] is far from exhausting all its significance.

Before setting down a few general considerations regarding this series of dreams, it may be well to refer to a point which, though psychologically extrinsic to the dreams, has a direct bearing on their interpretation: I mean the question of menstrual periodicity. The subject herself was at first inclined to consider that there was a tendency to such periodicity, and that at least two of these dreams occurred at a menstrual date, one of them (No. II) taking place with the appearance of certain familiar menstrual molimina. If a strict menstrual periodicity were demonstrable it is obvious that vesical stimulation, or any other influence extraneous to the physical generative system, must play but an accessory part in the dreams.

The last menstrual periods previous to conception occurred on the 3d February, 3d March, 29th March and 23d April; they were thus somewhat irregular. The dates of the dreams from the time that they began to be noted, were: 19th July, 26th August, 16th

---

[1] We need not on that account doubt the reality of such symbolism in many cases of snake imagery; some good examples are given by Maeder, "A Propos des Symboles," *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, Jan.-Feb., 1909.

[2] See *e.g.*, Appendix A. to *Studies*, vol. i.

September, 5th October, 7th October, 11th October, 17th October, 21st November, 16th December and (if we include the snake dream) 23d January.

The subject believed that the dream of the 19th July was on the exact menstrual date. That, however, could scarcely be the case. There seems, however, to be a rough menstrual periodicity, for, putting aside October, a dream occurred every month. But the interval is not regular, and October, with its four dreams, flagrantly contradicts any menstrual rules. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the October dreams were accompanied by strong excitement or orgasm, the periodic sexual storm having been, as it were, broken up on this occasion.

On the whole it would seem that a tendency to menstrual periodicity is a real influence in the causation of these erotic dreams. But we are clearly concerned with a periodic nisus which is easily deflected. Its existence, therefore, by no means puts other causative factors out of court.

I. It will have been observed that in my comments on these dreams I have regarded them as presenting images which are frequently symbolic of the physical sexual phenomena arousing or accompanying the dream. To many this may seem a hazardous if not altogether unjustifiable proceeding.

I have elsewhere[1] argued, with copious illustrations, that dreaming is necessarily symbolic. That is to say that the conditions under which consciousness acts during sleep make it impossible for any stimulus reaching consciousness from within or from without to be perceived, directly and immediately, for what it is. The rich store of mental imagery is drawn upon to supply sleeping consciousness with an image which appears to correspond to the unrecognizable stimulus, somatic or psychic, which is knocking at the door of the brain. The birds' song evokes the image of an orchestral concert; the laboring respiration leads to ideas of rhythmic flight; a breath of cold air suggests a mountain ascent. All these images are symbols which mirror and represent actual facts. It is of such symbols that dreaming is made up, for even psychic stimuli—the wishes and fears and other emotional impulses which surge into sleeping consciousness—act in precisely a similar way.

We cannot, however, play at random with our symbols. If we wish to be on sure ground we must proceed from the facts to the symbols, and not from the symbols to the facts. The latter course may merely lead us into a fantasmagoric world from which science is banished. Let us be sure of our facts; then we may perhaps be able to recognize the symbols. Otherwise we may be liable to

[1] *The World of Dreams. passim.*

assume that all dreaming is symbolic of the digestive process, or the respiratory process, or the vesical process, or of any other organic process—it will most likely be the sexual—which happens to interest us. Dreams are, there can be little doubt, symbolic of all these and any other physiological or emotional process, but of which process in any given case we cannot be sure unless we have evidence that there is special organic activity present at the time. If we go beyond this firm ground we enter the sphere of undemonstrable (though not necessarily unprofitable) speculation.

That is why, in interpreting these dreams, I have hesitated to assume that the imagery exhibits any sexual symbolism unless there was ground to believe that sexual activity was really present at the time. That, also, is why I have left open the question of the erotic symbolism of the snake dream. This seems a sound and reasonable position, which no extravagance of symbolic interpretation we may chance to have heard of should lead us to abandon.

II. Another preliminary point is the nature of the organic sexual process accompanying these dreams. The subject was fairly explicit on this point, and there seems to have been some degree of physical excitement in nearly every dream, with the almost certain exception of the final snake dream. In some cases the subject definitely notes that there was orgasm on awakening. But the dreamer herself, whose powers of self-observation were considerable, had no belief in the possibility of sexual satisfaction for a woman during sleep. "I believe I am safe in drawing the conclusion," she wrote with special reference to the first dream of this series, "that a woman is never satisfied by a sexual dream, while a man may be." This is by no means an isolated personal experience. Many women, having full experience of sexual satisfaction in normal coitus during waking life, are emphatic in stating that the sexual excitement of sleep fails to produce sexual satisfaction and seems usually to be only a manifestation of sexual desire. No absolute law can here be laid down. If orgasm is really occurring as the dreamer awakes—and the phenomena experienced certainly indicate that this is sometimes the case—it is difficult not to believe that some relief of sexual tension has taken place.

It seems evident, however, that while the auto-erotic experiences of men during sleep are sometimes depressing and unsatisfactory, it is still more difficult for a woman to achieve spontaneous sexual satisfaction during sleep. That indeed is a conclusion that might almost have been anticipated. The conditions required for detumescence in men, when once tumescence has been attained, are simple and involve little more than such pressure as may easily occur during sleep. But in women they are much more complicated, and

much more difficult to secure during sleep, while the psychic compensation for their absence involves an hallucinatory effort which must often be incomplete or perverse.

This seems to explain why it is that in some cases women tend to become charged to a dangerous degree with accumulated sexual energy. It also explains why in hysteria, ancient and modern, the nocturnal erotic experiences of women have often taken on a bizarre and perverted form rare or unknown in men.

III. It is notable that these dreams express the inhibited erotic needs of the subject very clearly. She is, on principle, without the sexual satisfaction which is at other times habitual and of which her temperamental need is strong. This condition of things is translated into the clearest imagery in her dreams. They represent the gradual approach towards the gratification of an organic erotic wish. Such dreams are sometimes termed of the "infantile" type. It may be that this term is not altogether felicitous. No doubt infantile dreams are emphatically of such a type. But under normal and healthy conditions are not adult dreams so also? In proportion as they are not so, it may fairly be argued, that is not due to the fact that they are adult rather than infantile, but to the accident that they have been suppressed and transformed by prudery or neurosis. Now the dreamer in the present case, though reserved towards the world, was not prudish; her conceptions of life were sound and normal; she had no reason whatever for not being perfectly frank with herself. Her dreams, therefore, while not excluding a natural symbolism, tend to express her intimate nature in a form which may be called "infantile," but equally well "adult." The subject was not a very copious dreamer and had previously given little attention to her dreams, the most vivid of which seem to have had precisely a vesico-erotic source. The record for the period under consideration, it may be inferred, covered all the dreams that were vivid enough to be recalled in the morning.

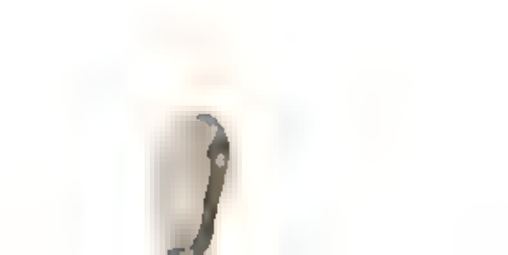
It has been stated indeed that in spite of a clearly Undinist disposition and the predominance of urinary day-dreams in early life, there seems to have been (we cannot speak positively for she had given no careful attention to her dreams before this pregnancy began) no specially large proportion of vesical dreams in her ordinary dreaming activity. She had associated erotic dreams with bladder pressure, but not with imagery suggested by the bladder. But in these dreams during pregnancy we see that the vesical type constantly tends to appear. That is the final point brought out by this history, and I am inclined to regard it as normal. It is so, not because of any folk-loristic association between pregnancy and water, but because of the increased vesical pressure in pregnancy. A

woman physician of nearly the same age as Mrs. R. S., and in her first pregnancy, informs me that she has made the same observation. In ordinary life vesical dreams have been rare with her, but since the third month of pregnancy there has been frequent urination in the day time and frequent vivid vesical dreaming at night.

IV. The central problem presented to us by this series of dreams, from the present point of view, is the relationship of the vesical stimulus to the erotic stimulus. Both stimuli were clearly present in most of the dreams. Which was primary, which secondary?

There has been a tendency in the interpretation of dreams to assume that the sexual impulse corresponds to the earliest and deepest psychic stratum, and that, therefore, all other impulses may be regarded as less profound and as mainly symbols of this more primitive impulse. To a certain extent this view is justified. But it is not justified when we bring the sexual impulse into relation with the excretal impulses. Phylogenetically, the impulse of urinary excretion is at least as old as that of sexual union. In the life of the individual it is older, and for the child the bladder covers an incomparably larger and more vivid field of consciousness than any impulse of sex. Therefore we are not entitled to assume, as a matter of course, that urination in dreams is a symbol of sexual desire, although it very frequently is so. We may quite as reasonably assume that the sexual impulse is a symbol of urination. Every individual case must be independently examined.

In his skilful and elaborate study of vesical dreams, Otto Rank patiently psycho-analyzed the vesical dreams of an excellent subject, a young woman especially liable to such dreams, and also occasionally to nocturnal erotic excitement. In his interpretation of these dreams, Rank doubtless showed much insight. But it is notable that when vesical and erotic elements came together in the same or successive dreams, Rank always assumed, without question, that it is the erotic impulse which is primary, and the vesical impulse secondary. He makes painfully ingenious and complicated efforts to prove that the vesical elements in such dreams are symbolically erotic and without any true vesical source. Now this assumption is quite out of place. Observation in waking life shows that either the vesical or the erotic stimulus may be primary, and that when either is set up the other tends to follow. Sexual tension leads to vesical excitement, and vesical tension leads to sexual excitement, both paths of nervous action being specially marked in women. This relationship of the two centres seems evidently to be maintained during sleep. If we are in doubt as to which is primary, it is important to determine whether the vesical distension was slight or considerable. If the amount of urine is large and the pressure exerted



by the bladder considerable, there is a presumption that the vesical stimulus was primary. If, on the other hand, the distension of the bladder was scarcely considerable enough to account for the impulse to urinate, there is a presumption that the erotic impulse was primary, and the vesical activity merely secondary. This is a fairly safe criterion. We cannot apply it to Rank's dreamer because, usually, beyond stating that on awakening she had to go "auf die kleine Seite" she gives no information concerning the state of her bladder. The subject in my series of dreams, although not asked to be precise on this point, frequently gives a helpful clue as to the amount of the vesical distension. In many cases, it would appear, vesical tension was primary. If we may assume that it was so also in Rank's subject, then some of the dreams for which he has sought far-fetched interpretations may be simply and naturally explained.[1]

It is important for the right understanding of the vesical significance of these dreams to bear in mind that, notwithstanding the large part which vesical interests played in the subject's consciousness, there was no pronounced urolagnia in waking life. She fails to present the complete vesical type of sexuality, or compensated sexuality, Sadger's "urethral eroticism," which is said to be usually preceded by a prolonged infantile nocturnal enuresis.

The essential traits of abnormal vesical sexuality, or as we might call it, abnormal "vesicality" (for the psychic impulse in such a case is rather the compensatory substitute of sexuality than itself definitely sexual), are not met with in the present subject. She revealed, indeed, in childhood an intense vesical life which to some extent persisted in the psychic background throughout life. But it was never after puberty deliberately cultivated—such cultivation being marked in persons of the fully developed vesical type—this being doubtless due to the fact that it was from adolescence altogether dominated and subordinated by a strong normal sexual impulse which during the whole of adult life found adequate satisfaction.

V. The element of penis fetichism in the subject's early experiences and in her erotic dreams may need comment. Penis-fetichism is not usually pronounced in women—less so than in male inverts—

---

[1] I may here remark that after a summary of the present case was published in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Rank wrote in a paper on "Die Geburts-Rettungsphantasie" (*Int. Zt. f. Aetz. Psychoanalyse*, Jan., 1914) that I had "unfortunately left unconsidered the fact that all these vesical dreams dated from the time of pregnancy." He means that I had not considered the folk-lore belief concerning the association of birth with water. But I had found no evidence for that item of folk-lore, which seems so common in Germany. It is noteworthy that the series of so-called "Birth dreams" of water brought forward in a more recent essay of Rank's (*Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, 1922, pp. 88 *et seq.*) are of entirely different type from the dreams of Mrs. R. S.

and it seems rather rare in childhood—notwithstanding all that has been said in recent years concerning "penis envy" in young girls—when sexual desire is not very definitely localized. The explanation here is to be found in the fairly obvious fact that in the present case the penis-fetichism of childhood was not really sexual at all, but a vesical manifestation. The subject knew nothing of the penis as the organ of sex; she only knew it as the organ of urination, and the fascination which the penis held for her in childhood—however it may have been supported by latent and unconscious sexual interest—was connected with its urinary functions. The attraction was transformed in a sexual direction at puberty, as we see in the incident of the paper penis, sinking in adult life to a degree which can scarcely be regarded as beyond the limits of normal variation, only to re-emerge in dreams.

VI. A word may be added as to the appearance of a homosexual element in one of these dreams. I have elsewhere pointed out that a homosexual erotic dream is no necessary evidence of a geunine homosexual impulse but may be due to that confusion of imagery which is part of the normal mechanism of dreaming.[1] In the present case, the subject disclaimed any homosexual influence in her life. It must be remembered, however, that in girlhood she had experienced a passionate devotion to a woman friend. It cannot, therefore, be taken as certain that the homosexual element in the dream is accidental; there may quite likely have been latent traces from the early period when so often sexuality seems to be undifferentiated, not yet formulated as a conscious heterosexual impulse. It is easy to observe how often in these dreams the dreamer is brought back to facts and emotional attitudes of infantile and pubertal life, as in the penis fetichism, the aggressive sexual attitudes, the almost forgotten memory embodied in the snake dream, etc.

In this, so far as I know, unique record of the auto-erotic manifestations of sleep during pregnancy, we have what may probably be regarded as a definite type of erotic dreaming in a normal and healthy woman, with fully developed sexual emotions, during pregnancy. We see how such dreams tend to begin in a correct and conventional manner; we see how an attractive man who in real life has made no conscious impression on the subject may glide into the dream with faint obscure amorous suggestion; we see how a procession of symbols may present the underlying sexual process in ever clearer imagery; we see, as the actual physical excitement grows more acute and urgent, how the expression of erotic desire may force its way nakedly into the dream, this direct manifestation being aided by the fact that only accidental circumstances, not any intimate conflict of

[1] *Studies*, vol. i. "A Study of Auto-erotism."

impulses, had led to the repression of sexual desire during waking life; we see, notably, how the vesical element, in this case aided by a pronounced predisposition, attains a peculiar prominence under the special conditions of pregnancy. All this—though in many feminine erotic dreamers the earlier stages may be condensed or absent—is to be regarded as entirely normal and typical.

While, however, in main outline the dreams are doubtless typical, in their details they illustrate more special problems. They show us how the germs of all sorts of aberrations or what are commonly regarded as aberrations—which in real life for the most part have long been left behind or else scarcely existed—may clearly emerge in dreams: homosexuality, narcissism, masturbation, fetichism. Especially they illustrate the influence of the vesical impulse and the nature of its relationship to the sexual impulse. We realize how the sexual impulse and the vesical impulse are two closely allied yet distinct forces which tend, under these circumstances, to play powerfully upon sleeping consciousness, how each may arouse or further stimulate the activity of the other, how the two may become almost inextricably blended.

We see in Mrs. R. S. a woman of strong sexual temperament in whom the urinary complex, taking on a definitely erotic tone, was highly developed, certainly to a greater degree than is usual, in childhood. Yet there was nothing morbid in this development or in its manifestations, and it remained within the range of normal variation. This was conclusively shown at puberty. The sex emotions developed in full vigor and the urinary ideas receded into the background or fell altogether below the threshold of consciousness. A certain amount of pleasure and interest remained associated with the urinary function, but she never showed the slightest inclination to dwell on this, though there were at times vesically aroused dreams, and though the full bladder had also the power of arousing the sexual mechanism during sleep, which is, in more or less degree, an entirely normal phenomenon. We see here, throughout, a natural disposition towards Undinism which follows every path of least resistance in its manifestation. But the resistance yet always remains normal and effective because we are concerned with a healthy person, endowed with a rich, many-sided, and intellectual nature, and placed under singularly happy conditions.

In the case of Miss E., which follows, circumstances were unfavorable to normal sexual development and throughout life she continued to show a pronounced urolagnia, with suggestions of the Undinist temperament, still not entirely freed from a coprophilic element and combined with some homosexuality and mild traces of other perversions.

Miss E., now nearly 60 years of age, is the daughter of a clergyman and has always led a quiet and retired life, with few opportunities for congenial society. Until recently she has lived with members of her own family so that she has always been under some restraint. "We are an awful 'proper family,' " she writes, "all our uncles and our cousins, and grandfathers even, were clergymen, and nearly all the young men we used to know were curates; and nowadays [she was writing at the age of 52] everyone who calls on us is a vicar or a rector or someone specially worthy." It has been difficult for her even to receive letters from a man which she is unable to show to the family circle. She now lives by herself in a small seaside town, but at her present age she is shy of personal approaches, though by no means through any loss of sexual desire for she still feels that to have an attractive person with whom she could do what she liked in sexual gratification would be the greatest of pleasures. She has thus never had any opportunity for close friendship, scarcely even for ordinary acquaintance, with a man, while she looks so "fearfully respectable," she remarks, that a man would hesitate to make any advances to her. She has, however, been for some years in intimate correspondence with one man (whom she has never met) and with several intimate women friends, with whom she has had slight sexual experiences, never so much as she desired. She is inclined to be active in her advances towards women when she thinks they are not likely to be repelled. But with men she is shy, the more so now since she is no longer young (though "not hideous," she writes). It is on the correspondence with the man and one of the women—with both of whom I happen to have been at one time or another independently in correspondence—that the present imperfect sketch of Miss E.'s history is based. She had no objection to these letters being shown to me, but she was disinclined to enter into correspondence, stating in the only letter I received from her that there was nothing more to tell.

Miss E. has had no need to earn her own living, nor apparently any impulse to do so. This has been a contributory cause of her extremely secluded life. She is, however, by no means lacking in intelligence and even possesses a skilful literary hand in the field of humor. Some years ago she was a rather frequent contributor of articles and verses to *Punch*, but in recent years her manuscripts have not proved acceptable.

Miss E.'s sexual history is the direct outcome of her circumstances, and reflects the repressed and arrested conditions under which her whole life has been lived. She evidently possesses a sexual impulse of at least average, probably more than average, strength, but the impulse has never attained on the psychic side a

fully adult form or had the opportunity for such a development. It remains to some extent sexually undifferentiated, with even, owing probably to the greater opportunities, a homosexual preference, and it is concentrated on the urinary sphere, and to some extent the scatologic sphere generally, with a strong mixoscopic tone as regards men, women, and animals, while the only gratification attained has been by the auto-erotic method of masturbation.

Nothing is definitely known of Miss E.'s family history; her own health and general condition seem to her normal and satisfactory. In anthropological type she is of medium pigmentation with brown hair inclining to fair on the pubes.

Menstruation began at 12. She had been told nothing about it beforehand, and waking one morning to find her nightgown marked with blood she ran in alarm, and just as she was, to her mother's room. Menstruation has always been very copious, so that she has to get out of bed several times during the night, but she has no pain or headache at the period, merely feeling limp and unable to go out of doors; when menstruation is passing off the sexual feelings tend to be strong.

As a result of her retired life Miss E. had no early initiation into sexual matters, and throughout life her knowledge of these subjects has remained slight, though she not only reads French novels, such as Zola's, but seems to have had access to some French erotic novels of rather pornographic type. But because of her ignorance, both theoretical and practical, her curiosity has remained all the more eager and vivid, while she is at the same time willing and pleased to write of all that she knows. She writes in a simple, natural, unaffected way, not using technical terms of which she is ignorant, but describing what she means clearly, though seldom coarsely. Notwithstanding the risky nature of the subjects she writes about, she turns her phrases deftly and neatly. As often happens—though not invariably—in women naturally prone to Undinism, she is evidently a person of feminine temperament, not lacking in refinement and charm of mind, in spite of the nature of the subjects that are so interesting to her. She cannot be described as vicious. She presents us with the picture of a woman possessing an insistent sexual impulse which has never been allowed the opportunity of normal adult gratification, and therefore continues to seek such outlets as it can find in more youthful channels of relief, and especially in a form of Undinism, or at all events urolagnia.

Her earliest experiences of sexual emotion, as casually recorded in her letters, seem to have been in connection with animals. She recalls how at the age of 11 a fox terrier that was temporarily in the charge of her family once stood on his hind legs and clasped her

leg with his forelegs as she sat in the sitting-room, straining with such violence that he had to be pulled away by force. Even yet any exhibition of sexual activity in animals is apt to be sexually exciting to her.

It was when she was nearly 20 that Miss E. first attained, spontaneously and without premeditation, to that form of auto-erotic gratification—that is to say masturbation of urolagnic type—which has ever since constituted the main though not the sole trait of her sexual life. "I was sitting in a nice warm bath," she writes, "and I felt I wanted to make water, and it was too much trouble to get out of the bath, and I suppose some vague sexual feeling made me first clasp my hand right over and against that part of me, and then I began to make water in my hand, and somehow it gave me a sort of anguish of tantalizing pleasure, and I instinctively moved my hand up and down it while the water poured through my fingers, and in a few second it *happened.*" By this incident—an incident which frequently proves significant in young women with tendencies to Undinism—the auto-erotic activities of Miss E.'s life became henceforth consciously molded. Whether the urinary interest, as is probable, had appeared earlier is not clear from the extant information, but it was with this incident that masturbation began. She prefers to practice it with the minimum of actual contact, holding the vulva open, and with one finger at a little distance straining the body towards the finger until it is able to stir the stiff and excited parts. Tumescence and detumescence occur easily and even spontaneously with her, the clitoris projects and there is much emission of mucus, and complete orgasm follows with little delay. Friction seems, however, to be necessary to her to attain detumescence, which however she sometimes avoids. "When I am thinking of exciting things in bed," she writes, "sometimes I keep from touching myself at all—I lie on my back with my legs apart, and however much my thing opens and shuts and quakes and craves, I won't touch it. It is more delicious than satisfying it would be and of course goes on much longer. Only it is very difficult to keep from touching."

A homosexual interest appeared, so far as the record goes, about the age of 25. At the time she had a friend, a girl of 15, for whom she cherished a great passion. "But she was innocent and I was too conscientious to do anything but kiss and hug her." For many years afterwards Miss E. never met her friend, though they remained in occasional correspondence. The friend is very religious and conventional, but, like Miss E. herself, she suffers from sexual repression. Twenty-eight years later, when Miss E. wrote to her and referred to sexual satisfaction as possible between women, this friend after an interval of some months, replied confiding to Miss E. her

own sexual longings and proposing to come to her for a week if Miss E. would do what she could to satisfy these longings. "She said she had such wild feelings in her body, and her breasts had become so large and soft, and she was always playing with them; and that if she came I could do whatever I liked to her." At this time of her life Miss E. seems to have acquired greater freedom of action. She took rooms in London and looked forward with great pleasure to her friend's arrival. But at the last moment the friend hesitated and felt scruples. "'Would it be considered a sin?' So I had to say that it *was* considered a sin, but that *I* didn't consider it sin, but simply natural pleasure. So she did not come and I felt an awful ass." The difficulty was discussed in letters during some weeks while the friend hesitated. "A few days ago," writes Miss E. "she frightened me by a letter saying she was getting so desperate for relief for her sexual feelings that she had tried to hear of some 'bad house' where a man would have her. It seemed to me risky for a person of her age and respectable looks to do that; they would think she was a spy or she might get insulted." Miss E. recommended masturbation as a method of relief, but her friend thought that too sinful. "It seems," comments Miss E., "that a man is the least sinful way out of her difficulty!" Miss E. considered whether it might not be possible to bring her friend into contact with her male correspondent but the suggestion after further hesitation was rejected. "After a few weeks' pause she wrote to say she had made up her mind it was better to be pure and wouldn't I go and stay with her and talk it over? I refused as she had promised I might do every kind of thing to her and I didn't see the fun of going to sit up and talk of purity." That was the end of it. Miss E. clearly states the kind of gratification she herself desired with her friend. "When I wrote to her I said I should like to watch her stand and make water. She wrote back that it would shock her very much and she was sure she could never 'unveil her body' to me (though she had promised a few weeks ago. that I might kiss her there), but she added that ever since receiving that letter she had *longed* to stand and make water and that any pressure against that front part made her want to go. I think this sensitiveness in wanting to pee is the beginning of the sex thrill which she had never felt, she says, only a great heat and pressure." In another letter Miss E. writes: "If my friend had come here I should have hugged her and kissed her a lot, and then stroked and kissed her 'large soft breasts' and rubbed and kissed her under her arms. Then, when she was regularly stirred up and excited, I should make her lie back and I should turn up her clothes. I think I should like to lay my cheek against her thick hair and rub it. Then I would pull it apart and move my lips about on these

parts, and then I should start kissing passionately. She would get pretty wild by that time! Do you think when she felt my lips pressing against these inner parts it would make her pass water? Do women ever do it in bed when they are excited?" Her actual experience with any woman had never gone as far as that, but had been confined to stroking the sexual parts and to kissing the breasts.

There had, however, been another proposed adventure which had, like that already mentioned, come to nothing. In this case it was a 'grass widow' of 28, whom Miss E. only knew by correspondence, and she had never been loved by a woman, but she seemed to like the idea: "Will you really kiss me everywhere?" she wrote to Miss E. "The idea of it makes me hot all over to think of. It would be lovely." Miss E. arranged for a meeting in London, but, again, on the other side it was postponed at the last moment on the pretext that Miss E. no longer seemed so "keen" about it. Later she again promised to come, but Miss E. allowed her to write three times before replying, and nothing came of it. "I don't fancy we shall meet after all," wrote Miss E. "I think she is too well supplied with men to trouble about me. She writes about once a fortnight instead of twice a week. She usually ends up her letters with: 'Write me something sweet and warm.' But she only writes about dances and dresses and admirers, which only bores me." So it was that Miss E.'s homosexual desires were never gratified. "If only a woman would try to take liberties with *me*! *I* have always done all the courting myself," wrote Miss E., "and with practically no success." Only, it seems, in one case had she been intimate with a woman—a married friend with whom she stayed in rooms in London—and on that occasion she stroked the sexual regions and kissed her breasts, and under the arms and indulged in furious colombine kisses until both were pale and exhausted (it is noteworthy, however, that she never experienced the orgasm), "and in the end when she had had enough she turned round and called *me* sensual!"

Her heterosexual impulses attained even less gratification. She never met the man to whom she wrote the letters on which this account is mostly based. He seems to have been willing and she dallied pleasurably with the idea of a meeting he proposed, but she delayed, saying that she was craven-hearted and nervous, and finally decided that she was too old. "I suppose you wouldn't think it worth the trouble to take an excursion here some day?" she wrote. "Though I should love to come to you, yet I believe I shouldn't have the courage. This is a very quiet place and down on the beach under a breakwater we could be quite undisturbed. We couldn't do much from your point of view, but to me it would be all wonderful and new and entrancing. You could let me see your thing

and I should want you to make water (don't do it at the station when you arrive). . . . . I don't wear closed combinations but open drawers, so if you put your hand up you could feel it at once. If you sat on the shingle and I stood in front of you, I could make water so that you might watch me. Perhaps we could manage for me to lie back so that I could be excited by you on me. If these are all castles in the air, they are lovely to think of." "If I were with you," she wrote again to him, "I should like to stand with my lower part bare and I should like you to kneel in front of me with your face against my part there and I should like to make water then . . . . . And I should like you to stand about a yard in front of me and to make water from that distance, steadily, against my part." She also expressed a wish to perform what amounted to *fellatio*, and added that it would give her great pleasure also to have *cunnilinctus* whether from a man or a woman, and she would also like to do it. "I have made water on this paper," she adds in pencil to one of her letters to this correspondent; "I hope you don't mind. I wanted to very much. Pee on your next letter a little. I should love it." Her friend apparently indulged this wish, for she writes subsequently: "It was only a bit washy but it pleased me." She remarks elsewhere that she had desired one of the women friends already mentioned to urinate on her letter before sending it.

Her ideal seems more often to be homosexual than heterosexual, but this is partly, though not perhaps entirely, because she was in closer contact with women than with men. "What darlings women are!" she writes, "you wonder how it is I have had no experience with men. Well, really and truly, I have never cared two pence about them. For one thing I never came into contact with them. But the chief reason is I always fell in love with some girl or other, and men had not the slightest interest for me. I daresay one is born like that, shouldn't you think so? Indecent sights of men always excite me, but men as one finds them in ordinary society are such sexless-looking things. A woman has beauty and shows it. You are encouraged by her way of dressing to notice her breast outline. And at a dance, *décolletés*, how beautiful! And then the scent of under her arms! That always seems almost to madden me, though if it is of a plain woman, or one I dislike, it offends and disgusts me extremely. I don't think I could ever have a passion for a man, though I should like to do indecent things with him. But for women I have quite violent passions." She was, however, bisexual in the sense that she mingled the attractions of the two sexes. This is well indicated by a significant passage in a letter to her male correspondent: "I think I should like a man better if he was in woman's clothes. I should like to turn up his petticoats in front as

he stood, and pull apart his drawers, and get his chemise out of the way; and directly his thing could be seen I should like him to begin making water instantly, as if he had been in a great hurry to do it." It may be noted here that Miss E., who was sensitive, in a quite spontaneous way, to many erotic refinements, consciously realized the erotic significance of clothing. "It is much more exciting," she writes in another letter, "when a person has clothes on. When I was in London in rooms with the married friend of mine, on a Sunday afternoon, she had on a black satin tight-fitting costume and soft white lisse frill round the neck and she lay on the sofa in the large drawing room we had and opened her bodice for me to kiss her breasts. She looked far more naked like that than in an ordinary blouse or in a bedroom. I like myself better, too, with clothes on. I wear the old-fashioned open drawers, and if I stoop down and put my hand in under my clothes from in front it gives a delicious unexpectedness to the thrill if my hand happens to reach through without pulling the drawers aside."

It is, however, perhaps a little misleading to describe Miss E.'s attitude as homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual. It is mainly and fundamentally urolagnic and all "sexual" elements are preliminary or subsidiary to the urolagnic interest. It will be noticed how this interest is predominant even in all her conceptions of homosexual and heterosexual relationships. It also had an independent auto-erotic existence continued from the time of her first spontaneous discovery of sexual pleasure when urinating in the bath, a practice which seems to have continued. She also likes urinating out of doors in the standing position and in summer is accustomed to leave off the wearing of drawers; she has never been caught doing this and is indeed too nervous to risk being seen; when she attempts doing it out of doors in the crouching position, she says, she is so nervous she can hardly begin. Like many women with a tendency to Undinism—and of course many who are not—she is very shy, on account of the sexual associations of the act, about urinating in the presence of a friend. "When I was sleeping in the same bedroom with my married friend," she writes, "she used to joke me about it every night before I got into bed. She would sit down and do it at once, as loudly as possible, and then skip into bed, and say to me, 'What are you doing, dear? Hurry up or I'll come and spank you.' I felt so embarrassed, I could only do it by small instalments, and I really blushed as I did it." This shyness has prevented her even in private from urinating, as she would find pleasure in doing, in unusual or indecorous ways. "Sometimes in a remote country station," she writes, "where there is just one w. c. and no attendant, one finds a whole lot of pee on the edge of the

seat and run down on the floor in a pool. I suppose a woman has done it on the edge of the seat on purpose. I have often felt I should enjoy doing that; or just stand up and hold up my clothes and do it straight down on the floor. But I feel I should look guilty if I met someone as I came out." This confession seems to explain a condition of things found even in lavatories reserved for young women of good class and often shocking to those who are not impelled thus to violate propriety; the motive is not uncleanliness but a tendency to Undinism which is undoubtedly more prevalent than is usually realized. It is a pleasure for Miss E., and sometimes produces definite sexual excitement, when she sees youths and girls urinating, especially if they playfully do it on each other, or if some trivial mischance occurs in the act. "Such things," she remarks, "make me in a fearful hurry to do it in my drawers." She relates with gusto in the course of her correspondence various little episodes of this kind—as well as in regard to defecation—she has seen or heard of. Occasionally she illustrates her narrative with crude little drawings of, for instance, a man urinating on the genital region of a woman, or of a dog attempting to mount a bitch, a sight which causes her physical excitement, and she constantly asks her correspondent to send her photographs of urination in men or in women, and of sexual acts, normal and abnormal. All indecency gives her pleasure and she has the impulses of a *voyeuse*. After describing a youth she had seen slowly walking along with his hands in his pockets and his penis exposed, urinating as he walked, she adds "It looked lovely," and of another rather similar incident she says: "It excited me wildly." Discussing the question more generally she writes: "I believe that, however they may look, in their hearts all women love to see a man exposing himself. They tell stories to each other of having come across a man in such and such a condition, and they say: 'Wasn't it *dreadful*, dear!' But they gloat over all the details. We are all brought up to pretend not to like it, and we make ourselves 'look the other way,' as it were. If we get a chance to glance at anything we mayn't even show by our face that we have seen. If as we look away we feel a passing of desire we daren't show it. What a bondage we are in!"

The whole picture presented by Miss E. herself in these letters is of one who has been all her life long in bondage, subject to repression, and it is unnecessary to quote further. There has never in her life been even the fair possibility of a normal heterosexual relationship, not even within the bonds of affectionate friendship. It has thus come about that she has never attained the development which her fine intelligence and her delicately sensitive temperament seemed to promise. Naturally the repressed impulses sought escape as they

could. Thus there was a tendency to a homosexual orientation; there were the impartially diffused inclinations of a *voyeuse;* there was, more definitely, on account of the special circumstance under which the physical orgasm first occurred, a predominant urolagnia which was maintained throughout, though it never seems to have become a fully developed Undinism. All these impulses, though they have a natural basis, may be described as abnormal when developed as they have been in Miss E. Yet their variety and frequency, the freedom with which they have been in secret indulged, have really been the means of delivering Miss E. from more serious abnormality. She has neither suffered from any serious psycho-neurotic condition nor has she fallen into any gross perversity. The dammed up stream of natural instinct has found a variety of trivial outlets which have relieved the dangerous pressure of internal repression and enabled her to live a life, which, though maimed and incomplete, has been in a fair measure healthy and happy.

We may now turn to a case, again a woman, in which the conditions also always failed to permit the normal sexual balance but in which such development as was reached was almost exclusively Undinistic. Here we have the full picture of Undinism.

Miss A. P. was born in the country (Cornwall) and of working class parents. She possessed, however, a native intelligence above that of her class and family, and her parents desired, but were unable, to give her a superior education and make her a teacher. She also displayed a correspondingly natural refinement and gracious distinction of manners, quite free from affectation, which caused even people of upper social class to regard her as a born "lady." She began by earning her living as a nursemaid in the uncongenial atmosphere of a common tradesman's family; this man once made some kind of attempt at a sexual approach which she never described but it evidently shocked her, and she resented it. She won the confidence and affection of later employers who afforded her opportunities for development. Finally, at the age of 32, she emigrated to Australia to join her married sister there in a business partnership; she died, after influenza, at the age of 36.

Her father was a man of somewhat violent disposition and there was little affection between father and child. She was, however, much attached to her mother, a gentle and patient woman who during the last years of her life exhibited a mild degree of mental aberration of a senile type. There were three children in the family. The brother, stolid and hard-working, of excellent character

and normal disposition, was at one time, after an attack of influenza, liable to periods of depression; he married happily. The sister, the youngest of the family, was in every respect healthy, normal and commonplace; she married and had a large family.

A. P. had convulsions in infancy. It has been frequently noted (as by R. O. Moon, "The Prognosis of Infantile Convulsions," *British Medical Journal*, 17 Dec., 1908) that infantile convulsions tend to be associated with rather unusual habits of mind or character or some slight psychic peculiarity in later life. As a child she wetted the bed. It is well recognized that this early weakness of inhibition may be of considerable significance for later development. The terror of committing what is felt to be a shameful act, especially for a nervous and sensitive child, powerfully concentrates attention on the urinary function and heightens its normal aptitude to become a focus of emotional activity. Even some twenty years after she had outgrown this childish weakness, A. P. once dreamed that she had wetted the bed, and experienced an immense relief on recovering full consciousness to find that it was only a dream.

A. P. grew up into a strong and fairly healthy girl and woman, tall and slender, muscularly powerful out of proportion to the size of her muscles which, however, though apparently delicate, were very firm. The hips were not largely developed but sexual development was apparently complete and normal, the mons veneris was well covered with dark hair and the darkly pigmented nipples were of full size. There were, however, somewhat infantile traits of feature and expression traceable in the face, which was otherwise pleasing though not beautiful. It is quite likely that this suggestion of infantility was significant of a general slight though not obvious tendency to infantility which may help to explain A.P.'s Undinism. She always retained the excessive reserve and shyness of a child, though this was concealed by her natural good manners and her gracious formality with strangers. Her more homely sister, who might be considered prettier, possessed nothing of this modest reserve and well-bred distinction, nor any of the same tastes. A.P. loved birds and flowers and fountains, and from such sources received the keenest enjoyment she was capable of. On the human side she was not highly developed. However sensitive and refined in some respects, she was not notably sympathetic, and not easily inclined to be friendly except with those she had known and become familiar with during many years, and even with them she remained so reserved that they rarely had any real knowledge of her. She seemed to them to be herself one of the birds she was so fond of, or even an elusive and non-human fairy. On the whole, by those who knew her and even by those who only casually met her, she was

regarded as an unusual and attractive personality. A visitor to the house where she lived, knowing nothing about her, remarked that she seemed to belong to the race of mermaids, and one who knew her well said that her graceful figure gave the impression of a primitive being whose subconscious need was to fly or to swim.

She was in fact fond of water and of being in the water. She delighted in sea-bathing, and when taking a bath indoors she would occupy an inordinate time over it, and on this account preferred a bath at night. One of her earliest recollections, as a child and little schoolgirl, was of a fondness for urinating into her bath and especially into the streams and brooks near her home. This obscure impulse, a fundamental trait of Undinism, to mingle her own stream with the streams of nature, arose instinctively and was never clearly thought out. But it persisted throughout life. When a grown-up woman she admitted that it was still a fascinating idea to think of herself as standing in the moonlight on the bank of a river and sending forth a stream of her own to fall afar into the watet.[1]

For a feat of this kind she was, anatomically and physiologically, peculiarly gifted. This is noteworthy, for it illustrates a point often overlooked but clearly to be seen on careful investigation: the natural physical basis of many psychic "aberrations," as we are usually inclined to consider them. We are too easily prone to content ourselves with some mere psychic explanation in trivial infantile experience, while a keener insight shows that, beyond these, a deeper cause exists in the organism itself, and what seemed a psychic "aberration" was really the natural expression of organic constitution.[2] I have elsewhere shown how, in the case of "Florrie," the analytic unravelment of the psychic history may immensely help to explain the condition, but fail to explain it completely until we go deeper. In A.P.'s case the nates were not largely developed and deviated from the common globular and protuberant type. The line of curvature began at the waist, following closely and firmly the curve of the sacrum, with no sudden expansion but some resemblance to the Spanish type of *enselture* or saddle-back. It was probably associated with that form of pelvis and buttocks. Her figure, as sometimes occurs in Cornwall, was of Southern rather than Northern European type, and it has been noted, probably with truth, that in Southern women the genitals are placed more forward and upward than in Northern peoples. In A. P. (as normally happens only in young

[1] Is there some instinctive sexual association? A lady of quite normal disposition told me that after the orgasm her involuntary feeling is that she is lying beside a stream which is flowing past her.

[2] Alfred Adler refers (*Fortschritte der Medizin*, No. 16, 1910) to the desire of women in "psychic hemaphroditism" to urinate standing

girls) the urinary stream was directed in an unusual degree forward, and also (which is again an infantile characteristic) with an unusual force. Her favorite method of urination when circumstances permitted was in the erect position with raised skirts. In doing this she had discovered the device of placing her open hands in the groins and drawing them slightly upwards and outwards, so separating the labia, and thereby both liberating the full energy of the stream, and securing a minimum wetting of the parts, a point to which she attached importance as she was fastidiously cleanly. It seemed to her that the special vesical powers she possessed were a legitimate source of satisfaction, from which she was entitled to receive all the enjoyment possible. She especially enjoyed the exercise of her powers in the garden in the dusk of evening and would brave even the risk of detection, which she always carefully sought to avoid, however, having no impulse of exhibitionism. She would sometimes take exact note of her own vesical force. Thus she once found that, standing erect in a raised position at one end of a long bath and separating the labia, the stream would be projected a distance of from 42 to 48 inches, striking the wall at the further end. In the garden her achievements were much more remarkable. Thus, on one occasion, she was able to spurt the stream to a distance of 75 inches. She was conscious of not exerting her full force on this occasion, and a few days later, with an effort, she attained a distance of 105 inches. At this time she was thirty years of age. There was slight polyuria (associated with absence of marked perspiration); this rather more than average need to urinate, accompanied by an excessive shyness, as well as laziness in seeking relief, contributed to attract her attention to the urinary function. She sometimes found useful the discovery she had made, when lying in bed awaiting the hour to rise, that the desire to urinate could be temporarily relieved by simply imagining that the act was being accomplished—a discovery which, as Maeder and others have remarked, many people make unconsciously in their dreams.

Throughout these years A. P. was leading an active and fully employed life, sometimes in London, occasionally abroad, but mostly in the country. She enjoyed the excitements of town life, theatres and picture galleries, showing indeed a discriminating natural taste in pictures. But country life appealed to her most, and she experienced a rapturous delight in old gardens, in flowers, in birds. Her

---

and send out the stream to a distance, but makes no reference whatever to the anatomical and physiological conditions which alone render this possible. Since the work of Kretschmer and others the physical basis of psychic traits is receiving more of the attention it deserves, and Constitutionology is now a recognized field of investigation.

tastes were otherwise somewhat exotic, and she was fond of various foreign foods for which the liking is usually only slowly acquired, and for the most part not at all by people of the class into which she was born. This delicacy and refinement of taste was probably connected with defective vitality, even if, as has been said, that defect was not obvious on the surface. The limitations of her strength, although within these limits there was no failure of energy, led to a sensitiveness which was not rooted in heredity, and at the same time induced a reflective tendency which imparted to her mind a quaintly philosophic caste, and a deliberate avoidance of those occasions for strong emotion which are an expenditure of energy.

Her sexual and general affectional tendencies were in accordance with this disposition. While not seeking solitude or disliking companionship, she had no very intimate women friends and was not very susceptible to the attraction of men, although quite capable of feeling some attraction for a congenial man. She never had any wish to marry or bear children, and it is probable that she was never really in love. By most of those who knew her, indeed, she was regarded as probably insensible to sex feelings. Her extreme and skilful reserve favored that impression. She was capable of considerable affection and admiration for women, and it is possible that had her sexual nature developed it might have taken a homosexual direction. As it was, however, her sexual feelings were of no great intensity and never led to masturbation or other active and definite auto-erotic manifestations. But she occasionally felt definite spontaneous and local sexual sensations. Moreover, at the age of twenty-eight, though never before, she once at least experienced spontaneous orgasm in sleep, after falling asleep with conscious sexual feelings. She was awakened by an entirely novel sexual explosion, with muscular twitchings, which somewhat disturbed and alarmed her. Sexual interests, however, never played any prominent part either in her thoughts or her life.

It will be seen that in A. P. the urinary psychic life remained throughout more actively prominent, and a more definite source of interest and pleasure, than the sexual psychic life. It was never, as normally happens, superseded by the sexual life, nor was it even merged into it. A. P. certainly believed that these two intimate pleasures, vesical and sexual, would naturally tend to go together in relationship to a loved person who had the insight to divine impulses she would not spontaneously divulge. But her own private urinary experiences, with her love of water generally, were a source of in-

dependent enjoyment, without sexual accompaniment. That is why A. P. may be regarded as a typical representative of what is here termed Undinism.

It seems clear that constitutional conditions, and a somewhat defective heredity, witnessed by infantile convulsions, combined to produce a predisposition which specially favored the establishment and preservation of the Undinist temperament. It is notable that the aberrations were otherwise in the background, and never developed. Of special interest is the suggestion she gave to those who knew her of a "mermaid" or other spirit of the woods or the waters. That suggestion induced me to adopt, for the temperament she embodied, the name of Undinism.

VIII.

KLEPTOLAGNIA.

By kleptolagnia is meant theft associated with sexual excitement, or sexual "kleptomania."[1] The question is thus at once raised whether it is to be regarded as a subordinate variety of kleptomania. This further leads to the inquiry as to what kleptomania is, a long debated psychiatric and medico-legal question. The subject of kleptolagnia is thus of considerable practical as well as psychological interest, and it is desirable to attempt in some degree to clear up its nature and position.

This history of kleptomania begins in the eighteenth century.[2] Lavater incidentally referred to morbid thefts and Gall later (1825) dealt with the subject systematically. He regarded the child as naturally a thief, the youthful tendency to ignore the rights of property being modified with growth by happy organization, the influence of education, habit, and the fear of punishment. But in some individuals the tendency is so strong that these motive forces are ineffective. The judge must therefore seek to fortify imperfect personal inhibition by progressively aggravating the punishment. So that Gall would evidently have approved the judge who when a de-

---

[1] The term "Kleptolagnia" or "Kleptolagny," to indicate theft associated with sexual emotion, was devised by the late Dr. J. G. Kiernan of Chicago, a pioneer in America of the study of sexual psychology, about 1917 or a little earlier, on the analogy of "Algolagnia," and he advocated it in the *Urologic Review* for that and some subsequent years. He had previously studied "Kleptomania" in the *Alienist and Neurologist* for 1912 and elsewhere and pointed out its frequent sexual associations. When he suggested the new term to me I immediately adopted it, and in the New York *Medical Review of Reviews* for May, 1919, I published an article on "Kleptolagnia." I similarly adopt (following Kiernan) the term Pyrolagnia for "sexual Pyromania." Stekel has studied this anomaly in several chapters of his *Peculiorities of Behaviour*.

[2] It has been summarized by Juquelier and Vinchon, "Histoire de la Kleptomanie," *Revue de Psychiatrie*, Feb., 1914.

fence of kleptomania was pleaded before him observed: "That is what I am here to cure." At that time the doctrine of distinct "monomanias" was being set up by the psychiatrists, of whom Esquirol was the most distinguished, but neither he nor Pinel went so far as to assert positively the existence of a definite kleptomania. That step was taken in 1840 by Marc who originated the term "kleptomania" and regarded the disorder as an instinctive monomania. The kleptomaniac, in his view, was a hereditarily morbid person whose resistance to theft was diminished by some occasional cause which permitted him to be distinguished from the delinquent, but Marc entered, at the same time, a warning of the dangers of a too large or irreflective use of this doctrine. Trélat in 1861, also starting from Gall's doctrine of the normality of theft in childhood, held that if this natural tendency persisted after the age of thirteen there was a reason to fear its incurability and the subject would be a kleptomaniac. Marc in 1862, while admitting the delicacy and difficulty of the question, sought to give precision to the conception by insisting on the small value of the objects chosen, their often peculiar nature, the little use made of them, the social position of the thief, his heredity and mental state and physiological condition. In 1876, in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales,* was set forth the doctrine of the day that, apart from the evidently insane, there exist kleptomaniacal persons whose acts are morbid and who on careful examination reveal signs of predisposition. Some years later, in 1900, Krafft-Ebing, while disavowing the doctrine of monomanias, accepted an impulsive insanity on the basis of degeneration, and placed in it, aside from definite insanity, a true kleptomania, in which theft was the isolated impulse of psychic degenerates.

There was, however, another stream of expert opinion definitely opposed to the conception of kleptomania as in any form a distinct monomania. On this side Morel was the leader in the middle of the last century. He only admitted the tendency to theft as associated with various other definitely insane symptoms, pathological manifestations, often periodic, of

"instinctive mania." Magnan popularized Morel's conception, and kleptomania became, especially in France, one of the episodic syndromes of degenerescence, rare in its true form, that is to say an irresistible obsession impelling to theft, with resistance, struggle, anguish, and finally, after the act is accomplished, the relief of tension. In Germany Kraepelin also based kleptomania on a predisposition; it was for him a rare morbid impulse, connected, like other obsessions, with manic-depressive insanity. That tendency has been wide-spread, and Ballet so classes kleptomania together with all other obsessions. But many observers everywhere have also insisted on the association of kleptomania with the early stages of general paralysis, and with epilepsy. The position in 1911 was summed up by Dubuisson and Vigouroux in their *Responsabilité Pénale et Folie*.

Kleptomania, they say, is becoming less and less invoked as a defence since the pretended kleptomaniacs belong for the most part to categories already known, classed, and labelled. Cases may, however, they continue, still be admitted who seem to carry to the utmost the rule of "art for art" in theft, yet always with a motive, for it is difficult to find "true kleptomania" with an irresistible impulse to motiveless theft.

On the whole it may be said that the idea of kleptomania or morbid theft arose towards the end of the eighteenth century, in the movement of humane individualism characteristic of that time, as against the unintelligent pressure of society and law. During the last century, however, a reaction took place; the claims of society were set up against the anti-social acts of the individual, and it was felt that the assertion of these claims acted as a wholesome inhibitory force even on a morbid tendency to theft. The definition of kleptomania, and the classification of its forms, became most variously modified, and it was no longer usual to describe it as an absolutely irresistible impulse. But in some form or another, and indeed in many forms, the conception persisted, however vaguely, though there has been no clear realization of the motives for the morbid theft, beyond an attempt by Régis and others to regard it in its most

typical form as a mania of collectionism, and usually motives have been denied.

It is from this confused but persistent mass of facts and opinions that the definite conception of kleptolagnia as a clear, positive, and demonstrable group of cases, has slowly emerged. It may be said to have cast its shadow before. When Magnan and others described true kleptomania as an obsession with resistance, struggle, anxiety, followed by the act, with the satisfaction of relieved tension, they were describing, without knowing it, the actual psychic state of tumescence and detumescence in the sexual process. Others, again, came near the spot when they referred to the frequency of sexual perversion in association with kleptomania, and Garnier came very near when, though he failed to suspect sexual excitation, he described the case of a man who would steal satinette for the sake of the agreeable physical sensation the stuff gave him. But it seems to have been Lacassagne of Lyons, always a pioneer with the insight of genius, who first realized (at the Oeneva Congress of Criminal Anthropology in 1896) that the theft may be accompanied by sexual excitement due to the emotional radiation of the fear of detection, and that this voluptuous element in the act is its motive. Lacassagne's illuminating statement seems to have attracted little or no attention.[1] The new situation was hardly grasped even by Zingerle who in Austria (in the *Jahrbuch für Psichiatrie* for 1900) made the next step forward by a careful medico-legal study of what we may now probably regard as a typical case of kleptolagnia. It concerned the young wife of an official, a woman with decidedly neurotic characteristics, who had no sexual satisfaction in marital intercourse but had experienced from her schooldays, usually at the end of the menstrual period, a high degree of sexual excitement when stealing various objects, especially if of brown leather. Afterwards she would destroy those objects or throw them away. Zingerle regarded the act as a sexual perversion, and concluded that the case was one of periodic and

[1] It was Kiernan who, many years later, brought it effectively under my notice.

brief acute psychosis in a psychic degenerate, involving irresponsibility. He made no reference to kleptomania but remarked, evidently without grasping the dynamic connection, that in degenerates trifling ideas were sometimes associated with sexual excitement.

During the next few years there was little progress, though the field was being prepared by the study of the sexual associations of anxiety. In dealing at some length with "Love and Pain" in the third volume of my *Studies,* I brought together much evidence showing how states of anxiety and allied emotional disturbances might overflow into the sexual sphere and produce sexual gratification, and that such methods of gratification were sometimes instinctively or deliberately employed. I was describing precisely the mechanism that underlies kleptolagnia, but I was not aware of it, and no one else seemed to know any better. Janet made fruitful observations on the instinctive effort in states of depression to gain necessary stimulation by violent means, one of which was stealing; Cullerre in 1905 showed that anxiety could act as a sexual excitant; and Freud attributed to *Angstneurosis* a sexual origin. Pilcz in 1908 recognized kleptomania as a sexual anomaly manifested in voluptuous emotions. But even in 1909 P. Hospital, studying "Kleptomanes et Vols aux Ètalages" in the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques,* made no reference to sexual excitation, and concluded that kleptomania is rare and belongs to "the group of essential impulsive monomanias," though in the same year Kraepelin referred to the cases as numerous in which sexual excitement accompanied the act of stealing a sexual fetich, and in 1907 Gudden, who made one of the most careful and extensive studies of shop-lifters, concluded that they are mostly women near the menstrual period, yet he regarded the thefts as usually motiveless. The attitude of Kraepelin and Gudden is that maintained by Hirschfeld.[1]

[1] Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie,* 1920, Teil iii, pp. 252 *et seq.* He states that he has had considerable experience of kleptomania, that it occurs shortly before or after menstruation, and that it is frequently associated with voluptuous feelings. He brings forward two cases, both with neurotic heredity.

It is in France, however, where the conception of kleptomania was originated and chiefly developed, that kleptolagnia was clearly demonstrated, first perhaps by Depouy in 1905 in the *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*.[1] Most of the French cases involve the stuff-fetichisms, especially the attraction of silk, and the theft usually occurred near the menstrual period. One woman, a case of Depouy's, writes: "When I can steal silk, I am as it were intoxicated, I tremble; yet it is not fear, for I am not at all thinking of the horrible thing I have done; I only think of one thing: I go in a corner and crumple it at my ease, and then I have voluptuous feelings that are stronger even than I felt with the father of my children." Another woman, who would steal silk and especially black corsets, said that even the sight of these articles in a shop would make her heart beat and her sexual parts become wet; when she took one she was as happy as if she had received a treasure, though her satisfaction was swiftly followed by shame and remorse. Even when describing her act to the doctor she grew animated, her eyes bright, her face colored, her respiration rapid. Clérambault also studied a number of somewhat similar cases.[2] One of these cases, a woman of forty, frigid with men but a masturbator, noticed once, when as a young woman she was seated in her room on a velvet chair, that the contact of the velvet produced an agreeable sensation. She thus fell into the habit of sitting astride the chair, obtaining sexual excitement by friction with the velvet and finally acquired a passion for stealing silk remnants which she would apply to her sexual parts and then throw away. But even the mere act of stealing them would itself give her sexual enjoyment. There was insanity in her family. Clérambault insists on the marked tactile element in all such cases and con-

---

[1] It may, however, be remarked that Krafft-Ebing and other authors had described cases—without fully realizing their significance—which may fairly be described as coming under the head of kleptolagnia. Krafft-Ebing stated that erotic fetichism may lead to the crime of theft, but failed to grasp any intimate connection.

[2] *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, June, 1908, and August, 1910. Clérambault was inclined to term this anomaly hephephilia or stuff-erotism

cludes that this condition tends to involve a combination of precocity, frigidity, and masturbation. He seems to have recognized the symbolic element, and thinks there is a tendency for women to like stuff fetiches that are stiff and for men to like soft ones.[1]

Another French case, that of a Parisian woman leading a *demi-mondaine's* life, is reported by Vinchon. She had been a lively and sexually precocious child, but only began to steal at the age of 34, when the first signs of the menopause prematurely began to appear. Her thefts were accompanied by sexual and general excitement. Vinchon further brings forward the case of a girl belonging to a Lyons silk-weaving family who came to Paris and worked at silk corsets. At the age of 17 she began to have a special taste for silk, and experienced a curious shudder on crumpling silk. She had a lover a few years later, an author, and bore several children. After ten years, when she was 31, her lover died and she began to masturbate with silk. It was at the age of 36, in convalescence after typhoid, that she began to steal, and the act gave her more vivid pleasure than she had ever experienced by ordinary masturbation with silk. Immediately after the act she would experience exhaustion with disgust and shame, and she disliked being questioned on the subject.[2]

A more recent case in French literature comes from Copenhagen and is reported by Wimmer who believes that the frequency of this impulse is underestimated because it is most usually "platonic" and not actually executed. A married woman, aged 28, of neurotic heredity, during her pregnancies has a strong impulse to theft which she finds it very difficult to repress; if she succeeds in repressing it she vomits, and she cannot always succeed. The theft is followed by a powerful

---

[1] Boas ("Ueber Hephephilia," *Archiv fur Kriminal-Anthropologie*, Bd. 61) denies that cases like Clérambault's are genuine fetichisms, and from the standpoint of the earliest conception of erotic fetichism that opinion seems sound. Sadger, on the other hand (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 336), considers that they probably are fetichisms and the equivalent of the penis; that is to say that they are, in my sense of the term, symbolic fetichisms.

[2] Vinchon, *Journal de Médecine de Paris*, 1914.

orgasm with a delicious sensation such as she has never experienced in coitus or otherwise.[1]

Two other recent cases, from Italy, are of interest as being both of men. They are reported by Dr. Benigno di Tullio, a prison surgeon in Rome. Two brothers, pickpockets, aged 34 and 20, both came under observation in prison. The heredity was neuropathic with a tendency to epilepsy, which is regarded as significant. The elder brother presented numerous physiological anomalies and had never been able to learn a trade owing to psychic inaptitude for work. His prison career began at 12. He stated that he could not resist the impulse to steal and that when it seized him he seemed out of his mind. The act was accompanied by a feeling of pleasure, "so that I ejaculate as if I had been with a woman." He added that normal coitus gave him little pleasure, but that it was increased if the woman insulted him in violent language. The other brother is also abnormal and unduly emotional; he has suffered from convulsions and partial paralysis. He began pocket-picking at the age of 14. "At the moment of stealing," he said, "I feel full of mad joy; and as soon as I can get away I ejaculate; it seems as if I had been with a woman." Benigno di Tullio regards these cases as a form of fetichism in subjects predisposed to epilepsy, and adds that psycho-analysis, which it was not possible to carry out, might have revealed a definite motive in sexual infantilism.[2] However that may be, we are certainly in the presence of kleptolagnia. The cases are indeed highly typical and instructive, for we clearly see the mechanism at work. The normal sexual impulse is weak, and the nervous energy generated by the emotions accompanying the theft, in highly unstable organisms, overflows into the sexual sphere and excites the orgasm. Benigno di Tullio invokes the suggestion put forward by Ottolenghi in a lecture, that in such cases the association of sexual excitement with

---

[1] August Wimmer. "De la Kleptomanie," *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, March, 1921.

[2] Benigno di Tullio, "Un Raro Caso di Feticismo," *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali*, July-Aug., 1924.

theft may be congenital and comparable to color-hearing. This suggestion seems unnecessary when we realize the dynamic mechanism at work.

In the United States, immediately after Depouy's first paper, but apparently in ignorance of it, W. L. Howard well illustrated the fetichistic clue to which so much importance has often been attached in the explanation of this group of cases.[1] He described the case of a young woman, of good birth and antecedents, quite normal, who, never having before experienced any developed sexual emotions, one evening, at a fashionable summer resort, met an attractive man who was attentive to her. She flirted with him to a slight degree, and chanced to note, with no special feelings, that he was unconsciously displaying the blue garter which supported his silk hose. On returning home, for the first time in her life she began to have erotic reveries, which started with the subconscious visualization of the blue garter and led on to the vision of masculine virility. Erotic daydreams were, however, unsatisfactory, as it was difficult to picture the wearer of the garter. One day she saw in a shop an exact duplicate of her fetish. She instantly appropriated it, and on returning home immediately went to her bedroom and fondled it, and soon found herself masturbating with it. The practice continued; but in order to obtain orgasm it was necessary not only to have a new garter every time, but to obtain it in a surreptitious manner, corresponding, as Howard remarks, to a clandestine meeting with her ideal. She was finally detected, and on investigation her family found a large collection of such garters, "useless and trivial articles," in her possession. Her acts were pronounced to be the symptoms of marked kleptomania, and she kept her own secret, for she knew she had been guilty of deliberate stealing for the sake of sexual gratification which she could not obtain, though she would have preferred so to obtain it, naturally. How many

---

[1] W. L. Howard, "Some Forms of Kleptomania the Result of Fetichistic Impulses," *Medicine*, Dec., 1906. He admitted that "strictly speaking the cases are not those of 'Kleptomania' for the object is secretly appropriated for a specific reason." Howard would term it "physiological fetichism."

cases of alleged motiveless "kleptomania," supposedly due to "mental degeneration," Howard asks, are really due to the care with which women have similarly kept their own secrets.

Although kleptolagnia is specially found among women, it may also, as we have seen, occur in men. Glueck has recorded the case of a colored American youth, aged 23, who began to steal at an early age. It is not actually clear that his thefts were originally prompted, consciously or unconsciously, by sexual motives, but it is stated that during his first act of stealing he experienced a feeling akin to sexual emotion. Later he began to steal objects for which he had no use, on one occasion a dozen bricks. Neither prison sentences nor the efforts of his father to break the habit by supplying him with all that he desired had any curative effect. He stole for the sake of the intense emotion and excitement he experienced when stealing. Before the act there was a peculiar restlessness growing in intensity; during the act there was much physical excitement, with panting respiration and perspiration, as if he had run a race; "after it is all over I feel exhausted and relieved." He himself spontaneously compared these experiences to coitus.[1]

The nature of kleptolagnia, as brought out by such cases as these, is fairly clear. The subject, though often neurotic, is not necessarily highly degenerate. The act, far from being motiveless or in a strict sense irresistible, has a definite and intelligible motive and is carried out with reasonable precaution. The instinctive desire is to secure sexual excitation which cannot be obtained—for whatever reason—in more normal ways, by reinforcing the feeble sexual impulse by the stimulus furnished by the emotions of fear and anxiety which necessarily accompany the perpetration of a theft. There is no desire to appropriate the stolen object for purpose of gain, and when its sexual effect has been obtained, either in the act of stealing or by subsequent masturbation, it is hidden away or destroyed.

The question arises as to the exact place and status of kleptolagnia. We have seen that the conception really repre-

[1] B. Glueck, *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, Ch. V, Boston, 1916.

sents the outcome of two lines of investigation. On the one hand it has been reached through the medico-legal study of kleptomania, on the other hand by the psychological study of sexual aberrations.

If we first consider its relation to kleptomania, we are faced by the alternative that either it is not a sub-division of kleptomania in any exact sense, or else we must certainly revise our conception of kleptomania. The former alternative is generally selected. Kleptomania, in the classic sense, is an irresistible and motiveless impulse to theft, at first regarded as a "monomania" standing by itself, but later (and even as early as Griesinger) as with wider relationship, now usually as an obsession or an imperative conception or a period in psychosis on a basis of "degeneration," such as epilepsy, general paralysis, manic-depressive insanity, or other profoundly morbid state. But kleptolagnia, far from being motiveless, is precisely motived, and, however powerful an impulse, can by no means be described as irresistible, for it is held in check until a favorable moment for its gratification occurs. Thus Kiernan, who repeatedly discussed this subject, held that kleptolagnia is not kleptomania, and not even necessarily morbid since fully controllable, though this test of morbidity, I may remark, admits of question.

We may go further and throw doubt upon the whole conception of kleptomania. When the idea first arose in the eighteenth century it was justifiable, and it was in accordance with the psychological knowledge of the time. It is no longer in accordance with our knowledge, and it is no longer needed for humane reasons since its alternative is now equally humane. We can no longer make any dogmatic statements about "irresistible impulses"; and if a theft may ever fairly be said to be due to an irresistible impulse we are then concerned with a subject whose mental disintegration is so far advanced that the tendency to theft becomes a negligible symptom. Absence of motive is an even more unsound basis for classification. It tells us nothing about the case, it merely describes our own ignorance. The actions demanded by any complex process in

any sphere of life must seem to us to be marked by "absence of motive," so long as we are ignorant. The stages in our knowledge of life are marked by a discovery of a motive where before we could see no motive. "Kleptomania," Dubuisson has remarked, "is not an explanation: it is merely a word." It is already sinking into the same obscurity as "pyromania."

Kleptolagnia, on the other hand, is a precise and intelligible psychic state, though its affinities are really only to a slight degree with the old kleptomania. The theft, which for the medico-legist was in kleptomania the great outstanding fact, is in the psychological conception of kleptolagnia a secondary and subsidiary fact. The condition more properly belongs to sexual psychology, and especially to the sphere of what I am inclined to term erotic symbolism under its subdivision of erotic fetichism. But under that heading it represents a distinct and special class. The fetich is not necessarily a normally desirable or attractive object associated with the opposite sex, but merely any object that has become accidentally associated with sexual emotion; that is in large measure why its stimulatory force needs to be reinforced by the additional stimulus derived from the explosive energy of the emotions generated by the theft. Hair-despoilers, who derive sexual gratification from the act of secretly cutting off girls' tresses, form the link of connection between kleptolagnists and more normal erotic fetichists.

There remain to be mentioned, finally, two closely allied combinations of sexual impulse with theft which yet must be clearly distinguished from kleptolagnia in the sense in which it has here been described. The first of these is the psychoanalytic conception of kleptomania as especially set forth by Stekel in 1908. Stekel was, indeed, preceded a year earlier, as he himself has pointed out, by Otto Gross,[1] but to him be-

[1] O. Gross, *Das Freudsche Ideogenitätsmoment*, 1907. Gross reported the case of a healthy girl, living with an impotent man, who began to steal all sorts of objects. Her thefts were thus not fetichistic but, Gross believes, symbolic, "secretly to take something forbidden." When her lover's impotence was cured the impulse disappeared.

longs the credit for setting out this conception clearly and fully.[1] Stekel is not dealing with erotic theft, that is with theft as a method of sexual gratification—making indeed no reference to kleptolagnia as here understood—but with theft as a substitute for sexual gratification. It is, he believes, the result of repressed sexual emotion, apt to occur, for instance, in the wives of impotent men who crave a forbidden act. A theft is such a forbidden act. So that we are concerned with a transposition of emotions from the sexual into the criminal sphere. The sexual root of kleptomania is indicated, Stekel asserts, by the generally symbolic (not narrowly fetichistic) character of the objects stolen; they are frequently umbrellas (intended to be erected) and other objects which have a sexual symbolism. "The knowledge of sexual symbolism is the key to the comprehension of kleptomania." Stekel finds that when the woman is restored to normal sexual relationship the thefts cease. It may well be that, as regards some cases, there is a real basis of truth in this theory. But, as sometimes happens with psycho-analytic investigators, Stekel gives it an undue extension to cover all cases of "kleptomania," even in children, who when they steal are to be regarded as sexually precocious, and however plausible, and in some cases probable, this conception remains, in its generalized form, rather speculative. In any case it fails to coincide with the cases of what is here called kleptolagnia, in which the theft is not perpetrated as a subconscious substitute for sexual gratification but as a direct means of obtaining it. It has also been truly pointed out by Kiernan that Stekel shows himself uncritical, and ignorant of the present position of psychiatry in his unquestioning acceptance of the ancient doctrine of kleptomania and of the mono-

---

[1] W. Stekel, "Die Sexuelle Wurzel der Kleptomanie," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1908. Stekel has more recently (1923) dealt with kleptomania in *Der Fetischismus*. He here states (p. 39) that "the kleptomanic impulse is a transformation of the sexual impulse when repressed by the incest-prohibition." See also Stekel, *Twelve Essays on Sex and Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1922, and *Peculiarities of Behaviour*, Chs. VII-X. Stekel finds that the subject is seldom conscious of the sexual motive; "the affective overtone is there but without the sexual counterpoint," and they live in a fairy realm.

manias generally. He unnecessarily vitiates his conception by grafting it into that discredited doctrine. Placzek's conception of "kleptomania" may also be associated with Stekel's as he traces it to sexual inhibition leading to theft as substitute for the desired satisfaction; he considers it may be an experience of the normal life, though chiefly found combined with hysteria and menstrual disturbances, accompanied by *pseudologia phantastica*.[1]

That there may be an element of truth in Stekel's conception, and that we have here a group of cases which it is proper to include in this connection, is indicated by another example of theft in a child brought forward by Mary Chadwick of London.[2] A little girl from the age of five stole such objects as pins, pencils, and pennies. She really desired to obtain a *baby*, *knowledge*, and the *penis*. It is argued that her thefts were symbols of the things she coveted. She was not being intelligently brought up, and when rationally treated, and matters explained to her, she recovered.

The other manifestation of pathological stealing associated with the sexual impulse, but to be clearly distinguished from kleptolagnia, is that which has been especially worked out and clearly demonstrated by Healy of Chicago in his great work on *The Individual Delinquent* and later in *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*.[3] These cases occur in youths as well as girls, led into sexual temptations which yet seem to them intensely abhorrent and wicked, with a resultant conflict from which they subconsciously seek an escape by yielding to what they regard as the less reprehensible temptation of theft, so that Healy is inclined to regard the stealing as a kind of sexual symbolism. This conception moves in the psycho-analytic sphere and at a first glance it may seem indistinguishable from Stekel's conception. It might indeed be possible so to formulate it as to make it appear identical with that. But it is really quite distinct. The theft is not here a symbol of repressed sexual desire. That precisely is the source of the psychic trouble. The sexual temptation is yielded to, in act or at least in thought and instead of the theft proving a substitute for sexual gratification the tendency to steal is apt to become more violent the more the sexual temptation is gratified.[1] Conflict is of the essence of the process, and the theft is an instinctive effort to solve the conflict by turning the psychic energies into an equally violent but, as it is felt, less evil channel. This is distinct from Stekel's conception of theft as a symbolic gratification of repressed sexual desire. At the same time it is the very reverse of kleptolagnia, which is an effort to attain the direct gratification of the sexual impulse by the aid of the emotional energy generated by the excitement of the theft.[2]

[1] Placzek, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Hysterischen*, 2d ed., 1922, p. 85.

[2] Mary Chadwick, "A Case of Kleptomania in a Girl of Ten Years," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925.

[3] W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915; *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, 1917; see in the latter work especially the cases beginning on pp. 125, 175, 204, 243.

[1] Perhaps to the same group, though here there was an absence of conscious sexual desire or gratification, belong those cases of theft in young women, whose histories are narrated by Dr. Edith Spaulding (*American Journal of Insanity*, Jan., 1920). In these cases, it is held, the thefts represent attempts to compensate for emotional repression associated with distressing mental conflict.

[2] Kleptolagnia and allied conditions are so far only beginning to become of medico-legal interest. In Rhodesia, South Africa (*Rhodesia Herald*, Jan. 19, 1923, quoted in *Jour. Ment. Science*, July, 1923, p. 351), an unhappily married woman was charged with a long series of unmotived thefts. The defence was kleptomania (not insanity) due to sexual repression. This defence was not accepted by the magistrate who imposed a fine.

IX.

THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

I.

The subject of marriage, regarded in its essential meaning, is of universal and everlasting interest. That proposition may look like a truism. But marriage in its narrow sense is a mere social institution, possibly of only local or temporary existence. In its true biological sense alone is it no merely human institution but the substance of the process by which all the chief forms of life have persisted on the earth. Millions of years before Man appeared, supposing that self-consciousness ever arose, it is marriage that would have been a leading topic of meditation or of dispute. Still today the questions that most affect our well-being or even continuance on the earth as individuals, as families, as nations, or as a species,—the questions of heredity, eugenics, sex education, birth control, sterilization, divorce, the place of woman and the care of the child,—they are all merely aspects of the central problem of marriage. Into the making of a proper account of marriage there enter biology, physiology and embryology, psychology, ethnography, folk-lore, the study of magic and religion, economics, law. A really adequate book on marriage must not only be a book of profound importance for the welfare of the race, it must also be one of the most absorbingly interesting for all who feel the smallest concern in themselves or their fellows.

A completely adequate history of marriage we can hardly expect to see. No one person could master all the disciplines of study that must go to the making of it, and the separate work of a group of experts, each in his own field competent, could not be fused into any living and harmonious whole. But the nearest approximation to such a completely

adequate history is the great work of Professor Westermarck.[1] The foregoing remarks imply that the definition of what "marriage" is cannot be taken for granted. To many people, no doubt, it may seem that no definition is needed. Yet that is far from being so, and it cannot even be said that among students of the subject there is yet quite a clear agreement as to what we are to understand by "marriage." Westermarck stated the subject of his book to be "Human Marriage," and that clearly involved a natural biological conception of marriage. In that sense, Westermarck has defined it as "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." But short of this natural history sense of the term, marriage may be regarded in a narrower sense as a social institution, "a union regulated by custom or law."[2] In this special and more usual sense "marriage" is not simply a method of sexual association. It is an *institution*, and while it gives "the right to sexual intercourse it is not necessarily exclusive."

Dr. Malinowski, who today perhaps speaks with the best knowledge, both intimate and scientific, of savage life, confirms Westermarck on this point, and even more explicitly[3] Marriage, he holds, is not merely to be identified with "sexual appropriation." It is to be regarded, rather, as "an institution based on complex social conditions," of which sexual appropria-

---

[1] *The History of Human Marriage.* Fifth edition, re-written. By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., LL.D. London: Macmillan. Three volumes, 1922. There a short version of the *History* in one volume (1926). Two subsequent works on marriage, complementary to Westermarck's, may be mentioned, though written in complete independence of it and from other points of view: *Die Vollkommene Ehe* (1926) by a Dutch gynecologist, Dr. T. H. van de Velde, an elaborate treatise on marriage as primarily an erotic relationship, and *Die Ehe* (1927), a handbook on the physiology, psychology, hygiene and eugenics of marriage, written by a group of German physicians, men and women, and edited by Dr. Max Marcuse. I would add Briffault's notable work, *The Mothers*, which contains many acute criticisms of Westermarck and must be studied by all interested in these questions.

[2] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, Ch. XL. *History of Marriage*, vol. i, Ch. I.

[3] For instance in *Nature*, 22 April, 1922.

tion is not even the main aspect. The Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, whom Malinowski has studied in minute detail, live in great sexual laxity; they are matrilinear, they satisfy their sexual inclinations by various forms of license which sometimes resemble "group marriage." But they settle down to marry, and this not only. or even mainly, in order to possess a partner in sexual association, but out of personal attachment, to set up a household with economic advantage, and to rear children. Marriage, thus regarded, is not based on sex alone. Nor, it will be seen, when thus regarded, does it strictly exclude sex relationships outside marriage. It would follow that if marriage is thus to be defined as an *institution*, it can scarcely be strictly correct to refer to extra-marital sexual relations as "immoral." That, however, is not an aspect of the problem with which Westermarck is concerned in his *History*. It more properly belongs to his work on *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, where it duly comes under consideration.

Westermarck's *History of Marriage* has been a standard book on its subject ever since it first appeared more than thirty years ago. It was, at that time, the youthful production of an unknown student from Finland who had but lately acquired the foreign language in which he wrote. In an Introductory note Alfred R. Wallace pointed out its fresh and valuable qualities. Its conclusions were at some points opposed to those of various eminent authorities, but the new investigator commanded so immense a range of facts, he dealt with them in so critical, orderly, and scientific a spirit, he had so admirable a power of clear presentation, and was throughout so cautious and judicial, that his opinions could not fail to carry weight. It became clear, no doubt, as the years passed that there were some aspects of the subject the author has passed over too lightly; there were others that, when the book appeared, no one had sufficiently recognized. What some might regard as a capital defect was the absence of firsthand and intimate knowledge of the more primitive life and custom of any extra-European people. Dr. Westermarck proceeded to remedy this defect by spending six years in Morocco, learning to acquire,

by contact with the natives, in their own language, not only a direct knowledge of customs and institutions, but an insight into habits of thought of comparatively primitive peoples untouched by European civilization, yet remotely related to European stocks. How fruitful this experience proved is shown by Westermarck's book, *Ritual and Brlief in Morocco*, and various other publications.

It was in Morocco that he learnt the large part that magic plays in the ritual of marriage, confirming what, since the first edition of his book was published, Sir James G. Frazer had shown of the place of magical beliefs and practices in all the great affairs of life, including marriage. So that whereas in the first edition Dr. Westermarck found a dozen pages enough for marriage rites he now finds three long chapters—and most delightful chapters they are—none too much. Yet, he tells us, notwithstanding the enormous influence of magical beliefs on marriage rites, of which he has become aware since living in Morocco, the value of such rites for the study of the primitive and fundamental forms of marriage seems to him even less than he thought it before.

Although he has found it necessary to re-mould and re-write this work so thoroughly, Dr. Westermarck remains true to the method that guided him at first, and the two main points in this method are its biological basis and its inductive collection of comparative facts. From his present standpoint he is more inclined to extend and to fortify this method than to abandon it. The biological conception of marriage leads on to psychology, though not in itself necessarily psychological, and the psychological element in the processes of marriage is far more elaborated now than before. That the comparative way of progression may sometimes have defects when the facts collected are misunderstood or wrongly reported at the outset, Dr. Westermarck himself asserts, yet it remains the safest way, and when (as he rightly observes) we remember that Man, after all, is only a single species it is a completely legitimate way. Other ways have sprung up in recent years, and in a new introductory chapter, "On the Method of Investiga-

tion," Dr. Westermarck discusses them and compares them with his own. There is the way of Dr. Rivers in England and of the French school founded by Durkheim. These and other investigators are disposed to regard a society as an organism which must be studied by methods of "pure" sociology. Explanations on the comparative basis or on the psychological basis are regarded as too hazardous and quite unnecessary. But, as Westermarck points out, while such hazards undoubtedly exist, the hazards of the other method are equal and even greater; Durkheim was prepared to draw conclusions concerning the religious conceptions of Man at large from the study of totemic Australian tribes, while Rivers, so opposed to psychological conjectures, was himself profuse in conjecture. But Dr. Westermarck, with the sanity and breadth which inspire confidence in his work, is far from wishing to condemn methods to which he does not himself attach prime importance. He concludes that they are all helpful, each complementary to the others, and all likely to aid in enlarging and defining our knowledge.

In its present and probably final state there is perhaps only one work with which *The History of Human Marriage* can be compared, and that is the now still more extensive *Golden Bough*, which has been the chief life-work of Sir James G. Frazer. The two works have obvious points of resemblance; they are both by men of immense learning who are concerned with the investigation of the operations of the primitive mind and the details of primitive human practice in order to trace the sources of the mental operations and social practices of mankind today. The two investigations in fact often overlap. Frazer enters Westermarck's sphere and there is no writer to whom Westermarck refers so often as Frazer. But when that is said, and we come to look closer, it is the differences that we note. Frazer, in his discursive way, touches nearly every aspect of human thought and action, throwing out brilliant suggestions in many directions. Westermarck, though his net is cast as wide, or even wider, is only concerned to gather in what bears on one subject, and while dealing with the

most diverse aspects of it, he is methodically seeking to elucidate a single social institution of primary importance to mankind. Frazer seems always to have instinctively before him the ideals of literary scholarship, Westermarck the ideals of biological science. Frazer is something of an artist; we divine in him a certain pleasure in the charm and strangeness of some of his own speculations; he seeks after style, and is even willing, as in the last and oft-quoted paragraph of his great work, to attain a fine effect by a deliberate sacrifice of probability. For Westermarck there is no question of "purple patches"; he is manipulating a language which is not natively his own and is content to attain the scientific qualities of precision and clarity; we realize, moreover, that these qualities of writing fit the qualities of his mind; he is not concerned with aesthetic effects, and, one imagines, would rather put forward no speculations at all than any which do not seem solidly based. So that while both these great works are of profound interest to a reader who has any intelligent care for the problems of human life and thought, he is likely to read the *Golden Bough* for its brilliance and excitement and far-reaching suggestion, and the *History of Human Marriage* for the steady illumination and weighty judgment which it brings to the most vitally intimate of social institutions.

If we compare this *History* in its full development with the other great work on which its author's fame is chiefly based, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, the latter work appears as in effect a series of monographs on the various human virtues or vices,—for what from one point of view is a virtue is sometimes from another a vice,—but it is its unity which makes the *History* so impressive. A number of different avenues are opened before us, but each of them leads to the same great central human institution, each enables us to see better from a fresh and illuminating point of view some essential aspect of it.

Yet while the *History* is dominated by the sense of unity it is possible to find here a series of fascinating monographs on the most diverse, the most attractive, sometimes the most prac-

tical topics. Courtship, modesty, self-decoration by ornament and clothing, the primitive pairing season, and all the various forms of marriage, group-marriage, monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, as well as celibacy and divorce,—all these and many other topics render the *History* attractive to a multitude of various readers.

This last subject of Divorce is dealt with at length, both in its savage and civilized aspects: Dr. Westermarck finds that marriage tends to be durable even among peoples in primitive stages of culture, as we should expect if it really rests on a natural biological basis. It is because marriage is so natural an institution that we need not fear to allow a large freedom of divorce, as well as of variation, for that freedom cannot destroy but will, rather, confirm its stability and purify its practice. It seems reasonable, Westermarck concludes, that "a contract entered into by mutual consent should also be dissolved by mutual consent"; such freedom of divorce is necessary as "a means of preserving the dignity of marriage," and is even necessary in the interests of the children.

It is inevitable that, when the sections of the work are thus examined in detail, criticisms arise. The *History* was planned from the outset—as even its name indicates—on the broadest basis of natural science, but not only can we not expect to find an author, however painstaking and accomplished, proficient in every scientific discipline involved, there cannot fail, also, to be aspects of the subject which, perhaps even deliberately, he leaves aside. Thus, though we find here chapters on celibacy as well as on divorce, there is no detailed consideration of the subject, even more germane to the central question, of the regulation of the size of the family, nor is there any mention of eugenics, although we are constantly brought close to unconscious eugenics.[1] Abortion and infanticide have been dealt with elsewhere by Dr. Westermarck, and are only in-

[1] Almost immediately after the publication of this new edition of the *History*, Mr. Carr-Saunders published his work, *The Population Problem: A Study in Human Evolution*, which precisely fills this blank, and the more satisfactorily as its author writes in something of the same scientific and scholarly spirit as Dr. Westermarck.

cidentally touched on here. But a chapter setting forth and elucidating the gradually progressive regulation and limitation of the size of the family, first by infanticide, then by abortion, and finally by deliberate contraception, would have been not only much to the point but of real help in an age when this aspect of marriage has become so prominent and when so many people, who cling to the ideals of an earlier stage of civilization, yet experience terror and indignation in the presence of later forms of civilization.

There is another form of marriage which Dr. Westermarck has not included and could not include because it has hardly yet acquired historical position although it is becoming an increasingly common form of marriage, however unrecognized or illegitimate. The form in question is that which Dr. Knight has termed the "companionate." That is to say the union of two people for sexual companionship without the intention of producing offspring.[1]

It constantly happens under civilized conditions that a young man and woman may not desire, or may not be eugenically entitled, or not able to afford, to rear a family, or even to depend, both of them, on the earnings of one, but they desire each other's social and sexual companionship, while each earning his or her own living, under his or her own name, and retaining an individual relation to the state and to the tax-gatherer. Under present conditions the alternatives open to them are neither satisfactory. For they must either marry and accept all the obligations, disabilities, and compulsions which marriage, as at present constituted, imposes, or they must, as so often happens, form a more or less secret union, with all the difficulties and deceits it involves, and the risks of discovery and humiliation. Both alternatives are bad. They are not only socially unwholesome, but to both the individuals concerned, whose aim is altogether legitimate and honorable, they are alike absolutely unjust. The open recognition and accep-

[1] M. Knight, "The Companionate and the Family: The Unobserved Division of an Historical Institution," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, New York, May, 1924.

tance of a "companionate" is today an urgent demand of social hygiene. It is, under modern conditions, a great benefit to the individual, and it inflicts no injury on the community, but rather, indirectly, great benefits, not only in the sense that every benefit to individuals is necessarily a benefit to the community they constitute but because it would increase social sincerity and at the same time form a powerful lever to aid in the removal of prostitution. It need scarcely be said that such a companionate could at any time be voluntarily terminated at the will of the parties concerned and that it would terminate automatically, and become legal marriage, by the birth of children.[1]

Although it is impossible to contest Dr. Westermarck's learning (to which indeed the list of "Authorities Quoted," extending to 120 pages, sufficiently testifies), and equally impossible to doubt the well-considered weight of his judgments, points of detail must still remain open for criticism. There can never be complete agreement on some of the obscure problems connected with the evolution of marriage, nor can anyone ever be completely competent to discuss all its varied aspects. The study of the psychological basis of marriage has in this new edition been greatly extended, with much care, and, it might be added, courage, for Dr. Westermarck holds that "the concealment of truth is the only indecorum known to science." From the standpoint of sexual physiology and psychology there is, however, sometimes more to be said than is here brought forward; for instance, in the chapter on "Female Coyness" the physiological reasons for the need of courtship in the female require to be supplemented to complete the account of the processes probably involved; and a high degree of excitement in the female in sexual intercourse may be desirable not only to produce lubrication of the female passage but also to aid in providing the movements of the organs which favor conception. One may also note the almost complete absence of reference to

[1] Judge Ben Lindsey has put forth a persuasive presentation of this view in his book, *The Companionate Marriage* (1927).

the psycho-analytic explanations of sexual and social phenomena which have of recent years been put forward.

No doubt it seemed hazardous to so cautious an investigator to venture into a field which has been invaded by the ignorant and the cranky. But that field has now also been entered by many serious thinkers, even sociologists, so that psycho-analytic explanations deserve at least consideration, the more so at Dr. Westermarck's hands since they carry on those psychological lines of explanation to which he reasonably attaches importance. Thus in elucidating the custom of the defloration of a bride by some other man than her husband (to which a whole chapter is here devoted) the view which Freud has worked out needs to be mentioned, however it is regarded.[1] He has found that, even at the present day, there is an instinctive antagonism on the woman's part to the first approach of the man; that the first intercourse is more likely to bring disillusion than satisfaction, and that this frequently leads to a permanent alienation from the husband,—the man who has been compelled to put himself in this undesirable position,—and hence to many unhappy marriages. It was an advantage to the husband, and a security for successful marriage, if he transferred this instinctive hostility of the bride to some other man. In more civilized times such an arrangement was rendered impossible, in part by the development of a refinement of luxury which made the possession of a virgin seem peculiarly desirable, and in part by the growth of new moral conventions. But in earlier days the custom was widespread in many parts of the world, and assumed many disguises. Much ingenuity has been expended over its explanation. The favorite view has been that it is due to the magically dangerous results of intercourse with a virgin, and the most fantastic ideas have been put forward to explain why, if that is so, any one could be found to risk undertaking this operation for the husband's benefit. An investigation into the attitude of women

[1] S. Freud, *Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 4th Series, 1918, Beitrage zur Psychologie des Liebeslebens: Das Tabu der Virginität, pp. 229-251.

in civilization shows, Freud believes, that there really is a "danger" here, so that the primitive man with his tabu of virginity was protecting himself against a rightly divined though really psychic danger. "The tabu of virginity is thus sensible enough, and we may understand that proscription which commanded the avoidance of these dangers to the man who desired to enter into a permanent union with a woman." No doubt those who accept Freud's explanation would admit that this custom, like so many other primitive customs, has been embroidered over with magic, but Dr. Westermarck, who is inclined to accept the old magical theory, seems to have forgotten that he has elsewhere definitely stated that magic can only affect the mere rites of marriage, and we cannot dismiss defloration as a mere rite.

Another point on which it is possible to differ from Dr. Westermarck is in regard to primitive knowledge of physiological paternity. Dr. Hartland in 1909, in his work on *Primitive Paternity*, developed the view that primitive man was ignorant of the physiological need of a father in the production of children. Some of the evidence he adduced was open to criticism, but evidence has since been brought forward by careful investigators tending to show that this ignorance may be found still, even when sexual intercourse is recognized as a valuable aid in the causation of children. Malinowski, especially, has investigated with much care, among the Trobriand Islanders, the primitive theory of conception.[1] Westermarck, however, while not reaching any absolute conclusions, confesses that he still has "some doubts as to the present existence of any savage tribe where child-birth is considered to be completely independent of sexual intercourse." It must certainly be admitted, as even Malinowski shows, that savage beliefs concerning the precise function of the father are sometimes very complicated.

There are many such points at which it might be possible to carry further, or perhaps to qualify, the views put forward

[1] See, for instance, B. Malinowski, "The Psychology of Sex in Primitive Societies," *Psyche*, Oct., 1923, pp. 110 *et seq.*

in this *History*. But they do not affect the solidity of a work elaborated with such patient care and thought, with so constant an eye to its larger outlines, that it constitutes one of the chief scientific monuments of our time.

On some aspects of the history of marriage Dr. Westermarck was from the first opposed to influential schools of thought. This was especially so as regards the theory of the origin of later marriage systems out of a primitive promiscuity. Many eminent authorities have adopted this theory, which owed much to the brilliant and learned work of the Swiss jurist, Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, published in 1861. From Switzerland Rousseau in the eighteenth century brought a Romantic Movement into the world; from the same land in the same century Noverre came to renovate the ballet with the life-blood of romance; in our own century Swiss physicians have made a romantic religion out of psycho-analysis, much to the disgust of its founder. Similarly, it was from Switzerland, in the last century, that Bachofen came to bring the Romantic movement into the origin of society, with his conception of a free primitive community in which women ruled since they alone were recognizable as parents.[1]

Dr. Westermarck here tells us that he had at first approached this question with a disposition to accept the sexual promiscuity of early Man. But the evidence failed to convince him even when writing the first edition of his *History*. Now he has gone into the matter far more elaborately, devoting seven chapters to a careful examination of the facts and of the arguments based on them, and still maintains his former position. With so powerful a presentation of the case against the theory of primitive promiscuity, it should no longer be possible for anyone to speak of that theory as "established." It may be, however, that many will still be inclined to believe, though they cannot prove, that, improbable as actual promiscuity may have been, early Man often passed through a stage,

[1] A learned and elaborate work somewhat in the same sense is Briffault's *The Mothers*, 3 vols, 1927. Much valuable material is here brought together, though it needs to be approached critically

unlike that which prevails alike among the apes and among highly civilized peoples, marked by complex marriage relationships or some sort of group marriage.[1] We must not assume that early Man was monogamous because the apes frequently are. It is even possible that, if he had been, he would have remained much nearer to the apes. A complex marriage system, binding together a group of people, would not only constitute a valuable instrument for making associated progress in a still difficult world, but, without having any teleological end, it would form a highly important training in the discipline of the instincts, and the development of the intelligence. Later, when other methods for seeking those ends became possible, the stress of circumstance on the sexual instinct might well fall away and the later condition of Man in this respect again approach that which existed in the root-stock from which Man sprang. That is possible to believe, though it is not at present possible to prove.

There is another important question, here dealt with through two chapters, on which Dr. Westermarck has not completely succeeded in carrying conviction, and has now modified his statement in form though not in substance. That is the question of Exogamy, or the prohibition to marry within the group, which Westermarck reasonably (as I think) associated with, and explained by, the generally greater sexual attraction felt for persons outside one's own domestic circle, and the consequent rarity of incestuous attraction. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Westermarck had placed the emphasis on the wrong side of this ambivalent attitude and asserted the existence of an "instinct of aversion." The present writer—while, as Dr. Westermarck remarks, strengthening his position—many years ago objected that there was no need to assume any such instinct since the phenomenon in question is merely the negative

[1] Students of early society are, it is true, often very cautious about admitting the existence of group marriage. Thus Malinowski remarks that when we find groups living in sexual communion we are not to jump to the conclusion that this is "group marriage." But he admits that the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, whom he has himself specially studied, possess an institution nearly resembling group marriage.

aspect of the positive facts of sexual attraction, only appearing as a pronounced "aversion" when it is definitely presented to the mind, and not instinctively.[1] Now Dr. Westermarck drops the assumption of an "instinct of aversion" and therewith the only serious objections to his position fall away, though it is possible that he might even put the matter a little more clearly and positively, a little less negatively. He refers to a boy in Finland who made a distinction between the girls of his own school, and other girls, the latter only being what he termed "real" girls. That boy was quite correct. There is no "aversion" from the women of one's own group, far from it. Yet the girl with whom one has not grown up from childhood, and become accustomed to, is best fitted to be to us, in the sexual sense, a real girl. That is to say, she alone possesses those powerful stimuli to the sense of sexual desirability, never developed in the people one has grown unconsciously used to, which are essential to the making of a real girl. And the girl herself feels similarly.

All this is bound up with the fundamental facts of sexual psychology in Man and lower animals alike, and there is good biological reason why it should be. How much Dr. Westermarck gained by abandoning the "instinct of aversion" may be seen by the remarks of Freud, completely rejecting his original theory, which he here quotes. Freud states, quite truly, that psycho-analytically, it is impossible to accept an "innate aversion" to incestuous feeling. That rejection is no longer to the point; the Westermarckian view, as now stated, becomes even more coherent than the Freudian, for Freud regards the infantile incestuous tendencies to which he attaches importance as violently repressed in later childhood; but it is far more plausible to argue that, in the healthily born, they die out naturally and normally under the usure of familiar life, when stronger stimuli from outside are applied. There is no need to invoke any "violent repression," save in exceptional cases. As Mapother states, perhaps even a little too emphatically:

[1] *Studies*, vol. iv, p. 205.

"It seems very natural that the sexual tendencies of puberty should often be incestuous. There seems little need to regard this tendency as specific, or to dignify it with special names. [He is referring to the "Oedipus Complex," the "Electra Complex," etc.] The adolescent takes as the material for fantasy-production that which is available. If juvenile incest were a common cause of psychosis the mental hospitals would require considerable enlargement."[1] The occasional slight sexual attraction between near relations in early life and its usual disappearance at puberty or adolescence are thus both alike natural and normal. Dr. Westermarck might have pointed out that, in our civilization, the examples of really passionate incestuous attraction which now and then arise are nearly always between those persons who have been separated during the pubertal period, so that the dulling effect of familiar life on the development of sexual stimuli has been suspended. It is the simple fundamental impulses of normal life which all our customs and institutions and laws formulate and often emphasize. Human ingenuity sometimes moulds them into extravagant shapes and camouflages them with fantastic designs, but it is the fundamental natural impulses beneath them which are the driving force. This is what Dr. Westermarck in general clearly sees. He is thus easily able to refute Sir James Frazer's rejection of his view. Frazer thinks that laws exist to forbid men to do the things their natural instincts incline them to do. Laws, it seems, are brought down to men, by the Mosaic method, from some inaccessible Sinai. Strange that so brilliant an investigator, whose researches have often elucidated superstitions, should himself fall a victim to a superstition so gross!

There is a temptation, before this great and fascinating *History*, to linger over the problems the author seeks so carefully and so learnedly to solve. It is indeed a varied panorama which is here spread before us. One never ceases to marvel over the endless modifications and elaborations and complexities

[1] C. Mapother, *Journal of Mental Science*, Jan., 1922.

into which the romantic and mighty human mind has successively moulded even so apparently simple and fundamental a biological fact as that of marriage. One cannot help wondering, also, what new and fantastic shapes await our marriage system in the future. For Man never stands still; when he begins to stand still he is dying. Yet, we may be sure, the more marriage changes in form the more obviously it will in substance remain the same thing.

II.

We cannot help wondering, but we need not wonder alone together at random. The future history of marriage can only emerge from its present history. The seeds of tomorrow are being sown today. The big trees of the future are vigorously growing in the present, if only we are able to discern them. They are not always easily discerned because of the frequency among us of deliberate blindness and deep-rooted prejudice leading us, often with the most virtuous motives, either to deny the existence of these new growths or else to brand them as noxious weeds which will soon die out. It may be unwise to put oneself forward as so self-righteous as not to be influenced by these virtuous motives. Yet there are certain tendencies of today, so clear to the eyes of those who are moderately brave in facing the facts of life, that we can scarcely fail to mistake their significance for the future.

Perhaps the most obvious of these tendencies is the movement to increase the legal facilities for divorce. This movement proceeds step by step with civilization and is found in all civilized countries. It exists not only in the lands of Protestant tradition, where we should expect to find it, but also in the lands of Catholic tradition. In no civilized country is there any progressive movement for adding to the legal impediments to divorce. If there were such a country we should probably be suspicious of its claim to be called civilized. And rightly. For in the absence of civilization, while there is room for choice,—since the members of no species are ever actually identical,—yet the chances of the two individuals who choose each other proving to be so unlike as to be incompatible are relatively small. Civilization means the differentiation of individuals, so high a degree of individualization that the act of choice, unless it is made under conditions of prolonged intimacy, is not likely to be effective. That is why it seems to some that a marriage should not be made binding unless there has been a preliminary stage of noviciate, sufficiently intimate to ensure mutual knowledge.[1] Yet even with such a safeguard it would probably still be felt wiser to continue the movement for facilitating the exit from marriage.

How far that movement will be continued it is impossible to foretell. We have to remember that in our western world, ever since the Reformation, it has received a constantly powerful impetus forward, which the French Revolution, and every later movement of liberation from what seemed to be the legal fetters of the past (notably the Russian Revolution), has accentuated. The natural goal, already beginning to be reached here and there, is obviously divorce by mutual consent, provided of course that no rights of the parties themselves or of the children are injured, for it would seem to be logical that the exit from marriage should not be made more difficult than the entrance. And even if the logical conclusion is in this matter held to be unreasonable, it must certainly be accepted that if impediments are placed in the way of divorce it is essential that impediments should also be placed in the way of marriage, so as to diminish the need for divorce.

The progressive movement for the legal facilitation of divorce may thus be accepted, to whatever extent it may proceed. It is probable that, however great the care shown in forming marriages, the complexities of personality developed by our civilization will continue to introduce so many difficulties that the knot will still sometimes have to be cut because it cannot be unravelled. It is more likely that the movement for simplifying divorce will not proceed rapidly enough. That is where the opportunity arises for the formation of such non-legal unions as, under the name of "companionate," have already been mentioned. Such unions are of course numerous. What we need is socially to recognize them as worthy.

---

[1] Mrs. Havelock Ellis, "A Noviciate for Marriage," *The New Horizon in Love and Life*

We are called upon to admit openly—if we are sensible we already admit it in secret—that they are legitimate and beneficial. In many cases, no doubt, such unions are to be regarded as novicıates between two young people who eventually form a permanent marriage with each other. But it is not necessarily so. Young people, both youths and girls, are frequently, in the first place, attracted to persons some years older than themselves, occasionally much older, and doubtless by a natural instinct. Each craves to be brought in touch with a knowledge and experience, with a skill in loving, which they could not expect from one on their own level of crude youthfulness. It is indeed an immense benefit for a youth to be initiated into life by a woman whom to know, as it used to be said, is a liberal education. It is an immense benefit for a girl to be initiated tenderly and gently by an experienced man rather than run the risk of being shocked and perhaps irretrievably injured.[1] It is possible for both the men and the women to conduct this initiation with a reverence and tenderness for which they will receive enduring gratitude. But with that they should rest content. It is not desirable for a permanent relationship to be formed where there is any wide disparity in years.

We witness, then, a tendency for the progressive legal relaxation of the bonds of matrimony, and we witness it without anxiety, even if it should go so far as to reduce legal marriage to a mere formality. But when we turn to the procreation of children we see a very different picture. The community is beginning to realize that it has no direct concern with the sexual relationships of its members. But the community is also beginning to learn that it has a very intimate concern indeed with the children produced by

[1] It need scarcely be added that this is not to be regarded as always an ideal situation. The Countess de Choiseul-Meuse, who knew a great deal about the erotic art, wrote more than a century ago: "It is not enough to be happy, the woman a man loves must share the tenderness and the pleasure she inspires; but men of ripe age are not so delicate; their aim is to enjoy, and they regard women as the instruments of their pleasures." (*Julie*, 1807, vol. ii. p. 50.) That is still often true.

its members. It is beginning to realize that when in old days it ordained rigid rules for marriage and left the procreation of children absolutely free, the emphasis was all wrong; it should have been the other way about, and endless mischief resulted. The world is beginning to see that it is impossible to lay too light a legal hand on marriage and equally impossible to be too rigidly severe in regard to procreation. In this matter, indeed, not so much progress has yet been made as with regard to divorce; but the indications are clear and the two movements are really bound together.

The twentieth century was called by Ellen Key the century of the child. The child is indeed doubly a problem for our century. On the one hand we have to learn how to select the parents of the child (which of course can only be done by themselves), and how so to conceive and bear and rear it that every child brought into the community may be of such high quality that it will not lower but, rather, raise the level of that community; on the other hand we have to establish the strongest possible barriers against the incoming flood of unwanted children which marks our stage of civilization. That flood is due, not to any increase in the number of births but to indiscriminate breeding undern modern conditions; and of these conditions the most important is the improved hygiene which allows not only good but bad and indifferent children to reach maturity and so to lower the whole civilized level of the community.[1] This is a problem which the nineteenth century has, without intending it, bequeathed to our century. That century largely carried through the Herculean task it had received from the eighteenth, so clearing away the filth of our supposedly civilized world, and neutralizing

[1] It is now recognized that the rise of population which began with the development of modern hygiene, and is still in progress, is not due to a higher birth-rate but to a lower death-rate. See *e.g.*, M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*, 1926. And see also the discussions in the *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, 1927.

its diseases, that human lives have been rendered to an enormous degree safer and longer. The result is that the world now holds a vastly greater amount of human life than it knows what to do with. And this, not only because that excess of life is often of poor quality, and thus imposing an intolerable burden on every community which permits it, but because it threatens to outgrow the means of subsistence. There is no need to emphasize the point here. It is becoming familiar. Mankind is, it has been said, at the cross-roads, and the authoritative book which Professor E. M. East has written under that title ought to be, if it is not already, in the hands of all thinking people who are alive to the problems of their own time. It is true that there are people of an elder generation who still try to soothe themselves with foolish dreams of new artificial foods or wild schemes for the reclamation of the inhospitable regions of the earth, foolish because Man, under all his disguises, still remains a natural animal and requires a natural life and natural space to roam in. But the younger generation are, in large part, better informed, and the elder generation will soon be extinct. No doubt they may congratulate themselves that they have escaped a problem compared to which the regulation of marriage, which our forefathers were so solemnly concerned about, was like an idle game. Yet when we hold the two sides of this great question of reproduction together—the new need for quality and the new refusal of quantity—we may see ground for believing that the future course of the race is quite likely to proceed harmoniously. It is true that the desire for children is almost universal. But a growing perception of the special qualities needed for sound physical parentage and the high training required for sound spiritual parentage can scarcely fail to induce—and are indeed already inducing—greater care and hesitation in accepting those responsibilities of conception which it is now being brought well within the competence of all to reject when rejection seems desirable. Such a situation is

the best possible augury for success in that task of diminishing the gross number of births which is today laid upon the civilized countries of the world.[1] The chief failure to comprehend this task is in France, where the State seems to be unaware of the yet obvious fact that France already possesses a high birth-rate—as high, indeed, as England's—and that what is needed, if it is desired to maintain the level of the population, is not more babies but a greater care in preserving those that are born; it is an evil policy to encourage the unfit to procreate, or to seek to adulterate the population of the country by the immigration of the scum of other lands.[2] In the United States the government has been wiser, and by the strict limitation of immigration it has not only declared to the world its own acceptance of the reality and the imminency of the danger of over-population but has warned other countries in the plainest way that the limitation of procreation is now the task placed before Man.

The question of marriage and divorce has led on to the

---

[1] At one time much anxiety was ostentatiously expressed concerning what was called the differential birth-rate, or a higher rate of procreation among the poorer (and supposedly inferior) social class as compared with the upper and more educated class. As might have been suspected, that is only a temporary phenomenon, mainly due to the greater facilities in limiting conception possessed by the better educated. It is now becoming recognized that the birth-rates of upper and lower social classes are tending to become equalized. This has been clearly shown as regards London (see *e.g., Nature,* 27 August, 1927), and in Sweden. Dr. Karl Edin of Stockholm University, states (*Proc. World Population Conference,* 1927, p. 205), the birth-rate of the upper class is now lower than that of the working class. As Raymond Pearl indicates (*The Biology of Population Growth,* 1926, Ch. VII) the equalization of environmental conditions tends to equalize the birth-rates.

[2] The opposite error is committed by the State in Italy at the present time. France thinks that she is not prolific enough and deplores it. Italy thinks she is too prolific—and glories in it. Mussolini has said: "The Italian people are too prolific. I am glad of it. I will never countenance birth control propaganda [it was strictly prohibited by law in 1926]. As the country grows, only three roads are open to it: to addict itself to voluntary sterility—Italians are too intelligent to do that; to make war; or to seek outlets for the over-population." So frank a statement shows as clearly as could be wished how a country that tolerates its excessive procreativeness is a deliberate menace to civilization and the declared enemy of all countries more favorably situated than itself.

question of children because that has hitherto been held to be the point to which mainly it ought to lead. Today this is beginning to seem less certain. Many marriages now are, deliberately or not, childless; and when children come they are not necessarily held an argument against divorce, since a single parent under happy conditions is better for a child than two parents under unhappy conditions; moreover, it is now generally accepted that where divorce takes place it is imperative to arrange for the welfare of the child. But, beyond these considerations, there is an aspect of marriage which transcends the question of the children it may lead to, and even goes beyond the whole question of the specifically sexual relationship included in marriage. There are many independent indications on various sides to show that this is beginning to be recognized. It is easy to understand how the recognition has been delayed. The great divorce movement, justifiable as it has been, was largely operative in this sense. That movement may be said to have been a revolt of the spirit of Protestantism, an assertion of individuality and freedom and truth in reaction against what seemed the fictions of the Catholic conception of marriage. As such, it has been accepted, and there is no occasion to undo what it is achieving.

But in that achievement the sound core of the Catholic conception has often been overlooked. The Catholic conception of marriage as a sacrament effected by the two consenting parties, the priest being present only as a witness, represented more than a union for purposes of sexual intercourse and propagation; it represented a certain state of life, a religious state, in which sexual union was only one of the bonds, and a bond not so supremely important that to break it involved the dissolution of the marriage. Moreover, the Catholic with this conception of marriage was by no means peculiar; on the contrary, in other parts of the world, in other great civilizations, marriage has been an essentially similar institution. It was so with marriage in India: in China, where a primary importance was certainly

attached to procreation, the erotic element was subordinate and love not always exclusive; even primitive peoples, such as those of New Guinea studied by Malinowski, had, as has already been noted, a large conception of marriage.[1] The peculiarity of the Catholic Church was in the fictions with which it supported its high conception. It assumed that if at the outset the two parties to the marriage had given a genuine consent, and no impediment existed, it was not possible for the consent to cease or new impediments to arise at any later stage; so the primary consent, if unimpeachable, constituted the marriage, and no fresh circumstances could suffice to dissolve it. That was a daringly effective way of asserting the high dignity of marriage and its heroic supremacy over changing circumstances, but it was a fiction.

To the Protestant mind that fiction has been clear for three hundred years But it has not been clear that the Protestant conception of marriage is also founded on a fiction, and of an equally glaring and mischievous kind. The Protestant conception of marriage, which is that of the modern world generally, and is becoming that of the countries once Catholic, is much vaguer than the Catholic conception. But on the whole it may be said to be, whether religious or civil, in its essence secular and in its popular atmosphere romantic. That is to say, it is narrowed down to a kind of legal sex-contract which is held to be sufficiently sanctified by the promise of exclusive and permanent mutual love.[2] Such a promise in the union of any

---

[1] In the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea the girls grow up "in promiscuous free love which gradually develops into more permanent attachments, one of which ends in marriage The married woman, however, still retains considerable independence, as well as high consideration, and may not be strictly faithful. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 42.

[2] Thus in a recent (1927) attack from the Protestant standpoint of the "artificial, fanciful, and often grotesque" conception of the Roman Catholic Church, Archdeacon R. H. Charles, preaching on divorce in Westminister Abbey, argued that fidelity is the one essential fact of marriage and that "unchastity broke the bond and cancelled a valid marriage."

couple, even of the most devoted lovers, is a transparent fiction, which can never be kept, and if it is taken seriously as the foundation of marriage it inevitably casts a drop of poison, if not a fatal dose, into the marital cup. It is certainly within the power of every sane and honest husband and wife to avoid having actual sex intercourse with other persons, and it is unnecessary to say that a vast number of husbands and wives have avoided it. But there is a long gradation of acts short of that final act which permit the intimate expression of love, so intimate that they have often sufficed to furnish adequate legal evidence of adultery. Then, short of such definite actions, the devotion of love can be expressed in speech. Further, many a stern Puritan in our civilization, strong to hold in control all the impulses of action and speech, and worthily honored by the Church to which he belongs, has still, when he came to lie with his wife, found his thoughts concentrated on the vision of another woman. And from the Christian standpoint, as set forth by Jesus, that is adultery.

There is no doubt about this: the promise of mutual exclusive and everlasting love is a promise that cannot be kept and should not be made. It cannot form a permanent basis of marriage, and good marriages subsist by being shifted on to other foundations. Yet there has been a general conspiracy not merely to preserve this fiction but to put it at the front as the primary condition for marriage. "Promise that you will never love any one but me!" Lovers are not taught to look upon this demand as wrong and silly. They are expected to make it; and expected to accept it. If they fail to do so the general feeling has been that this is not likely to be a "happy marriage."

The people who actively encourage this fiction regard it as furnishing the one essential foundation for marriage. All other considerations, though recognized as not without importance, they treat as secondary. They look down on marriage not based on this foundation as a degradation of the lofty romantic idealism they proclaim. They have personally, no

doubt, come to accept a less romantic and more realistic basis for themselves, but that they privately regard as a failure, not to be generally recognized, and they make up for it by proclaiming all the more loudly the sound and only basis for marriage.

Yet it may truly be said that of all the possible foundations for marriage this is the worst, the most likely to lead, if not to actual failure, to serious difficulties. It is the worst foundation because it is the most certain to give way. Exclusive passionate love, in the erotic sense, cannot furnish a sound foundation for a union that is meant to be permanent. That would perhaps have been long ago recognized but for the fact that, sooner or later, in the marriages that turn out well the union is, as privately as possible, readjusted on to a more stable foundation. But that readjustment is often troublesome, and even very painful for both parties to the union, the reason being that the first foundation had been put before them in such glowing colors, with such exalted idealism, fortified by all the romance of literature and tradition, that disillusionment comes as a shock, and the new foundation, if fortunately it is found, still seems like a disastrous fall to failure. The husband finds consolation in his work, perhaps varied by private little episodes with other women, whether or not carried far, while the wife seeks comfort in her children, if she has any, and for the rest cherishes a secret bitter discontent with her life, for she imagines it might have turned out better under different circumstances; so each

> "keeps hidden
> Love's private tatters in a private Eden."

It is true that life in marriage may turn out better under some different circumstances, even if this does not involve a safe foundation from the outset. In Protestant countries, before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the foundation was entirely different, but there is no good ground to believe that marriage then turned out less well, in spite of the echoes of occasional scandals that have come down to us, and

the more conspicuously, perhaps, because they were exceptions. In France, where the ancient attitude towards marriage has still been largely preserved, it is *suitability* rather than sexual passion which is regarded as the proper foundation for marriage; it is held that when that has been secured the right conditions exist for the development of love. More often than not that anticipation is sound, and the frequency of mutual devotion and harmony in French domestic life has long been a commonplace among foreigners. It is so likewise in other parts of the world. In China, where procreation is the first duty in all families, and the erotic element, though frankly recognized, is never the reason for marriage, there are unhappy marriages, as elsewhere, and we are not called to regard the Chinese system as ideal; but Dr. Wilhelm, a great authority on China, is able to say that "it cannot be asserted that even the most personal European marriage based entirely on mutual affection is any happier or more peaceful than Chinese marriage, which rests on parental authority." We constantly find, indeed, similar remarks made by competent observers concerning marriage systems based on this or similar principles. Yet their significance seems to be lost on us. It is true that there is no possible system which will not sometimes produce unsatisfactory or even deplorable marriages. But there is no community which does not contain unsatisfactory or even deplorable members, and they needs must bring their qualities into their marriages.

It has been common in the past to talk of the prospect of a "happy marriage." But the ideal of a "happy marriage" has often been far too cheap and easy. If we try to think of couples who enjoy this state of "happy marriage"—putting aside those who have reached it indirectly and without seeking it by passing through much tribulation—we shall often find that they constitute little isolated family groups consumed by greedy absorption and cut off from all generous contact with the world; or they are couples who cherish a narrowly sensual and selfish devotion to each other of which the final impression is painful; or they are just the good, simple, primitive, undifferentiated people who are, as it was said of old, born to consume the fruits of the earth. We gaze at them as we gaze at the occupants of a pig-sty, without contempt, quite cheerfully, but well aware that their happiness can hardly furnish the key to the solution of our own more complex situation.

We have to put aside the notion that any such happiness can rightly be the aim of marriage for us. Happiness may be the end of marriage, the deep satisfaction that comes of a long partnership carried through affectionately and courageously, with a full-hearted acceptance of the anguish as well as the joy that such partnership must inevitably bring. But a happiness that is placed as the initial aim of marriage,—the indefinitely prolonged honeymoon of old-fashioned novels which never even allowed for the fact that the honeymoon itself may be far from happiness,—this is a mere delusion.

That is where the divorce movement, excellent as in itself it was, has unfortunately helped to narrow down and conventionalize the ideal of marriage, to fortify the old-fashioned romantic view which has no basis in the facts of life. The facility of divorce has served to support the notion that happiness is the aim of marriage and that, when difficulties appear, the one natural solution is separation; and it has concentrated attention on the erotic element as though that were not only a highly important element but the actual sole content of marriage, and its diversion an adequate reason for dissolving the marriage. It is true that many husbands and wives, when contemplating the question of divorce, draw back before deciding on it because they feel that they are too deeply attached to the conjugal partner to accept separation. But they regard this affection as a hinderance to the just and proper solution of divorce rather than as an essential factor of the marriage union itself.

In the remarkable *Book of Marriage* which Count Keyserling put forth a few years ago, we find that the central conception of marriage therein embodied closely corresponds with the tendencies which in various directions we seem to see gaining force today. We are not here concerned with Count Keyserling's general attitude. It is enough to recognize that he is—though often laying himself open to criticism—a thinker of weight and influence in our world, and that he has here, in a book to which some two dozen writers of different schools and various countries have contributed, so moulded the outcome that a harmonious conception is visible. The fact that his vision of marriage was largely inspired by the East, and especially by contact with India and China, is far from invalidating it. The vision has been evoked by the East, but it remains Western, only vitalized anew because it is a conception which our recent past has overlaid.

Count Keyserling reacts against the narrow conception of marriage which prevailed in the recent past and still survives amongst us. Marriage, he insists, is not only a sexual bond but also a personal bond; we cannot, therefore, confine it within the sphere of morals and regard the existence of a sexual rupture as an adequate cause for divorce. Biology, esthetics, and religion are concerned with marriage, as well as ethics; by reducing marriage to the narrow moral basis we are ultimately only able to invoke "the sense of duty," in place of that inner necessity which is the sound vital source of action. A hasty resort to divorce is a more serious failure than adultery, which has "existed all through the ages and was never looked upon as a real danger to marriage." For it is not an easy domestic happiness which is the proper aim of marriage, and by pursuing that aim we solve neither the problem of marriage nor the problem of happiness. Marriage is essentially rather to be termed a tragic condition than a happy condition. It is by the intensity of life it produces that its success must be measured, and even its ultimate happiness. "Unhappily married people more rarely harm their own souls than those who are happily married," it is here pregnantly said.

"Not only does an unhappy marriage promote self-development more positively than does a mere state of ease due to lack of experience, but in the end it leads more truly to that inward happiness which is the necesary consequence of achievement." Thus the art of marriage is one of the most difficult of the arts, and one of the most arduous, and it becomes more and more so with the progress of civilization. It is not perhaps an art for all to attempt,—the artist in other fields, at all events, and the saint should alike avoid it,—yet an art that renders possible the joy of great performance, for "one can play only on tightened strings."

For Keyserling the marriage-partners constitute a unit, but a unit in a special sense which involves the freedom and independence of each partner and a high degree of distance and reserve. He tries to symbolize this conception as an elliptical field of force. The two foci are separate units, which can never merge and are always at a distance from each other. But the interpolar tension of the two units constitutes another higher unit, different from that of the two foci and of creative power. In the intensified life that thus arises, and not in any cheap comfort or mutual conjugal absorption, lies the deepest significance of marriage. Exactly the same conception of marriage is finely embodied in a different quarter, in Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet:*

> "Give your hearts, but not into each other's keeping,
> For only the hand of Life can contain your hearts.
> And stand together but not too near together
> For the pillars of the temple stand apart."

It is interesting to recall that this conception of the relation of the sexes in marriage, however modern it may seem, is only a new statement of the primitive conception of the dangers which the two sexes hold for each other and the precautions with which so risky an adventure as marriage must be approached. Man has always surrounded sex with *taboos*, and carefully guarded changes in sex status with sacred rites.[1]

[1] The late Ernest Crawley in his important work, *The Mystic Rose* (1902, new and enlarged edition by Besterman, 1927) first clearly and convincingly demonstrated these taboos, and A. van Gennep has studied the rites connected with change of status in his *Rites de Passage* (1909).

It has here seemed worth while to present the central idea of Keyserling's remarkable essay on "The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem" because it states in a definite fashion, and more boldly than is usual—too boldly some would say—certain tendencies which are now becoming manifest in the modern development of the conception of marriage. The view that marriage is properly a permanent and indissoluble union,—though rightly to be brought to an end when it clearly stifles the development of the partners to it,—not formed by a single bond, however important that bond, but by various components that are all important, so that the failure of any one bond is not an adequate ground for dissolution, is here brought into relation with the considerations which are already becoming familiar. For the erotic element of marriage, while put aside as the sole content of marriage, is yet recognized as of enormous importance, and the lack of cultivation of the art of love declared to be a main reason of the frequent failure of marriage. The place of birth control, also, is seen to be essential in the cultivation of a fine marriage. Each of the partners is called upon to carry forward the task of self-development, not merely for his or her own individual sake but for the sake of the higher creative unity which together they constitute, for "marriage is impossible without discipline and art." For the same reason a certain distance and reserve are called for in the two partners, by no means in the sense of defective intimacy; "on the contrary, the more intimate they are the more strictly should they cherish their own individuality," and to avoid the risk of encroaching on one another they should be careful to cultivate periods of absence. In that way marriage, when successful, may reach its highest point of creative spiritual unity, and, in the end, its highest point of happiness, even though in the process it must necessarily be a tragic state of tension. For if it is not that, it must fail to act as an ennobling and harmonizing part of life, since life itself is a tragic state of tension, and we cannot play our proper part in life, or attain the deepest joy of living, unless we are brought into harmony with the processes of life. In this conception of marriage we may perhaps see a synthesis of the Catholic and the Protestant conceptions, brought on to a plane at which it becomes acceptable to the realistic mind of the man of today. The union rendered indissoluble by an internal constraint is thus placed on that external foundation of complete freedom without which marriage is a fiction, possibly a useful fiction, but possessing no spiritual or moral meaning; just as life itself (of which marriage is the figure in miniature) would have no spiritual or moral meaning if we were not free, at any moment, to bring it to an end.

It is true that, as thus presented, marriage hardly seems a vocation that can appeal to all. Not only the saint and the artist, but the comfort-loving, sensual, cultivated people —of whom there are so many in any civilized community— had often better avoid it. There are ways of sexual association outside marriage. It is to the advantage of society —even, in the narrow sense, the moral advantage—that those who are not fitted for marriage should as early as possible discover that lack of fitness and refrain from marrying. The indiscriminate thrusting of men and women into marriage, without regard to the supreme question of their fitness to be the fine parents of a fine race, or to be the spiritual comrades of each other, could only lead towards racial degeneracy and moral disorder. It seems to be a mark of increased sanity in our time, so far at least as this matter is concerned, that there is no longer any reckless insistence on the necessity of marriage for all, and that men and women may now lead their own lives in the world and select their own intimate friends of either sex. Not all, even of those who desire marriage, can be sure of their vocation to embrace marriage in communion with one particular person, just as not all who desire to enter the religious life can be sure of their vocation for union with Christ or the Virgin. If we apply to marriage the sound Catholic plan of a noviciate for the purpose of determining true vocation, there may, in time, be as few discontented persons in our marriage as in our mon-

asteries. And in thus limiting, and in so doing purifying, our marriage relationship, necessarily at the same time diminishing procreative activity, we shall be working towards the solution of that problem which from another side science now shows to be so urgent, the problem, that is, of the undue growth of the world's population under modern conditions. Theory and practice, while each moving within its own sphere, will thus be advancing hand in hand.

Nor must it be supposed that in presenting the aim of real marriage as a difficult and even tragic quest, there is danger that but few will follow it. On the contrary! It is difficulty that allures us, and on every high path its difficulty is proclaimed to allure the aspirant. "Our youths must be prepared for self-sacrifice, for arduous discipline, perhaps for the most heart-breaking rebuffs, for the stern and even bitter criticism of their fellows. But there never was a time so rich in promise, so laden with rewards for those who labor with sincerity and truth. The responsibilities which rest on them are enough to cause the stoutest sometimes to falter. Yet, armed with the sword of the spirit and the breastplate of faith, they will remember that the happiness of life lies in its responsibilities, that true joy is found in the search for what may after a weary journey prove unattainable." It is a distinguished surgeon who is speaking, and it is devotion to science that he has in mind.[1] But may not the art of living claim as much devotion as the art of knowing?

It is likely that many will stumble at the point in this presentation of the marriage situation—only brought forward here as one of many possible presentations—at which they seem to see the condonation of adultery. That point, which Keyserling passes over lightly, is one of deep significance and needs to be made clear. It is easy to say that adultery has "existed all through the ages," and therewith

[1] Sir Berkeley Moynihan, Hunterian Oration, *British Medical Journal*, 19 Feb., 1927.

to leave it as an accepted fact. It has not only existed, it has existed as a tragic fact, a cause of murder and of misery, a corroding poison in every age and every country in,—and often out of,—what was once called Christendom. "I found them one morning in each other's arms—and they died," wrote, three centuries ago, the high spirited Spanish captain, Alonso de Contreras, of his wife and her lover, his own trusted friend.[1] Direct action of this kind has become less usual during the years that have followed, but the emotions experienced by the seventeenth century Spaniard are still often experienced today, even among presumably civilized persons, with a consciousness of complete justification. And still, also, they lead to action which, even if indirect, may be just as fatal to marriage. So that we can scarcely be content to leave the matter at that point.

There is no need to leave it at that, and with the development of new conditions in life the reasons are accumulating why we should not. We may put aside the consideration that adultery of some kind—at least that of the eye or of the heart—is all but inevitable, and that romantic youthful vows of everlasting fidelity are only valid for the moment when they are uttered; because it is nevertheless probable that they will be continued to be uttered for some time to come. The conception of adultery is being more surely and more subtly undermined, and from various directions. It is not necessary to attempt to enumerate them all here, because there is so little doubt about the fact. But two at least may be mentioned. In the first place, the facility of divorce has itself indirectly destroyed the ancient significance of adultery. It has done this even by the importance that has thus been attached to adultery. For if adultery (with or without one or two more or less fictitious accessory circumstances) is the recognized ground for divorce, there may indeed be some trouble and inconveni-

[1] *The Life of Captain Alonso de Contreras*, translated by Catherine Phillips, 1926, p. 130.

ence caused, but the dissolution of the marriage will simply mean in the end the establishment of one or two perhaps more satisfactory marriages, and as the result of adultery all will be for the best. In fact, as at present generally established, the law itself insists on the adultery as a condition for the re-marriage, and it would be absurd to take tragically an act imposed by law. Again, from another side, the conception of adultery has been undermined by the whole modern woman's movement and its gradual transformation of legal enactment and judicial attitude. Of old the wife was, in a more or less legal manner, the possession of the husband, and correspondingly, the husband became, in a less legal manner, the "possession" of the wife. But the slow legal emancipation of the wife, giving her an increasingly greater control over her own person, is bringing her so near to the point where even adultery might be regarded as within her rights over her own person, that, however much it may arouse disapproval, adultery is no longer anywhere near being a crime. We are, further, today gaining a little more insight into the inner mechanism of human impulses, and we realize that when adultery occurs it is the partner we term innocent who is in nearly every case the cause of it, for it is that partner who has been least successful in the essential art of courtship, the art of winning and holding love, and we no longer lay the penalty, without consideration, on the ostensibly guilty partner.[1] There are other influences of recent times which have led in the same direction, and notably the social aftermath of the Great War, so that adultery, which even Shakespeare had regarded, in mere suspicion, as an awful source of tragedy (but it is significant that Shakespeare,

[1] Thus a German woman lawyer, Dr. Maria Munk (Der Ehebruch als Ehescheidungsgrund, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, June, 1927) points out that the innocent party is often the true cause of the adultery, and adds that now when the old idea of the "sanctity" of marriage has so greatly diminished, the deserted party who regards it as within his or her rights to take another partner can no longer be considered as an offender for so doing.

though he was a few years older than Alonso de Contreras, thought it desirable to make his Othello a barbarian), may now seem to us perhaps a more fitting subject for comedy.

To fortify the emotional side of adultery, it is true, there is, as Othello reminds us, jealousy. That is not touched by legal, social, or psychological considerations, and even lovers who are careful not to make rash vows may still feel its pangs when the moment for it arrives, as it doubtless will. For jealousy, however low we may rank it, is rooted in nature. It is a kind of greed which ultimately springs out of the instinct of self-preservation. It may be detected even among our domestic animals in relation to food, even though there is no longer any justification for it. There is no longer any justification for jealousy in human love, but the impulse arises. To deal with it is part of the discipline of love. It is a very neeessary part, for though jealousy may at first seem to its object an agreeable mark of devotion it quickly becomes fatal to the love it thus seeks to hold. The victim of jealousy falls to the level of the victims of passion generally, the level of the dipsomaniac or the drug-addict, an object of pity perhaps, no longer fitted to be a master of life, or a master of love, which is the epitome of life. The conquest of jealousy must sometimes be hard, but without it there is no entering the kingdom of marriage.

Today, however, there is more than that to be said. The intensity of jealousy, it is now possible to say, which we observe in the recent past was, in a large degree, an artificial product. The germ was natural, but the developments were fostered by personal and social codes and ideals we now see to be false. It is enough to turn to the most intimate of these falsities, although we have already encountered it, for it is at the core of this matter: the preliminary vow of everlasting and exclusive mutual fidelity. That, at the outset, rendered difficult for all, and for many impossible, the exercise of a quality which is even more necessary at the foundation of marriage than love itself:

the quality of sincerity. If that fictitious preliminary vow were really the foundation of marriage it needed little intelligence to see that the avowal of affectionate attraction to another person meant a crack in the foundation and a possible threat to the stability of the marriage itself. It was alarming, it aroused restless suspicions, terrible doubts. So such avowals were avoided, often indeed avoided with a show of virtuous justification, by people who were not aware that in destroying mutual sincerity they were inflicting a much deeper wound to their marriage union than in destroying exclusive sexual attraction. They seem to have understood this better in the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century, with its hypocritical idealism, looked down on that century in consequence, with misplaced contempt. But in every age there are some lovers who know from the first that there cannot be a real marriage without a complete mutual trust, and that any private decision, on one side or the other, that such trust is not possible suffices alone to break the bond of union in any true sense; such lovers meet difficulties, and they feel at times the pang of jealousy, but it has lost its fatal sting, and the foundations of their marriage are rendered deeper and stronger by the victories over jealousy they have won.

That result would be rendered easier and more frequent if lovers always avoided setting for themselves so dangerous a trap at the outset. The initial vow needs to be so enlarged that its essence can be summed up as erotic comradeship. That may well include an exclusive mutual erotic devotion, if, and in so far as, that proves possible. But it goes beyond such limited devotion; it means that the two lovers so love each other, and so trust each other, that it is natural and instinctive to tell each other of their feelings towards other persons. They are able to share, in sympathy if not always actually, the new affections that come into their lives, and thereby to increase and to affirm their affection for each other. Under such conditions jealousy, in well-proportioned natures, even if it arises, can do no hurt, and even the ground for it to arise is unlikely to be found, for where the new affection is seen and acknowledged

at the outset the lovers are able to control and guide it together, to keep it within the established bounds of their own love.

That, also, is a task which is easier than it was in the mediaeval world whence we have derived so many now decaying traditions. In that world,—save in a few special circles which were really out of touch with their own time—the art of love had barely any existence. Sexual intercourse was extremely well-known—better known, it may be, than now—but all the delicate gradations of courtship and intimate love, of which that intercourse is merely the final and perhaps never reached stage, were so unfamiliar that even the kiss seems often to have been scarcely known, as indeed among the peasantry it scarcely is, save in a rudimentary way, known today. It is becoming realized how many marriages, even among would-be cultivated people, fail, or sink to a lower level, owing to a lack of knowledge of the art of love which is still frequently complete. But it is not yet realized how this defective art of love is responsible for the absence of wholesome and enlarging relationships with friends outside the marriage bond. If the alternative to a relationship of affectionate friendship is the sexual act or nothing then married life inevitably becomes either perilous or impoverished. But there is really a vast space between nothing and the complete physical surrender of sexual abandonment. In that space are many stages in affectionate confidence and intimacy at which friendships may be formed, to enrich the life of married lovers who are firm in the mutual trust of their erotic comradeship. Such an enlargement of affectionate relationship within marriage, is, moreover, by no means to be regarded as a permitted weakness, or a tolerated indulgence. On the contrary, it is the narrow mutual self-absorption of the old-time ideal which calls for indulgence, and is indeed unworthy of indulgence. Marriage, however convenient it may still remain, is without any high mission unless it brings those who contract it into a many-sided contact with the greater world, and that contact cannot be real and intimate if it excludes at the outset the possibility of other relationships that are affectionate.

Significant evidence of the impulses which are moving the husbands and wives of today has been furnished by Judge Ben Lindsey who has for many years been known throughout the world for his beneficent attitude as a judge and an adviser in matters that come before a domestic and juvenile court, so that he has constantly been called upon for counsel in the private affairs of life outside his Court. He has presented some of the results in his wise and helpful book, *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, and more recently he has set forth the experience he has acquired concerning the actions and feelings of husbands and of wives today, in these matters of adultery and jealousy and an enlarged conception of marriage. His evidence is the more valuable because, on the one hand, the married people he brings before us are ordinary citizens and not morbid or exceptional persons, and on the other hand because he is not desiring to put forward any revolutionary ideas about marriage. He is simply reporting what he has found, and himself seems sometimes a little surprised at the attitude towards these problems which he reveals. But for us there need be no surprise. The people in Colorado whom Judge Lindsey has been privileged to know intimately are simply moving in the direction in which the whole civilized world is moving, and the direction of their movement is conditioned by forces which a few of us may be permitted to see, but all of us are compelled to feel, stirring within us and instinctively guiding us along the path. If in the end this movement leads to the conquest of marriage over adultery—a conquest achieved, in the only way in which conquest can be effectually achieved, by absorbing it—then one of the triumphs of mankind will indeed have been consummated. That it should have been given to our time to place marriage on a sound foundation is not, for me at all events, any matter for surprise. At the outset of my course it seemed to me that the age-long problem of the place in life of the impulse of sex had at last been reached by Man in his course, and that it was specially set before our own age at length to solve it. Now, nearly half a

century later, I would rejoice that the advance made has even gone beyond my dreams, and not feel called upon to grieve over any respectable idols of the past now falling in the dust.

The way to that end, once almost impassable, has in modern times been made easy. It has been made easy because, now, young people, and especially young women, are accepting an attitude towards each other, and towards the things that concern the relations of the sexes, that has never been seen in our western world for many centuries, if ever. They have thrown aside the taboo which once rendered the things that pertain to sex too sacred or too obscene—nobody quite knew which—to be known; they seek to know these things and to know each other, calmly assuming their right to this knowledge and their equal right not to disclose, unless they think fit, the extent of their knowledge. To many people this attitude of the young is still a source of perplexity, if not of alarm and horror. But we have to recognize that it is the only proper preparation for marriage. There are many disabilities, physical and spiritual, which should be held as disqualifying for marriage, but it would be hard to find any so fatal as that which was once foolishly reverenced under the name of Innocence. There will be fewer Francescas for the Dante of the future to place in Hell, however populous he may otherwise render its circles. For we need not undertake to declare that the total sum of virtue in the world will be increased, but we may safely hazard the opinion that if we cease to blindfold the young they are less likely to fall into ditches. That blindfolding of the young, and of women even when no longer young, was once so common that it may be said to have been erected into a system, still accepted even by many yet living among us. How often do women of the younger generation talk, with a smile, concerning men of an older generation with whom they have come into relation, how these men refer vaguely and distantly to things which they sup-

pose women know nothing about, things not concerning them and likely to shock them, and really the things which intimately concern them and which often—not indeed always—the women they are speaking to know as much about as they do themselves. No doubt these men had a sort of justification, for in their world the things that belong to sex were degraded to a level which they themselves, with a fine metaphorical felicity, termed "smutty." Yet, surely, such an attitude will in the future seem an almost incredible feature of the past.

It is impossible to write history in advance. One can only repeat that what today we call the future will tomorrow be the past and can bring nothing of which the vital germs are not vigorously growing among us today. We see them, or we do not see them, in accordance with the measure of our vision. Strictly speaking, indeed, the present has no existence; the word that you form in your mind belongs to the future, but you have no sooner uttered it than it belongs to the past, as irrevocably as though it had been spoken by Adam. The present is merely an imaginary line at which the past and the future meet and mingle. We are in the midst of both; past men and future men are here today. For my own part, notwithstanding various archeological interests, I find it tedious to be among those who are several centuries behind their own time; it has amused me more to share the disdain bestowed upon those who are a little in front.—I may be permitted, as I depart, to make this one personal observation.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Abraham, K., 16, 44, 336, 365, 367, 371, 430, 437
Acosta, J. de., 387
Adler, A., 20, 41, 206, 336, 358, 473
Alsop, G., 397
Amelung, 399
Anderson, W., 395
Arrhenius, 221
Athenaeus, 348

Bachofen, 503
Bacon, 202
Balfour, Lord, 374
Ballet, 479
Barrère, P., 397
Basedow, 393
Bashkirtseff, Marie, 353
Bell, Blair, 110
Benigno di Tullio, 484
Berny, A., 388
Bernard, Dean, 442
Binswanger, 423
Blau, L., 403
Bleuler, 117, 414
Bloch, I., 116, 198, 386
Blunt, J. J., 384
Boas, 402
Boccaccio, 160
Bodin, 403
Bolton, F. E., 383, 386
Bourke, J. G., 382, 385, 392, 404
Brand, 29
Brantôme, 335, 423
Briffault, 217, 493, 503
Brodie, Sir B., 112
Brown, R. Grant, 402
Brown-Séquard, 113
Buer, M. C., 511
Burchard, 44
Buvat, 381

Calderon, 349
Campbell, Harry, 223
Campion, 444
Carpenter, Edward, 12
Carr-Saunders, 223, 498
Chadwick, Mary, 490
Chambard, 113, 115
Charcot, 112
Charles, R. H., 515
Choiseul-Meuse, Countess de, 510
Clérambault, 482
Cleveland, Duchess of, 6
Colette, Madame, 419
Contreras, Alonso de, 525
Cook, Capt., 384
Crawford, L., 393
Crawley, A. E., 35, 103, 521
Crew, F. A. E., 110
Cullerre, 481
Curr, J., 393

Darwin, C., 341
Déchelette, 407
Depouy, 482
Doughty, 349
Driberg, 325
Dubuisson, 479, 488
Dufour, 385
Dunn, J., 406
Durkheim, 496

East, E. M., 512
Edin, K., 513
Ehlers, 34
Ehrenreich, 350, 387
Ellis, Mrs. Havelock, 509
Ellis, Henry, 396
Esquirol, 478

Falda, G. B., 401
Federn, 417
Féré, 114, 354
Ferenczi, 327, 375, 417, 418
Feuerbach, 382
Flesch, Max, 415
Fliess, 224
Flint, A., 10
Forschhammer, 386
Forsyth, 431
Fort, Paul, 390
Fox, H. Munro, 221

Frank, L., 416
Frazer, Sir J. G., 34, 368, 496, 506
Freud, 16, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 196, 198, 203, 237, 316, 318, 323, 325, 326, 327, 341, 345, 356, 357, 359, 362, 411, 412, 414, 417, 424, 431, 481, 501, 505
Friederici, G., 393, 395, 397
Frink, H. W., 389, 431
Fritsch, G., 384
Fryer, J., 395
Fuchs, 424

Gaillardet, 3
Gall, 477
Garnier, 480
Gaultier, J. de, 341
Gennep, A. van, 521
Gerson, A., 214 *et seq.*
Gerster, K. W., 364
Gibran, Kahlil, 521
Gilles de la Tourette, 113
Giradoux, J., 376
Giraldus Cambrensis, 131, 393
Glueck, 486
Goethe, 405
Goldmann, L., 26
Goldziher, 384, 388
Griesinger, 487
Grimm, J., 408
Groos, K., 107, 195
Gross, O., 488
Grosz, 109
Gudden, 481
Gummere, 407
Gutheil, 18
Guyon, 416

Haire, N., 232, 423
Hall, Stanley, 325, 383, 410
Haller, 222
Hamel, Frank, 6
Hammond, 8, 198
Hannover, 222
Harnik, 367
Hartland, S., 384, 502
Hasan Ibn Yazid, 394
Hawkesworth, 384
Headlam, 348
Healy, 415, 490
Herbert, S., 417
Herodas, 348
Herodotus, 131, 393, 405
Herrick, 443
Herzog, A. W., 15
Hesiod, 393, 398
Hirschfeld, M., 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 31, 27, 28, 44, 101, 102, 105, 108, 110, 119, 362, 481
Hitschmann, 431
Holmberg, 350, 377, 378, 409
Holmes, J., 386
Homberg, O., 3
Horney, Karen, 96, 430
Hospital, P 481
Howard W. L., 485
Hug-Hellmuth, H. von, 411
Hülsen, 399
Humboldt, A. von, 387
Hunter, J., 112
Huysmans, 422

Janet, Pierre, 14, 417
Jaricot, 377, 481
Jekels, 365
Jelgersma, 35
Jelliffe, S. E., 427
Johnston, Sir H., 396
Jones, Ernest, 26, 363, 366, 367, 374, 384, 430
Jourdran, 34
Jousselin, F., 3
Jung, C. G., 204, 334, 389
Juquelier, 477
Juvenal, 398

Kammerer, 110
Kapp, R., 373
Karpath, 105
Key, Ellen, 311
Keyserling, Count, 520 *et seq.*
Kiernan, 109, 477, 480
Kind, A., 419, 424
Knight, M., 499
Knox, 348
Kolben, P., 384
Kraepelin, 479, 481
Krafft-Ebing, 8, 17, 116, 206, 222, 478, 482
Kratinos, 348
Kretschmer, 474

Lacassagne, 480
Lacroix, Paul, 6
Lahovary, J., 378
Lao-tze, 204
Laquer, 14
Laurent, Emile, 8, 10, 28, 34
Lavater, 477
Leland, C. G., 11

Lelewer, 110
Letainturier-Fradin, 3
Levy, L., 401
Licht, H., 348, 399
Liebermann, 111
Lindner, 117
Lindsey, Judge Ben, 499, 530
Lippmann, W., 427
Lipps, 14, 107
Lombroso, 9
Löwenfeld, 117, 118, 363
Lumholtz, C., 393

Maeder, 41, 455
Magnan, 479, 480
Malinowski, B., 217, 374, 394, 493, 502, 504, 515
Mapother, 505
Marc, 478
Marcinowski, 378, 388
Marcuse, Max, 493
Meineke, 348
Merejkovski, 352
Merejkovski, Madame, 353
Middleton, 8
Miklucho-Maclay, 393
Milton, 349
Moll, A., 8, 14, 16, 101, 106, 117, 119, 354
Molo, W. von, 372
Morel, 478
Mosso, 381
Motte Fouqué, Baron de la, 409
Mourly, Vold J., 323, 325
Moynihan, Sir B., 524
Müllenhoff, 408
Müller, W. Max, 348
Munk, Maria, 526
Murray, M. A., 385
Myres, C. S., 325

Näcke, 12, 100, 105, 108, 355
Nelson, 226
Niceforo, 354
Nichols, Dr., 156

Onuf, 109
Ophuijsen, J. H. W., Van, 431
Ovid, 41, 348
Oviedo y Valdes, F. de, 398

Paracelsus, 409
Park, Mungo, 384
Parmelee, M., 195, 344
Paul, Adolf, 3
Pearl, R., 513
Pellacani, 381
Perry-Coste, F. H., 224, 226, 228
Petermann, 362
Petersen, M., 419
Petrovich, 408
Pettow, 2, 13, 32
Pfannenschmid, 384, 407
Pfeiffer, W., 409
Pilcz, 481
Pitres, 419
Placzek, 110, 490
Porte, Pierre de la, 424
Prandtl, 108
Preuss, K. T., 386, 387
Pudor, H., 105

Quinton, R., 376

Raffalovich, 101
Ralston, 408
Rank, O., 348, 357, 368, 369, 370, 378, 387, 392, 405, 452, 459, 460
Raymond, 417
Reclus, Elie, 381
Régis, 419
Regnier, Henri de, 379
Reichard, P., 396
Reid, Forrest, 350, 362
Reinach, S., 382, 399
Rencurel, 33
Rhys, Sir J., 406
Richardson, Frank, 105
Rivers, 496
Röck, 324
Róheim, Geza, 364, 370, 373, 374, 403
Rohleder, 12, 361
Romans, B., 397
Roscoe, J., 385
Roth, W., 394
Roundell, Julis, 6
Rousseau, 350

Sadger, 12, 17, 101, 106, 195, 197, 352, 357, 360, 364, 390, 401, 411 *et seq.*, 426, 431, 433, 435, 483
Sagard, 397
Scherner, R., 337
Schrenck-Notzing, 198
Schultze-Henke, 432
Schultze-Malkowsky, 413
Scott, Colin, 103

Seligman, C. G., 33, 35, 324
Semon, 303
Shakespeare, 443, 526
Sharp, W., 105
Sherman, E. B., 377
Siegel, 219, 223
Silk, 420
Smyth, Brough, 387
Spaulding, 491
Spielrein, S., 104, 365
Stannus, 396
Steiner, M., 412
Stekel, 12, 14, 17, 18, 32, 102; 205 *et seq*, 325, 360, 367, 404, 417, 419, 430, 432, 433, 488
Stendhal, 24
Stopes, Marie, 224
Strachey, Lytton, 6
Strindberg, 374
Sutherland, W. D., 230
Sutton, Sir G. Bland, 376
Summers, Montague, 385
Sydenham, 204

Tandler, 109
Tange, 94
Tansley, 418
Tausk, 411, 430.
Telfer, J. B., 2, 3
Tilke, Max, 12
Tolstoy, 352, 527
Tout, Hill, 402, 406
Tregear, E., 394
Trélat, 478
Trotsenburg, 94

Valera, Juan, 351, 354
Valéry, Paul, 237
Velde, T. N. Van de, 493
Vigouroux, 479
Vinchen, 477, 483
Vizetelly, E. A., 3
Voigtländer, E., 364
Volta, A. dalla, 341
Vorberg, G., 392
Vurpas, 381

Wafer, L., 397
Wallace, A. R., 494
Wernich, 395
Werther, Ralph, 15
Westermarck, 214, 388, 403, 493 *et seq.*
Westphal, 8
Whibley, 8
Whytt, 111
Wieseler, 347
Wilde, Oscar, 352, 369
Wilhelm, E., 10, 28
Willis, 111
Wimmer, 483
Wiftlich, 404
Wolfe, H., 517
Wuttke, 378

Zimmer, 406
Zingerle, 480

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Adultery, the conception of, 524 *et seq.*
Aesthetic emotion and sex emotion, 107
Agoraphobia, 430
Algolagnia, 207
Anal masturbation, 165, 198, 208, 348
Anal temperament, 431
Anus, sexual significance of, 151 *et seq*, 165, 411, 426
Art of love, 529
Astyages, 404
Auto-erotism, 355, 358, 362
Auto-flagellation, 122 *et seq*, 197

Baptism, significance of, 382
Barry, James, 6
Bashkirtseff, Marie, 353
Baths, prostitution and public, 386
Birth, folklore of, 377; from water, 402
Birth-rate, differential, 513
Bladder, and ideas of birth, 378; emotional sensitiveness of, 380; connection with genital sphere, 416
Bridal ceremonies, urine in, 385
Buttocks as a sex centre, 126, 197. *And see Nates.*

Caenis, 41
Castration by Eonists, 94
Castration complex, 20, 41, 206, 367, 431
Childbirth-envy, 96
Choisy, Abbé de, 3 *et seq.*
Clothing, dreams of, 343 *et seq.*
Coitus, ideas concerning, 149, 174, 194; in primitive times, 215; theory of, 418
Companionate marriage, 499, 509, 530
Coprolagnia, 371, 427
Corset fetichism, 44, 52
Courtship, the place of, 220, 500
Cross-dressing, 12, 100; ceremonial, 35
Cruelty in relation to sexual emotion, 158, 163
Cutpurse, Moll, 8
Cycles in reproduction, yearly, 214

Day-dreaming, 132 *et seq.*, 148 *et seq.*, 156 *et seq.*, 185 *et seq.*, 362, 437
Deluge as a urination myth, 405
D'Eon, Chevalier, 1 *et seq.*, 28, 108
Defecation, psychology of, 128, 426, 427
Defloration customs, 501
Derbforgaill, 406
Divorce, 498, 508
Double, hallucination of the, 368
Drawers, psychic significance of feminine, 130, 171
Dreams, 176 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, 237 *et seq.*, 350, 359; erotic, 167, 226 *et seq.*, 304 *et seq.*, 441 *et seq.*; vesical, 304, 328, 441 *et seq.*; of flying, 318 *et seq.*, 445; of eating, 339 *et seq.*; of clothes, 343; of nakedness, 344

Eating, dreams of, 339
Einfühlung, 107
Ejaculatio præcox, 366
Electra complex, 20
Enuresis, 414, 417, 430, 431
Eonism, 1 *et seq.*; and fetichism, 18; and algolagnia, 21; and eunuchoidism, 109; as a form of femininism, 110; and hormones, 26, 110, 336
Erogenic zones, 111 *et seq.*
Eunuchoidism and Eonism, 109
Exhibitionism, 367, 370
Exogamy, the explanation of, 504

Fetichism, 10, 18, 44, 361, 482, 485
Fire and water, association of, 358

Flagellational obsessions, 152 *et seq.*
Flying dreams, 318 *et seq.*, 445
Fountains, erotic suggestion of, 378; alleged urinary origin of, 390 *et seq.*, 399 *et seq.*; as symbols, 401
Frigidity in women, 367, 430
Frith, Mary, 7

Hair-despoilers, 488
Hephephilia, 482
Hermaphroditism, psychic, 8, 28
Holy water, origins of, 384, 404
Homosexuality and Eonism, 17, 21, 53; in youth, 40; evidence of, 206; and Narcissism, 354, 363, 364; in dreams, 461; in woman, 465 *et seq.*
Hormonic factor, 26, 110
Hysteria, 113
Hysterogenous zones, 112, 115

Incestuous attraction, 24, 505
Initiation ceremonies, urine in, 386
Inversion, sexo-æsthetic, 1 *et seq.*; sexual, 10, 53. *And see Homosexuality.*

Jealousy, 527

Kleist, Ulrike, 7
Kleptolagnia, 477 *et seq.*
Kleptomania, 477 *et seq.*

Lorelei, 408
Lunar cycles, 213 *et seq.*

Magic and Narcissism, 370; and urine, 382, 402
Mandane, 405
Manneken-pis, 388, 392, 399
Marriage, history of, 492 *et seq.*; definition of, 493; future of, 508 *et seq.*; Catholic conception of, 514; Protestant conception of, 515
Masculine protest, 20, 206, 336
Masculinity complex, 431
Masochism, 21, 207
Masturbation, anal, 165, 198; vulvar, 167; periodicity of, 230 *et seq.*; effects of, 233; in antiquity, 348; urolagnic, 465
Medb, Queen, 406
Menstruation, ideas concerning, 134; curve of, 213 *et seq.*; origin of, 214
Mirror, psychology of, 350, 355, 369
Mittelschmerz, 224, 235
Monogamy, 218
Monomanias, doctrine of, 478
Moon, supposed influence of, 213 *et seq.*
Myths, urination in, 405

Nakedness, dreams of, 344
Narcissism, 29, 40, 347 *et seq.*, 452
Narcissus, 347
Nates, in relation to urination, 171; as a sex centre, 197
Nipple as a sexual centre, 119
Noviciate for marriage, 509
Nymphomania, 386

Oedipus complex, 25, 505
Oestral period and menstruation, 223
Olisbos, 348

Paramnesia, 38
Paternity, primitive ignorance of, 502
Patriotism a form of Narcissism, 373
Penis-envy, 128, 206, 432, 437, 451, 461
Penis fetichism, 461
Periodicity, sexual, 213 *et seq.*
"Perversion," use of word, 195
Play-instinct in sex sphere, 195
Population problems, 498, 511, 513
Promiscuity, primitive, 503
Prostitution and public baths, 386
Psycho-analysis, 26, 121
Pu-mea, 34
Pyrolagnia, 477

Rain, urine a symbol of, 387, 407
Retour a l'enfance, 14, 15
Robbins, James, 30
Russalkas, 408
Rutting season, 218

Sadism, 21, 206
Salt, sacred significance of, 383
Sarimbavy, 33
Scaphion, 399
Scatology, 422
Scoptophilia, 362
Sea-urchins, lunar periodicity in, 220
Sea-water, 376
Semen, identified with urine, 389; with water, 401
Sex emotion and æsthetics, 107
Sexo-æsthetic inversion, 1 *et seq.*, 27
Shame, sexual significance of, 140 *et seq.*
Shoe fetichism, 44
Shyness, sexual significance of, 136
Snake as a symbol, 168, 453 *et seq.*
Sport as Narcissism, 373
Stanhope, Lady Hester, 6
Stendhal, 24
Stuff fetichisms, 482 *et seq.*
Symbolism in dreams, 337
Sympathy, doctrine of, 111

Thumb-sucking, 117
Ticklishness, 414
Tolstoy, 352
Transference, 202
Transvestism, 10, 11 *et seq.*, 361. *And see Eonism.*
Travelling, dreams of, 345

Undine, 409
Undinism, 199, 376 *et seq.*
Urethral eroticism, 412, 433
Urethral temperament, 431
Urination, psychology of, *see Vesical psychology*; attitude in, 131, 138, 171, 188, 206, 393 *et seq.*, 473; as a process of detumescence, 141, 143; in relation to nates, 171; in relation to sexual emotion, 174; dreams of, 328 *et seq.*; and origin of fountains, 390, 399 *et seq.*; competition in, 406, 432
Urine, in magic, 382; symbol of rain, 387, 407; identified with semen, 389
Urolagnia, 144, 171 *et seq.*, 185, 198, 371, 419, 433, 469

Vesical, psychology, 127 *et seq.*, 177 *et seq.*; dreams, 304, 328 *et seq.*; in childhood, 411 *et seq.*; in women, 418 *et seq.*; in ecclesiastics, 422; in men, 423 *et seq.*
Vulvar masturbation, 167

Wagner, R., 105
Water, association of with fire, 338; as a mirror, 350; in folklore, 377; love of, 378, 433
Whip, the, 168, 194
Whipping interest in childhood, 193
Wilde, Oscar, 352
Witchcraft, urine in, 385, 403